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THEORY, HISTORY AND LITERARY CRITICISM

From Plato to Swift and Orwell, from Utopia to Dystopia

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Abstract:
From Plato to Marx and beyond, human kind had a constant preoccupation for bettering the world, strived for its improvement and, ultimately, aimed to create a perfect society, unaffected by change. This article discusses some well-known utopian and dystopian literary writings and aims to highlight the development of some shared major and minor themes common for both forms. The paper forwards the argument that the *utopian* is always interrelated with the *actual*.
Keywords: utopian, political organization, dystopian, social construct

Utopian models of society represent a constant preoccupation for mankind; with a history that stretches from Plato to the twentieth century, it seems that utopian works will always have a well determined place in the history of the world.

In this long stretch of time *utopia* became not only a road towards a social construct but also a stable instrument for forging the present and, most of all, for defining the future. It developed its meaning as the society itself developed, becoming a notion not only for naming an abstract possibility but also a tangible future. The meaning of the term is most frequently dated back to Thomas Morus and his chief work *Utopia*, simply meaning "no place". However, alongside the development and the growing complexity of existing political systems it became a word often translated as "a good place". Yet, modernity brought along a new term with a totally oposing meaning, *dystopia*, which translates to a 'bad place'.

All utopian systems are based to a certain extent on the same issues; most important amongst these: the accomplishment of a utopian system implies the eradication of real social constructs and real people.

This fact proposes a challenge since the elimination of 'real' aspects of everyday life such as crime, tyranny etc. can be regarded as beneficial whereas the abolition of selfishness, egotism etc. imply that some characteristics of humanity as we understand it, are purged altogether

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from utopias[1]. Simply put, a utopian system proposes a new kind of individual that is disconnected fromt the regular man who is not fit to inhabit a utopian world.

Along the history of utopian constructs several directions were taken to solve this problem: some utopias were clear in the delimitations they made between real people and inhabitants of utopias, as for example Swift; others have suggested that in order to preserve the human aspect of utopias, man should be transformed by eliminating all those things that make the individual unsuitable for settling a utopian world: class appurtenance, private property and the intrinsic value of money.

The primary utopian system that tried to achieve this was Soviet Communism; Marx describes the environment for the new man: "[…] after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly – only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind and society inscribe on its banners: *from each according to his ability, to each according his needs*" (Marx, 1838: 78 in Carey, 1999: 265). In other words some utopias transform the world while others the self.

Utopia came to mean a perfect and stable society. In this case perfection excludes change and, in a broader sense, progress. A society that is perfect in each aspect has no need for evolving or changing; it is at the same time self-sufficient and ordered to the extent that nothing can perturb its inner values. In Plato's *Republic* there were only two categories used for constructing the ideal society: things that are absolute in their essence and thing that are not. The first category is always of higher value than the second exactly because it is not determined or shaped by change. When a society comes to be successfully based on such values, changes appear as a destabilizing element, a turn for the worst. Plato's work established a tradition in presenting the relationship between utopian systems and change that became impossible to avoid by any western theorist latter on. As John Carey observes "to count as a utopia, an imaginary place must be an expression of desire" (Carey, 1999: xi), thus stating the basic principle of every utopian system to follow.

The tradition was so strong that Thomas Morus in his attempt to describe a utopian society took for granted Plato's assertions regarding the higher value of consistent principles and subsequently used these as a starting point for his own version. However, in accordance with the

[1] The examples are, of course, over-exaggerated but they serve the purpose of emphasizing the deference between a rather simplistic *good* and *bad*.

fashion of his times he modernised the political system on which he has based his utopia.

Morus modernised the politics of the space previously associated with utopian systems by constructing a nation state instead of a city state. Where Plato imagined a stratified society governed by philosophers and functioning on class domination, Morus extended and changed the perspective, depicting a society that was basically classless for one reason: the lack of private property was the only way to secure just and equal governing for the members of that society. Nevertheless he preserved the class of slaves, however only for punitive reasons, and also the penalty of death – for a second offence towards the order of the island-.

This perspective of an almost classless society is a favourite amongst communist thinkers for it affords the division of goods and power. Morton believes that a utopia is a “land-mark along the road towards scientific socialism” (Morton, 1952: 55), considering the author (*i.e.* Morus) both a humanist and a communist. The main argument is that Morus imagined a society where the abundance of material commodities and the security of its citizens would allow the differentiation between a proper classless society and a misunderstood bourgeois equality where private possession would interfere with the principles of a perfect utopian society. From this perspective Plato is a socialist and Morus a communist.

This is a salient point for all critical approaches towards the issue in discussion, since no utopian writing was voided of critical (political) content. This is especially true for the two aforementioned utopias which were by no means pieces of fiction in the sense a novel is characterized as fictional, but were auto-declared works of political thinking emphasizing the role of reason above everything else and were transparent enough to underline that their main concern was to create a new kind of improved, functional society[1].

[1] More to the point, utopias always developed according to the state of the actual society they were assessing because no utopia contains so much imaginative power as to escape the reminiscences of its own times. This is the main reason why utopian writers tried to *re-construct* the world and the individual rather than to *construct* a completely new environment that would not resemble fundamentally anything previous. Also, this fact translates into the impossibility to refuse the development of actual societies (which utopias reflect) with all the consequences this approach imposes. Plato allowed slaves, More magistrates; in other words “utopias tend to stress how they reflect historical developments. The discovery of the New World, the Age of Enlightenment, the French Revolution, the rise of science – all those brought new fashions to utopianism” (Carey, 1999: xx).

Furthermore, the *utopian* ideal was to completely eliminate all kinds of active, legislative politics; the sole role reserved for politics was administrative. Utopias do not need an active legislative power exactly because the order is so well established and functional that nothing can perturb it. The ideal of the utopia can be reduced to three elements: it is a static society; it is uniform and lacks progress. This is understandable because the sole reason for the existence of utopias is their perfection, therefore there is nothing that can or should be changed. Uniformity is explainable because a perfect society should consist only of equal individuals and progress is excluded because there is nothing left to evolve to.

However, new types of utopias were produced by new kind of social conditions. In the seventeen century Swift and Defoe reshaped the century long tradition of presenting utopias. These new utopian lands became fictional works: they had a hero and became similar to novels. The hero itself was a new kind of breed, an individual hero, bourgeois by nature and in tradition with the age, and the utopian settlement created around them was constructed solely as a frame for the narrative.

A.L. Morton considers that “Swift, and Defoe still more, produce novels” (Morton, 1955: 122). John Carey too considers Defoe as an “author of fiction, and particularly of fiction that pretends to be fact, as *Crusoe* does” (Carey, 1999: 5). The protagonists of both novels interact with the utopias they discover, participate as actors in the story and shape the action as a result of their interaction with the environment.

Defoe, born in a middle class family himself, sends his hero Robison Crusoe to explore utopia from a bourgeois world, a world that finds its condition to be “the best state in the world, the most suited to human happiness, not exposed to the miseries and hardships” (Defoe, 2001: 8). According to this belief he constructs not a utopian country but a bourgeois settlement motivating A.L. Morton to write that: “Robinson Crusoe is the pure bourgeois man, the man completely alone, and his utopia is a one man colony” (Morton, 19955: 130).

If we look at *Robinson Crusoe* from the perspective of a utopian writing we are to face the fact that the novel stands exactly at the opposite end of the spectrum, the entire novel being a reverse utopia. Its main characteristic is that along the twenty years spent on the island, Crusoe recreates the technical and agricultural conditions of his century rather than modifying them.

The reason behind this apparent odd choice is rather simple: Defoe did not intend to create a utopia that modified a state of facts; he wanted to create a political statement that showed his beliefs. Therefore, “the real subject of the novel is of a Caribbean nabob who makes a little

England in remote surroundings" (Rogers, 1974: 390 in Schonhorn, 1991: 141).

If this is the case, a logical question arises: why should a utopia, in the limited and rather unorthodox manner it presents itself, strive to recreate the climate of its 'origins'? The answer, according to Schonhorn, is that "Daniel Defoe was a strong supporter all his life of England's constitutional monarchy and her mixed government" (Schonhorn, 1991: 161).

Swift, who came from a traditionally royalist family, allowed more political character to his utopian land, permitting the main character from *Gulliver* to be interwoven with his criticism of the *Whigs*. This was achieved in a distinctive manner from Defoe who completely identifies with his hero, whereas Swift uses Gulliver as a disguise in order to afford his critical (political) appreciations.

In Gulliver's last travel to the land of the Houyhnhnms, the land of the enlightened and human horses, the author compares these to the image of the brutish Yahoos who stand for all the things that should be eradicated, for Swift's political views are based on a "deep hatred of war, of colonial exploitation, of the depression of agriculture by the money-lender and stock-jobber […] he saw (wrongly) in the Tories the Party which opposed them and stood for what he felt to be the older and saner way of life" (Morton, 1952: 118). It has to be noted that in a critical review from 1946 entitled *Politics vs. Literature: An examination of Gulliver's Travels*, Orwell also finds evidence in novel for the fact that "politically, Swift was one of those people who are driven into a sort of perverse Toryism by the follies of the progressive party of the moment" (S. Orwell, 1984: 243).

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Along with change and the progress of time, the placid image of utopias was replaced by cruel metaphors brought forth by dystopian systems that reacted to their environment of origin in a more severe way. If up to the late nineteen century the only question was how to implement a more efficient form of utopian system, the situation changed radically afterwards and a new question was forwarded: do utopian systems really represent the ideal place for mankind?

Once closer to present times, populated by "moralists and political reformers, satirists and science fictioneers – all have contributed their quota to the stock of imaginary worlds" (Huxley, 1960: 292), we find Orwell, who foresees a future that "will be a world of terror as much as a world of triumph" (Orwell, 2001: 281).

Modern utopias, which almost invariably turn into dystopias, share common elements regarding the use of power in new kinds of societies, societies that invariably turn into totalitarian systems.

The three principles of the party from *Nineteen Eighty-Four* "War is Peace, Freedom is Slavery and Ignorance is Strength" (Orwell, 2001: 6), the principles governing Oceania and the principles of the future imagined by Huxley in *Brave New World* "Community, Identity, Stability" (Huxley, 1994: 1) that govern the Western European region of the World State represent perhaps the best known models of dystopian societies of the twentieth century. The strict, permanent, unavoidable class system and the apparent imperfectness of the society with influence free zones like the proletarian quarters and the savage reservations are features that haunt dystopias.

Other topics like the fact that sexuality must be deprived of its naturalness – in the first case (Orwell) by making a compulsory activity out of it, in the second case (Huxley) by eliminating all the pleasure out of it – represent another similarity between the two novels[2].

Clothes and architecture are two other themes favoured by utopian writers and are used to summarize the perfect unity that a utopian state should symbolize. As early as Thomas Morus we are told that "People wear the same sort of clothes throughout the island [...] The fashion of clothing never changes" (Morus, 1949: 33), and thus clothing turns into uniform; in *A Modern Utopia*, Wells makes a slight concession to the dressing habits of the inhabitants of his utopia but assures the reader that the slight differences one could notice are "transient flashes in a general flow of harmonious graciousness; dress will have scarcely any of the effect of disorderly conflict, or the self-assertion qualified by fear of ridicule, that is has in the crudely competitive civilizations of earth" (Wells, 1967: 226). Huxley on the other hand depicts "a black and khaki army of labourers" (Huxley, 1994: 55), both colours being codes for specific casts.

In *Nineteen Eighty-Four* the theme of the uniform is changed in order to emphasize belonging to a certain political organization, invariably identified through uniforms. For example the *Spies* have uniforms which consisted of "blue shorts, grey shirts and red

[2] Paradoxically, Orwell's world, though presenting sexuality as a duty towards the Party, maintains it as an institutional presence, perverted into pornography, through "Pornosec, the sub-section of the Fiction Department which turned out cheap pornography for distribution among the proles" (Orwell, 1991: 137).

neckerchiefs" (Orwell, 2001: 25), and opposed to Wells, discrepancies in clothing articles are punishable by death[3].

Architecture is another issue that concerned every utopian writer. The reason why a new kind of architecture was needed is obvious: a new kind of inhabitant needed new kinds of locations to inhabit.

For example, in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* we find parallels to what Richard Stites defined as characteristics of utopian sites consisting of "planned towns and ideal buildings […] visionary town planning offered visions of a new world" (Stites, 1989: 204). The places that correspond to the aforementioned model are the ministerial institutions: Ministry of Truth, of Peace, of Plenty and of Love. These share the same architecture: "enormous pyramidal structure of glittering white concrete" (Orwell, 2001: 6). These places define the architectural imagery of the novel, leaving no place for escape – though the slums of the peripheries are still present –; they also bring up images of communist communes which are fundamental for the co-working and co-living of its members in order to secure better standards of living. However in Orwell's novel only half of the communal theory is valid; although people share a working and living space to a certain extent, the only symbiosis in the society is between the party and the individual and the sole role of this symbiosis is to ensure a better way to control and to manipulate.

This paper aimed to discuss, though not in an exhaustive manner, some of the common themes characteristic to the most well-known utopian writings. One can observe that throughout the long history of utopian writings certain themes are always present. We can divide these in two distinct categories: the themes of sexuality, city planning and fashion (these would constitute the minor themes) and major themes such as: political structure, class system and the reshaping of the individual.

Both categories have in common one defining factor; no utopia was able to escape its own present in the sense that the elements they tried to reshape were also the constitutional elements of the utopian systems themselves and hence only a re-imagining of these elements was possible.

However, utopias established themselves as a necessary parallel reality. In an often-quoted passage from *The Soul of Man under*

[3] There is an episode in the novel where someone is determined to be a spy because "he was wearing funny shoes… never seen anyone wearing shoes like that before" (Orwell, 1991: 60) in a context where almost all descriptions of clothing are focusing on the party uniform.

Socialism, Oscar Wilde claims that “a map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at” (Hasketh, 1950: 246) proving that there is an inseparable bond between reality and utopia.

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The Anti-Death League

Manuela Odeta Belei*

Abstract:
Kingsley Amis was the most prominent literary figure among political, cultural and social polemicists, appealing to the shifting tastes of elite and popular audiences alike. Widely remembered as a compelling person, a man of alarming appetites and energies, or as one of the funniest, cleverest or rudest men that most people had ever met, Amis enjoyed the status of a "celebrity" quoted in newspaper and periodicals, during a time when the devilish machinations of mass media had not yet given rise to the term's present-day negative or at least pejorative connotations. His work is of vital importance not only for its influence, but for the pleasure it affords, and the breadth and depth of its achievement. As for Amis the man, he was in life as he was on the page: commanding, invigorating, sparkling, and full of esprit.
Keywords: ambitious novel, death, pessimism, depressive states, providential love

The *Anti-Death League* was Amis's longest and most ambitious novel, displaying a complexity superior to the ones it follows and precedes. It was also his darkest, most demanding writing, a combination of what John Press names "the cool sardonic mocker and the serious teacher of literature" (Press, 1963: 196). Anthony Burgess has called the novel "a noble cry from the heart on behalf of human suffering" (Burgess, 1966: 474), and Bernard Bergonzi has described it as "a work of impressive seriousness which marks a crucial point in Amis's development" (Bergonzi, 1970: 174). The novel is not entirely bereft of humour, but it is humour of a toned down type we are dealing with here, and its mood reflects broad existential concerns such as a sense of despair, an awareness of the absurd, an affirmation of the importance of love, that were only implied in the early novels. Amis himself felt he was articulating a new kind of experience in *The Anti-Death League*, describing it as "a modern gothic novel" that was "the result of realizing that one isn't going to be young forever, and noticing more and more that there is pain and sorrow in the world" (Salwak, 1992: 143). He further explains:

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> I began with thoughts about God and Death. Then there was the idea of the post-war army, with modern weapons. I thought of a sympathetic, humorous treatment of homosexuality – a character with a sense of humour. Somebody told me an anecdote about a rich nymphomaniac who lived in a castle near an officers' training establishment. … I had the idea of a girl who had always been treated badly by men and how difficult it is for her to agree to be treated nicely by a man. (Pottersman, 1964: 143)

He also visited a mental institution where a friend of his had undergone treatment for alcoholism: a huge Victorian mansion the walls of which were covered with paintings by the inmates. "Paintings of a very disturbing order", he said. "Flowers with animals' heads, laughing lions". It took him eight months to write the novel. "While working out the day's events I'd walk from Maida Vale, where I was living at the time, to Kilburn to buy a packet of cigars. Only a quarter of an hour's walk, I'd have the whole thing clear before I got back" he explained (Salwak, 1992: 144).

The novel presents a large number of important characters: James Churchill, a 24 year old army lieutenant; Catharine Casement, the girl with whom he falls in love; Willie Ayscue, an atheistic army chaplain; Brian Leonard, an inept but dedicated security officer; Lucy Hazell, a nymphomaniac who operates a brothel; and Max Hunter, an army chaplain and unabashed homosexual. The other characters fill in lesser but relevant roles: Dr Best a maniacal psychologist; Captain Deering, military assistant to Brian Leonard and a secret spy; Colonel White, who reads the French existentialists; Jagger, a civilian counterintelligence expert; Venables, a scientist; Ross-Donaldson, the adjutant and a technician of military life, and Moti Naidu, an Indian officer in the British army. An army base in the English countryside, a nearby mental hospital, and a country estate provide the settings. The plot revolves around a secret military project called Operation Apollo, a plan by which millions of Red Chinese would be infected with a plague, and what happens when top-secret information about a deadly weapon is stolen by enemy agents.

The book opens with a very laconic, atypical description of one of the settings for the novel's action, while at the same time signalling that something is wrong in this society and conveying an overall feeling of detachment to the reader:

> A girl and an older woman were walking along a metalled pathway. To their left, beyond a strip of grass, was the front of a large high building in grey stone. Reaching its corner, at which there was a pointed turret, brought them a view of a square of grass on which stood a tower like structure

> supported by stone pillars. The afternoon sun was shining brightly and the space under the main part of the tower was in deep shadow.
>
> The girl halted. "What's happening?" she asked.
>
> "That's just the old cat," said the other. "He's spotted something under the tower there, I expect."
>
> A small black cat, crouching quite still, faced the shadow. After a moment, a bird with tapering wings flew out, dipped towards the cat, gave two brief twitters and wheeled back to where it had come from. The girl went on watching.
>
> "Oh, you know what that is," said the older woman. "She'll have got a nest under there, the bird, and she's trying to keep the cat from it. Trying to give him a scare, you see." (Amis, 1987: 11)

Martin Green observes that "This is a prose it seems fair to call Hemingwayesque because of its continuous suggestion that if the speaker allowed himself any expressiveness his voice would rise to a scream" (Salwak, 1992: 145).

The mood that seems to be given off by these first lines is fear – fear of an unseen and unfelt menace that announces its imminence through the hostile and harsh reality that is described. The images of the metalled pathway, the turret, the grey building, the black and deep shadow, the cat, the bright sun, all contribute to the shaping of this hostile and oppressive environment[1]. In the next scene, the focus of the story is shifted from the two women and the black cat to three army officers who are also heading for the hospital and encounter the women on the way there. One of them, James Churchill, is struck by the girl's eyes, which he sees as "sort of blank and frightened". At the same moment a low-flying plane passes overhead, and "Just when the girl turned and looked at the tall young man it was as if the sun went out for an instant. He flinched and drew in his breath almost with a cry. … It was like the passing of the shadow of death" (Amis, 1987: 12). This experience is repeated when both groups leave the hospital: "Churchill felt a shock, as if the aircraft had again passed between him and the sun" (Amis, 1987: 33).

Catherine takes a part-time job at the village pub in an attempt to recover from a nervous breakdown and to lead a normal life once again. It is here that she and James Churchill eventually meet again.

> "I knew you straight away."
>
> She could not stop herself saying, "And I knew you straight away."
>
> "I know." (Amis, 1987: 76)

[1] Compare also to Franz Kafka's *Homecoming*, where a strikingly similar setting is employed to convey the impression of hostility and imminent danger.

Their encounter seems to be inevitable for both of them – predetermined, one might say – and their relationship begins almost immediately. A few days later we find them strolling through the countryside. James:

> looked at her and past her together, so that girl, trees and stream formed a unity. She turned her head and looked at him. He knew for certain that in some way this moment had become inevitable ever since that other moment the afternoon he first saw her when he had looked at a patch of country similar to this one and thought of her. He felt his heart lift. This had never happened to him before, and he was surprised at how physical the sensation was. (Bradford, 2001: 21)

The episode involving the first encounters between James and Catherine was based entirely on the opening months of the relationship between Amis and Jane. The brief moment of eye contact in the grounds of the house is intended to capture the resonances of the Cheltenham Festival where Amis and Jane became aware of their mutual attraction. Their subsequent meetings, unlike those of their fictional counterparts, were planned, but fate seemed to have taken a hand when Hilly and the family disappeared without explanation and Amis found himself back in London with Jane, apparently for good.

Amis told Jane that the central relationship of the novel would be based on theirs and, he read extracts to her even asking her to name one of the characters who would become Catherine Casement, a fictionalised version of herself. Amis chose the name James Churchill. Catherine, like Jane, was first married at the age of nineteen. Both discovered that their husbands, while decent and affectionate enough, had married them because this was what men of their age and class were expected to do. Sex was more part of the established ritual than a reflection of mutual attraction. Both married again, and disappointment was replaced by distress. Catherine's second husband became a self-obsessed bully and would beat her when she refused to conform to his expectations of what a wife should be and do. Although Jane's second husband, James Douglas Henry, was not an abusive brute, his selfishness and lack of consideration for his wife eventually became unbearable to Jane. Catherine's second marriage has caused the nervous breakdown for which she is receiving treatment in the house that provides the setting for the opening episode. James becomes the man who Catherine has always been looking for, and to which she is drawn in a mysterious yet potent manner that can only be described as having to do with fate's superior design. Jane was a stronger woman and she had a much greater confidence in her own abilities than her fictional counterpart. In the early years of their relationship Amis seems to have been truly in love with Jane, something that she would later express certainties about. The new tone of the love scenes between their fictional counterparts seem to attest to that:

> "He felt the sheet on his back and the sheet under his forearms and knees and toes."
> "I love you," she said.
> "I love you."
> "I know."
> "That's nice as "I love you" really, isn't it? As nice a thing to say and to have someone say to you as well. Nearly as nice, anyway."
> "Have you loved anyone before?" she asked.
> "No. Only been fond of people."
> "I've loved other people. Is that all right? You don't mind?"
> "There's nothing about you or that you've ever done that I could ever mind."
> (Amis, 1987: 124)

The positive effects of being truly in love spread out beyond the loved one and this is exemplified in the book by Churchill's sudden urge to give poor Brian Leonard a birthday present. Churchill "jumped now to the conclusion that there must be less love than there ought to be in a world where so many people went on being nasty to and bored by one another. How many people had the good-nature to love everybody without loving somebody first?" (Amis, 1987: 170).

Death and the threat of death permeate this novel. Near the beginning, a motorcycle rider carrying dispatches dies meaninglessly in a road accident, crushed under a lorry. Corporal Guy Fawkes dies of acute meningitis. At the very end Ayscue's faithful dog breaks free and runs into the path of a lorry whose "steering failed to respond". James Churchill, who is struggling to come to terms with his lover's breast cancer and the perspective of her death, puts forward an explanation which emphasizes the intrusion of fatality in this string of deadly accidents:

> You've probably heard of these things they call lethal nodes. … Well, we're in a lethal node now, only it's one that works in time instead of space. A bit of life it's death to enter. The beginning, the edge of the node was when that motor-cycle thing happened. Fawkes was further in. This looks like being near the centre. We'll know it's passing over when somebody else goes somebody we know as little as we knew that dispatch-rider. That'll be the farther edge. I know all this sounds a bit mad. I'm sorry. (Amis, 1987: 194 –195)

The characters of this novel display the awareness of suffering born of experience. They are alienated from any supernatural order and tend to become more and more alienated from any normal reactions to life and their fellow human beings. After two failed marriages and several unhappy affairs Catherine realizes "there was nothing about her life that she liked" (Amis, 1987: 22). James's disappointing love affairs make him indifferent to emotions and life to the point where he gets through the day's work by "detuning his heart, screening and muffling its capacities" (Amis, 1987: 36). Willie Asycuse has lived in torment ever since his wife left him. An unfaithful husband and a possessive lover have compelled Lucy to seek sex without love: "You see", she tells James, "I suddenly found out that this was the sort of life I liked" (Amis, 1987: 71). A desire to escape love altogether compelled Max to join the army, and in his eyes "All emotional attachments are bad. Get what there is to be got out of somebody without undue effort and then pass on to the next. It's better for everyone that way" (Amis, 1987: 83). Even Brian Leonard confesses to Lucy that he knows nothing about people.

The main novelty of the *Anti-Death League* lies in its preoccupation with fundamental questions such as the existence of God, the malevolence of this deity and the connection of such views to religion, to death, but also to the acknowledgment of death unsupported by any positive and redeeming religious perception of it. The characters seem to favour the Christian perspective of a benevolent and all mighty God to that of a wicked trickster. This is no hope among these men since even a supposed servant of the church embraces such convictions and views of God and religion as a whole. Ayscue declares war on Christianity as "the embodiment of the most effectively vicious lie ever told" (Amis, 1987: 266). According to his own confession he joined the Church "to be able to work against it more destructively from within" (Amis, 1987: 266). Whenever he prays it is like "talking into an empty room, into a telephone with nobody at the other end" (Amis, 1987: 303). Sometimes his religious doubts and anger lead to inaction: he refuses to administer last rites to the dying courier because, he explains, there is no reason to suppose that the boy believes in God. He refuses to comfort either Catharine or Max when they need it most because, he says, he does not want to invade their privacy – with the obvious implication that the God he represents is intrusive rather than supportive.

His perspective on religion and the Almighty obviously shapes his view on death since this is a fundamental component of any religious belief. He insists that "to believe at all deeply in the Christian God, in any sort of benevolent deity, is a disgrace to human dignity and intelligence" (Amis, 1987: 266). However, he acknowledges the usefulness of faith in the face of evil and destruction:

> I realized that not wanting to see these things as they are, which most people don't, doesn't necessarily make them completely stupid or insensitive or not frightened of life and death. Christianity's just the thing for people like that. A conspiracy to pretend that God moves in such a mysterious way that

> asking questions about it is a waste of time and everything's all right really. I joined that conspiracy. (Amis, 1987: 267)

For Max Hunter and James Churchill, too, no assertion about God's laws or innate human dignity can withstand the practical impact of their own lives. After Guy Fawkes dies, Max writes a poem against God [To a Baby Born without Limbs], organizes the Anti-Death League, uses a nuclear rifle to demolish St Jerome's priory, and vents his sarcasm on the chaplain. These are all superficial activities, to be sure, but nevertheless a way "of voicing some sort of objection. Plus a bit of revenge thrown in", as Max puts it. Even Jagger reveals that he, too, has "got it in for God" since the death of his daughter from leukaemia a year previously. James, on the other hand, cites Max's alcoholism, the courier's death, Operation Apollo, and Catharine's cancer as his excuses for retreating from a world which has "gone bad". In his view God "invented every bad thing we can know or can imagine… Only sad or frightening things … seemed to have the power that joy ought to have" (Amis, 1987: 36). He retires to his bed in a cataleptic state.

Bernard McCabe argues that "in a sudden shift of focus we are pushed beyond the here and now to find that the ultimate enemy is God. In *The Anti-Death League,* God gets the sort of treatment that Professor Welch gets in Lucky Jim … a sustained offensive" (McCabe, 1976: 68). John Pazereskis concurs that this is a novel about "a malevolent God" (Pazereskis, 1977: 32).

Richard Bradford argues that it is "not, as many have seen it, a bizarre atheistic polemic. Its broader target is the human propensity for systematic explanation" (Bradford, 2001: 53).

For most of the protagonists of the book, faith is not an option since faith requires accepting God and life, regardless of its miseries as they are without undertaking the impossible task of trying to find a satisfactory explanation for God's actions and their often negative effects on human lives. Even if it means deluding yourself, faith is something you either accept without asking questions or you become confronted with a purposeless world one that eventually condemns you to boredom, depression and a general loss of hope.

About twenty years after *The Anti-Death League* Amis would write: "I know well enough by this time that belief does not come by looking for the answers to questions. Faith is evidently not an explanation or a discovery but a gift." Pondering what a world without religion would be like and on the effects religion has on those who chose such of perspective he concludes: "a world without religion in it would nevertheless be as sad and dreadful a place as a world without art" (Salwak, 1992: 147).

The one exception to this sad and dreadful condition is Moti Naidu. His role throughout the novel is that of a detached observer who makes penetrating comments on the people around him. Although not the author's voice, he does function as a moral presence that serves to correct the spiritual deprivation of his peers and, according to Amis; he is the one character he most admires in the novel. Moti's perception of the world is clear and confident, without the despair and terror that the other characters experienced when contemplating the development of their own lives so far and the tragic aspects of human existence. Moti disapproves of actions which come from despair and the lack of direction in life. A life without hope, and purpose, a situation after all imposed by the characters on themselves, is a coward's choice since a balance is required in order to fully appreciate life in all its complexity. This means also accepting death and resisting the temptation of condemning God for the intrusion of this inescapable fact of human existence into each individual's life. Death seems pointless and unfair and when confronted with it people normally react by attacking God or faith for having to deal with this situation which is after all a fundamental component of every living thing. Against actions born out of despair and selfishness, Moti urges his listeners to embrace the ideals of responsibility, common sense and simple decency:

> There are no bad things in the world. … Even what might seem to us most horrible can be rendered endurable by wisdom. (Amis, 1987: 268)
>
> If you make God responsible for situations, you're not responsible for how you should behave in them. But if you love even one other person you must be responsible for this. (Amis, 1987: 86)
>
> I dislike hearing James's romantic sentiments trampled underfoot in this manner. It's right and proper that a young man should hold these views and be respectful towards womankind and so on. (Amis, 1987: 83)

Death's nobody's enemy. Your enemy's the same as everybody else's. Your enemy is fear, plus ill feelings, bad feelings of all descriptions. Such as selfishness, and not wanting to be deprived of what comforts you, and greed, and arrogance, and above all belief in your own uniqueness and your own importance. All these bad feelings come from considering yourself first (Amis, 1987: 268).

Moti embodies to a great extent a sort of wisdom and balanced attitude towards life and death discernable in eastern religious and philosophical thought and in this sense the indication that he is a Buddhist is neither coincidental nor devoid of importance for understanding the character and his relationship with the other characters. While the others present a nihilistic, specifically western view of the world, one in which the world seems devoid of meaning, purpose, Moti serves the purpose of balancing this perspective and counteracting it with the specifically eastern spirituality and respect for the workings of this world and the intrinsic meaning of life and death. Death is not only unavoidable and serves a purpose; it is also necessary and should be accepted as the inseparable conclusion to life.

Although his point of view is not necessarily religious but compatible with religion, Moti provides a counterbalance to the pessimistic views most clearly propounded by James, a character who seems consciously intended by Amis as a contrast to Moti. He is the one character who seems to be fully satisfied with life and who presents no dysfunctional symptoms in his relationship with his peers. Except for Catherine, he is the most sensitive and thoughtful person in the book, one who considers not just himself but all those he meets.

Despite the characters' pessimism and the occurrence of deadly accidents throughout the novel, the tone of the *Anti-Death League* is far from prevailingly negative. Amis is always on the lookout for the intrusion of comic elements into the sad and oppressive world he has created. Although death is felt and experienced by his characters, the comic dimension of any situation is still present although in a much more discreet manner than in his earlier novels. Perhaps what Amis is trying to do is to make us remember that there is a relationship between tragedy and comedy: "When people are dying, you can't really grin and be wildly amused but there are bound to be some funny things in it" (Salwak, 1992: 149).

Brian Leonard is basically a comical character and there are plenty of scenes in which he is involved and which should produce laughter, often at Brian's expense. Amis wrote that "Brian is my favourite character in the book because of his naiveté. He is a chivalrous fool" (Salwak, 1992: 149). He is the camp's intelligence officer and primarily his job is to catch presumed spies. He is foolish and overly trusting of the wrong people. His psychological approach to counter-espionage, along with his vanity, requires that he continuously reveals what his mission is, rather than hiding it. Ironically his incompetence is the main reason his superiors chose him for this job. In the end he learns that he has been used by British intelligence and that instead of being the pursuer of the spies, he was in one sense the bait and in another sense, the unwilling collaborator. In the novel Leonard is set against the odious doctor Best. The clash between these two characters provides comedy very similar to the one in *Lucky Jim*.

Dr. Best is a psychiatrist at a nearby hospital who has treated both Max Hunter for alcoholism and Catherine Casement for madness. He believes that the troubles perceived by people are not real and his view on the human psyche is a reductionist one. According to him Max Hunter's problem is that he is a repressed homosexual even though his sexual orientation is known to everyone and is openly acknowledged, and as for Catherine Casement, her real problem is that she is a lesbian. At one point he almost rapes Lucy Hazell, and then assigns her discomfort to her own sexual shortcomings. The doctor's cruelty and total lack of ethics both as a man and as a psychiatrist are emphasized by his medical practices that instead of seeking to alleviate the patient of his suffering and trying to cure him, accelerate his mental disintegration:

> That was done by one of our paranoiacs, as occupational therapy originally.
>
> It worked very well from that point of view, in the sense that as soon as he'd finished it his personality suffered rapid and complete disintegration. We couldn't allow him anywhere near a chisel now. … Long before the human mind became an object of scientific study it was recognized that abnormal mental states were highly communicable, not to say contagious, and I've often admired the instinctive good sense of those early practitioners who, without any body of theory to assist them, knew empirically that, by throwing together raving lunatics and those who were merely disturbed – as in Bedlam and other such mad-houses – they were encouraging the latter type of patient to make his psychic shift and bring the real nature of his illness into the open. (Amis, 1987: 153)

Best is one of the worst characters in Amis's fiction, the first of his portraits of dangerous and abusive psychiatrists, a fundamentally amoral character who is limited in intellect and has no real consideration for his fellow human beings. Instead of using his knowledge and the authority emanating from his chosen profession to do good and significantly change the lives of those who are his patients for the better, he uses his power for abuse and destruction. James Churchill calls him "probably about as bad as a man can get" (Amis, 1987: 228). He is eventually identified as the Chinese spy, beaten up and arrested, even though, he is in fact innocent.

Some interesting parallels can be drawn between the evil doctor and the clumsy Brian Leonard. Both of them exhibit an acute lack of real insight when it comes to other people and the exertion of their own professions. Almost invariably Best's patients are diagnosed to be latent homosexuals even when they are obviously openly gay and this automatism of thought leads us to the conclusion that the doctor is intellectually limited on the one hand, and on the other hand manifests a deep rooted tendency to ridicule and debase his patients. For his part, Brian is suspicious of everybody, except the real spy, for whom he provides easy access to his secret papers. He relies as blindly on the jargon-filled technical manuals of phylactology as Best upon his psychiatric journals.

The main stylistic innovation in the novel, and a clear departure from Amis's previous work, is the dynamics between horror and laughter, and the way each is used to emphasize the other by contrast but also by a necessary cohabitation. Sometimes disturbing scenes are alleviated by the portrayal of random and predominantly cheerful activities. The discussions regarding death, evil, and insanity in the first three scenes are followed by the humorous scene of Brian dressing and preparing for his day's routine. During the testing of an atomic rifle, news of Catharine's malignancy and of Brian's exasperating search for a spy is counter pointed by doctor Best's comic hide-and-seek game and by Ross-Donaldson's game of piquet while drinking champagne. A light-hearted moment with Max in the hospital is followed by a depressing scene between doctor Best and Catherine.

Despite its overall gloomy and depressing atmosphere the novel ends on a lighter tone and several positive events provide some basis for hope. James does not despair and dies and Catherine's cancer is curable. The evil Dr. Best is defeated. Brian loses his job, but he wins the love of Lucy, thus making up for all the humiliation he experienced earlier in the novel. The clergyman without faith, no longer thinks of prayer as a telephone call to nowhere, and during a visit to Lucy's library, he has the good fortune to find the lost score of an eighteenth-century English composer named Thomas Roughhead. Willie assembles a trio and prepares to give the first performance of the piece 150 years after its composition. And the fearful plan called Operation Apollo by which millions would be infected with a disease combining the contagiousness of pneumonic plague with the agonies of rabies is a hoax as well. Although the complex issues related to God, religion, death and morality are not solved; Amis nevertheless concludes his novel with the resurrection of hope and optimism in the troubled lives of his protagonists.

The Anti-Death League is one of Amis's most controversial novels. Over the years since its publication it has been variously denounced as "trashy", philosophically soft, "querulous and shrill", so featureless as to merit only a "resounding yawn". However in the majority of reviews it has also been defended as a successful work: balanced, profound, thought-provoking. Martin Green calls the book "important in Amis's career" because of the "major themes" it tackles:

> Those themes can be defined as anger at death and suffering; rebellion against God and against any scheme of ideas which offers to explain the universe and its moral economy; and feeling for the beauty and pathos of those

> structures in which men huddle together to create the order and kindness they fail to find outside – notably the army and the church. (Salwak, 1992: 152)

James Giding, on the other hand, argues that:

> The novel lacks Amis's usual sense of unity and deft skill. At times, in the depiction of the love scenes, the novel is simply sentimental. At other times, it becomes just a defence of the establishment as the surest way to handle the complexities and mysteries of death. What sense of violence is left over, not assimilated into the perspective of the novel, spins out into characteristic farce at the end of the novel. (Salwak, 1992: 152)

The serious themes that Amis treats in his novel represent a decisive step forward in his career as a writer but also mirror a profound crisis Amis was going through at that time, a crisis born out of change. He changed his relationship to Hilly with the one to Jane. Although the tender, almost providential love between Jim and Catherine is a homage to what he was experiencing in those initial moments with Jane, the characters' pessimism, their lack of direction and their nihilistic attitude towards life and God, as opposed to Moti's balanced views and his optimism, reflect Amis's own contradictory emotional and mental states at that point. The depressive states, accompanied by a tendency towards the suppression of vitality (brought about by a fundamental and irreversible change in his life) are eventually counterbalanced by a celebration of existence and of optimism, fuelled by his love for Jane.

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Pamfil Şeicaru's Literary Portrait

Andrei Ando*

Abstract:
The aim of this article is to forward critical insight into the depictions of Pamfil Seicaru's complex personality; whether portrayed as publicist, public speaker or politician he is the subject of at least 14 literary works by Ion Agârbiceanu, Liviu Rebreanu, Cezar Petrescu, Marin Preda, Radu Tudoran, Tudor Muşatescu, Mihail Sebastian. Depending on the historical period and its relevancy for the directions and trends of Romanian literature, the works were grouped as follows: a) 1930-1945 – Ion Agârbiceanu, Liviu Rebreanu, Cezar Petrescu, Mihail Sebastian; b) 1945 – the '60s – Tudor Muşatescu, Cezar Petrescu; c) the '70s – Marin Preda, Radu Tudoran. One of the main sources of information for the present study is Silviu Angelescu's almost exhaustive endeavour dedicated the literary portrait.
Keywords: pamphlet, literary character, behaviour, motivation, name

Even if the writers we talk about knew Şeicaru personally or, at least, they had seen him, it is interesting to reproduce the impression which the journalist produces on his contemporaries. One of the first writing on Pamfil Şeicaru, drafted in volume, is a fate irony, a pamphlet written by a certain Ştefan Florescu. The portrait uses by the writers we dwelt previously fixed in the readers' imagination. The feeling of strength and energy is given by the "strong feet", "well-built body", "short but vigorous" neck. Nevertheless, the really "imposing" head is the main element of the portrait–crossed-eyes look, "long, black, curly hair" (Florescu, 1929: 7–8) Merciless is the portrait made by N.D. Cocea, a pamphleteer of the time as feared as Şeicaru, in the volume *On the road to the new Damascus* (*Pe drumul noului Damasc)*. All the clichés on the Şeicaru's origins are introduced, and the author added his personal note, a memorable portrait: "His twofold origin of gypsy camp member and suburbanite could be read on his face, gestures, habits. He was making suds at the mouth when shouting, swallowing the thick and black lips, looking like two leeches. His eyes were coming out of his head like two onions. He was grabbing with both hands everything which was falling under them: allowances, subventions, decorations, farms, empty lands,

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cement, brick, iron from Reşiţa or German rotaries. He was swallowing everything" (Florescu, 1996: 6).

This imposing head "decorating" the body, as sarcastically noted Ştefan Florescu, is almost always used as an essential "part" of the portrait. Filipovici had a "genial head", "curly hair", "protruding forehead", "superb lion mane"; Hortolomeu – "pitchy moustache", "bulging eyes"; Pahonţu–"thick eyebrows", "black hair", "wide forehead"; Răcaru – "big rugged head", "short thick neck", "long black hair, tousled and uncombed", "wide forehead", "staring" eyes, crosseyed; Zopârţan – "big plump face", "tangled, shaggy hair"; Hristodorescu – thick eyebrows, lion-like mane, green-staring eyes; Vladim – "haughty forehead", "lion mane". We also explain the absence of physical references at Alcaz and Ţincoca characters by a variation in the characters technique at Cezar Petrescu. Even Patriciuis not characterised physically, he lacks a portrait also by the author's desire to use the modern literary technique of concentration on the character's motivation and not on the physical description, as it was traditionally done.

Out of the three portrait gallery (neutral, caricature-portrait; encomium-portrait), it is obvious that it was opted for the second option of caricaturising the character, even not exacerbated, just to suggest certain physical treats, as we are going to see.

Following Tomaşevski's design which suggested the identification of a character by three elements – onomastic (characterisation), masks[1] (external descriptions, clothing) and vocabulary, we move to the speech analyse of Şeicaru's literary avatars.

Generally, the characters are characterised by verbiage. Alcazis talkative, babbler, gossipy. Ţincoca is the demagogue who threatens and seduces the masses, his speech may be adjusted to the audience; depending on the situation he may shout, offend, threaten, all in an amalgamated process where one is not aware if "he gets other drunk or he gets himself drunk" by the words?". Borcea's language may be bombastic, uplifting, precious, depending on his interests, but the purpose is always personal, cynical; versatile, he knows how to get the attention of an academic teacher, shouts at his subordinates and janitors, threatens or retracts in the negotiations with the millionaire Bucşan. There are also good speakers Hristodorescu, able to animate the masses by oratory and well-chosen and formulated slogans, Vladim, a "huger and vehement orator".

[1] In Latin, the term *persona* named the mask worn by actors on stage.

The language aggressiveness is used in personal relations (Zălaru speaks briefly, almost barking to his employees, whom he offends dirty, like always dictating; Hristodorescu and Răcaru, the same; Alcaz addresses to the waiter with the Caragiale'sword "miserable"), but also publicist-like (Pahonțu even proposes a definition of the pamphlet, just likeȘeicaru, when he says that "between violence and cursing is the difference between academy and the gypsy camp"; Zălaru loves the invective; Răcaruis aggressive and polemist – "writes and swears"; Zopârțanis the "terror"). The general image is of oratoric avalanche hiding intentions wished to be dissimulated.

Sometimes, the characters use elevated quotations such as Filipovici, who quotes from classic and modern authors, Răcaru with quotations from the preferred polemist, Leon Daudet. By far, Pahonțu's speech is the most elevated, more intellectualised, more rich in ideas. The same could be accounted for Vladim, only that, in this case, the character does not seem plausible, the ideological divagations and perorations on social justice, Marxism, revolution, etc. seem to be forcedly introduced by the author.

These characters' entirebehaviour suggest strength, energy, impetus, interior restlessness: Țincoca is of "perpetual agitation", causing physical fright inclusively by his verbal charges; Alcazis a *perpetuum mobile*, infinitely oscillating between Capșa, editorial office and Parliament; Zopârțanis "unsettled, barbarian and passionat spirit"; Hristodorescu has a volcano humour; Vladim, an "energetic", "virile" behaviour. Most of the time the surplus of energy causes uncontrolled outbursts, as it happens with Țincoca, who has "spasmodicoutbursts".

A transfer of energy takes place between the manager and the newspaper, most often translated into an unusual aggressiveness: the *Voința* program, conceptualised by Alcaz, resumes to "attack and energy"; the same, Pahonțu's *România* is violent, understanding by violence the "natural attribute of the interior impetus"; Zopârțan's *Vatra Veche* is a revolver-journal; *Conștiința națională* owned by Zălaruintends to hit "where it has"; and, finally, the journal *Pământul* unmask, slanders and contains caricatures of "ferocious" cruelty. Hristodorescuencourages the reporters to eliminate their opponents according to the principles "Hit him in the head!", "Cut in fresh meat!"

The Pahonțu lofty walking, his energy and enthusiasm unite in the desire to change the world, the surroundings seems to him to be suffocating, "impetus killer", it is an encomium of the lofty youth, of the exaltation specific for that age. The initial energy turns gradually to verbal violence bias the journal, and then in physical violence, by the movement of chums whom he supports. The energy and the force become tyrannical, suffocating the other characters: Alcazbeats his fist on the table, telling his rebel subordinates, “In here, I am the master!”; the same behaviour is for the intimidating Zălaru.

Most often the managerial office is the location where the characters are placed. The financial welfare is suggested, sometimes even the snobbism. At Filipovici, the walls are decorated with portraits of Miss, whileatIorguHortolomeu, the politicians’ caricaturised portraits are on the walls. It is the “collector’s” perversity, holding pieces, who establishes with his collection a personal relation, who is feeding from the “pieces” which become his creation, setting relations of possessor and possessed object between them. Zălaru’s office is of intellectual impostor, snob and blackmailer where, at a certain point, there are in one place volumes over volumes, works of art, one iron safe suggesting the capitalisation of the journal dishonest income. After three years of journal intense activity of the journal, Alcazbuys a villa in the Filipescu Park, with luxury furniture and works of art. Țincoca is the only one living at the hotel, accumulating debts, totally not interested by the way he lives, being obsessed with the politics and the power achieved by it.

The characters’ motivation is precise. Most often it is indicated by a short sentence-like phrase. Țincoca lives only for politics while Filipovici is strictly interested in the journal success by any means (“the audience buys it”). Classical upstarts are Alcaz, Hortolomeu, Hristodorescu, to whom the dehumanising wish for earnings is added (“Pay me to keep quiet! Pay me not to attack!”), Vladim (“the secret is you to sculpture your statue while you are alive”) and Zălaru (“I want to succeed by any cost!... I want to go up). In exchange, Pahonțu starts his adventure as character like an idealist, concerned by the social justice, wishing for a new country, and then interested in his own destiny (“My star is rising!”), and in the end, he arrives to have just one purpose in his life, his relationship with Cristiana.

The characters’ names are suggestive just in few cases. One element of realism is at Pahonțu, who is indicated by his real name, Popescu. In an effort to transform his personality by changing his name, Vlad becomes Vladim, though the surname was Străvolniceanu, suggesting an old, peasant but noble lineage which the young upstart abandons. At Hartular Hristodorescu, his nickname Șperțular Șperțulărescu (Bribelar Bribesmith) ends up to be used as name. Pantelimon Răcaru and Bartolomeu Zălaruare the most transparent references to Pamfil Șeicaru, both with reference to professions – răcar (crabs-catcher), the one who caught crabs, and zălar, the one who makes armours, just as şeicar/şăicarmeans pontonier.

As for the time of the characters’ first entry in the work, the introduction,it is only for Pahonțu where we can notice an exception.

Though he is the character around whom the epical thread is woven, Pahonțuis introduced later on for an increased effect, but also to suggest the differences between him and the other character, the exemplary destiny which this young man has, who initially is refusing the high society. For the rest, the characters are introduced since the beginning, like Vladim, or gradually according the ranks of secondary characters.

Another method for identification with the person Pamfil Șeicaru is the reference to the publicist profession. Without exception, the characters are presented as members of this branch, in various stages of the career: in the beginning Alcaz is political reporter, author of small articles and chronicles, then he ends up running his own journal through which he gets rich; Filipovici, ex night reporter, arrives the manager of the first illustrated successful magazine in the media; Țincoca is already at the top of the social hierarchy, deputy, journal manager, and continues his ascent as minister; Hortolomeu is journal manager, educated in Paris; Pahonțu is a polemist without journal, a deputy's secretary, and then journal manager; Răcaru, journal manager; Zopârțan, corresponding editor, then manager of political journal, candidate in general balloting; Borcea, journal manager; Zălaru, journal manager; Hristodorescu, journal manager; Patriciu, journal manager.

The past is suggested only in case of some characters, but as social *pattern* the modest origin can be identified: Pahonțu comes from a peasant family, embarrassed by this at the moment of his turning; Zălaru comes from a modest family, a laundrywoman and a gypsy; Hristodorescu's family was established by a horse dealer; and Vladim's parents were plowmen.

As it can be noticed, there is a pattern which partial or total features are respected by the authors. The possibilities of Șeicaru's identificationwith the mentioned characters are multiple: direct identification (by proper nouns and descriptions, physical portrait) and indirect ones (actions, emotions, biographical elements, the myth "floor and blackmail", the professional activity etc).

Paradoxally, Șeicaru ends to be type of character – of the blackmailing journalist, polemist, verbally aggressive, getting rich by dishonest practices – representative for the Romanian society for the period between the world wars on which he himself had big reserves and which he criticised in multiple editorials and speeches (the imperfection of the Romanian democratic regime, also suggested by own sympathies for the Italian and French fascisms, was one of the journalist's preferred subjects).

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LINGUISTICS, STYLISTICS AND TRANSLATION STUDIES

La proximidad lingüística entre idiomas como arma de doble filo. El porqué de la necesidad de una gramática contrastiva español rumano

Alberto Madrona Fernández*

Linguistic Proximity between Languages as a Double-edged Sword. Arguments for a Contrastive Spanish-Romanian Grammar

Abstract:
This article presents the advantages that the proximity between languages has for teachers and students, if both are aware of them. At the same time, it highlights some of the disadvantages, such as false friends and fossilized errors, especially between Portuguese and Romanian students of the Spanish language. After reviewing some of the most recent definitions of false friends, the article examines the opinion of some scholars: managing lexical false friends is not so difficult as to manage structural ones. Consequently, the article goes on to argue for a contrastive grammar Spanish-Romanian grammar and discusses the most original features of the book written by Madrona & Pisot (2009), *Diferencias de usos gramaticales entre el español y el rumano* [*Differences of grammatical uses between Spanish and Romanian*].
Keywords: proximity between languages, false friend, fossilized error, contrastive grammar, Romanian language

Como doctor en Filología Románica, siempre me han apasionado las relaciones existentes entre las lenguas neolatinas, primas hermanas todas ellas, si bien cada una muestre su carácter y marcada personalidad. Hace ya seis años que arribé a Portugal, tras una estancia de ocho años en Oriente Medio, y durante este tiempo he tenido el privilegio de enfrentarme en primera persona a los pros y contras de esa afinidad lingüística recién referida; en el caso luso no influye apenas la semejanza lingüística, debiendo estar muy atentos a los contenidos socioculturales, como intenté reflejar en el artículo *Não sejas caramelo… ¿Qué contenido sociocultural se esconde tras este eslogan publicitario que sirve en Portugal para anunciar vuelos a numerosas ciudades españolas?* (Madrona, 2014). Curiosamente, también tuve la infinita fortuna de vivir seis años en la vibrante Rumanía de la década de

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los 90 (concretamente de 1994 a 2000), considerándome desde entonces embajador de este país allá donde voy.

Ya en 2005, advertía de la existencia de gramáticas contrastivas español-lengua extranjera para varios idiomas, no así para el rumano, y presenté un artículo en el que dejar constancia de los papeles sea del profesor sea del aprendiente a la hora de aprovecharse de la similitud lingüística, que consideraba de todos modos un *cuțit de două taişuri* (Madrona, 2005: 63). Durante aquella experiencia, como profesor de español a hablantes de rumano en diferentes instituciones públicas y privadas del país (Liceo bilingüe Miguel de Cervantes, Instituto Cervantes y Universidad de Bucarest, así como Universidad de Craiova), y con alumnos de edades y proveniencias muy variadas, empecé, como he mencionado, a percibir que esa proximidad lingüística podía suponer una espada de Damocles: se trataba en general de alumnos que avanzaban rápido, pero con una gran tendencia a caer en el falso amigo y en la fosilización del error. El caso extremo, probablemente, es el de los lusófonos. Tomando como referente el *Marco Común Europeo para las Lenguas* (MCER), bromeo siempre con los estudiantes portugueses, diciéndoles que "el problema" con ellos es que llevan en un solo *kit* los seis niveles del *Marco*, pero con lagunas en cada uno de los seis. No sería propiamente el caso de los hablantes de rumano, porque la proximidad lingüística con el español no es tanta.

Partiendo de mi experiencia docente (y de vida, en definitiva, por lo anteriormente expuesto), en el siguiente artículo deseo indagar brevemente en los motivos que me llevaron a publicar, junto con Rafel Pisot, el libro *Diferencias de usos gramaticales entre el español y el rumano* (2009). La primera parte tomará como base algunas ideas (ya tratadas por mí en otros artículos que iré mencionando a lo largo del trabajo) sobre definiciones recientes de los falsos amigos y la importancia de tenerlos en cuenta cuando se trabaja con lenguas próximas, como son el español y el rumano. La defensa por parte de varios autores de que el obstáculo principal no suele ser el léxico, sino el estructural, me dará pie para presentar las ventajas (y originalidad) de un trabajo como el que realizaron Madrona y Pisot (2009), titulado *Diferencias de usos gramaticales entre el español y el rumano*.

La semejanza entre lenguas, ¿facilita el aprendizaje?

En Madrona (2014) ya me hacía eco de un interesante proyecto auspiciado por la Universidad de Aarhus (Dinamarca) en 2001, que así parecería atestiguarlo. Su coordinador, Jack Schmidely (2001: 15), afirmaba: "un danés, un sueco y un noruego pueden entenderse entre ellos hablando cada uno su propia lengua. Un aprendizaje previo bastante simple permite observar, entre estas tres lenguas, parecidos evidentes y diferencias sistemáticas". Esta intercomprensión entre nórdicos (exceptuando el islandés que, por su secular aislamiento, no ha evolucionado como el resto de idiomas y resulta opaco para el resto de hablantes) es un hecho que yo mismo pude atestiguar durante mi estancia de dos años en la Universidad de Reikiavik (Islandia). Los autores del citado estudio se preguntaban si entre las lenguas románicas (obviando en un primer estadio el rumano y centrándose en el portugués, español, francés e italiano), se daría el mismo proceso de intercomprensión, conscientes de que las diferencias que separan a los idiomas neolatinos son sin duda mayores que las que acontecen entre los escandinavos, y con la publicación del estudio *De una a cuatro lenguas: del español al portugués, al italiano y al francés* intentaban demostrar que sí se podía dar ese mismo proceso de intercomprensión, por lo menos en lo referente a la competencia lectora.

Carlucci y Díaz (2007: 160) defienden la misma postura que yo, tras mi experiencia de muchos años de enseñanza en diferentes entornos lingüísticos, dispares entre sí, incluyendo no solo los extremos, Rumanía y Portugal, sino también como ya se ha mencionado Islandia, o Egipto e Israel (es decir, tanto países de lenguas románicas como nórdicas o semíticas): "La semejanza que existe entre lenguas cercanas y emparentadas -como es el caso del español, el portugués y el italiano- facilita su aprendizaje". Acepto sin reservas la idea, pero, como estas mismas autoras resaltan, con un riesgo a veces no tan evidente para los estudiantes: "Al mismo tiempo se convierte en una trampa y en una fuente de errores […]. Esta afinidad, además de enmascarar el conocimiento real que los estudiantes tienen de la lengua extranjera, […] produce interferencias lingüísticas que, con frecuencia, dan como resultado la creación de un […] híbrido" (Ibídem). No en vano, habiendo sido docente de español en esos países, son muchas las ocasiones en las que me he referido a la interlengua de los alumnos con los términos de *rumañol* o *portuñol*. Lo mismo defiende Neta (2000: s.p.) en un interesante artículo que lleva por título *Aprender español es fácil porque hablo portugués*. Y resalta lo que parece dictar la lógica, que si bien "por un lado las semejanzas hacen que los lusohablantes avancen más rápidamente", no debemos descuidarnos, ya que "por otro, son también muy constantes los errores interlinguales y su posible fosilización"; pienso que lo aplicable a los lusófonos lo es también, aunque sin duda en menor medida, a los hablantes de rumano.

Son varios los autores (Ceolin, 2003; Humblé, 2005; Carlucci y Díaz, 2007) que reclaman la atención de los docentes, por las implicaciones que lo afirmado anteriormente presenta no solo desde el punto de vista de la didáctica, sino también para el campo de la traducción, por ejemplo. Sanz (2007: 9) llama la atención sobre el hecho de que adquirir una lengua, especialmente en sus estadios intermedios o superiores, requiere, claro, de un gran esfuerzo, pero “para hablar una lengua extranjera siendo nativo de una lengua próxima, va a ser preciso una gran dosis de atención para mantener ‘a raya’ y a alguna distancia la lengua materna, que está continuamente presente”. El artículo de esta autora se refiere fundamentalmente a los lusófonos pero, repito, por mi experiencia personal la teoría puede aplicarse sin ningún género de dudas a otros hablantes de lenguas románicas cuando estudian español. *Iată* los falsos amigos.

En este sentido, Domínguez (2001: s.p.) crea un paralelismo entre ‘unidades iguales-facilidad-transferencia positiva’ y ‘unidades distintas-dificultad-transferencia negativa o interferencia’, ateniéndose a las afirmaciones de Lado (1957, cit. Domínguez, 2001) sobre la transferencia de estructuras de una lengua a otra. Sin embargo, puede apreciarse que los falsos amigos no siguen el razonamiento, visto que se crea un nuevo paralelismo: ‘unidades iguales-aparente facilidad-transferencia negativa’ (Carlucci y Díaz 2007: 161).

Definición de falso amigo y propuestas de organización

Como es sabido, el término apareció por primera vez en 1928 de la mano de Koessler y Derocquigny en su libro *Les faux-amis ou les trahisons du vocabulaire anglais*. Conviene, en este momento, acercarse a algunas definiciones que hoy normalmente se manejan de lo que se entiende por falsos amigos. Así, para Montero (1996: 190 cit. Ceolin, 2003: 40), son “las palabras que, por igualdad o semejanza ortográfica y/o fonética parecen a simple vista fáciles de entender, traducir o interpretar, pero que acaban por ser auténticas trampas para lectores y traductores” (Trad. mía.). Para Carita (1998: 31), se trata de “las palabras que, bajo una forma gráfica idéntica, muy semejante o fonéticamente próximas, inducen con frecuencia al error al utilizador por tener, a pesar de esa proximidad, significados completamente diferentes, en cada una de las lenguas en análisis” (Trad. mía.).

Por las definiciones dadas se aprecia inmediatamente que nos hallamos ante un campo amplio y complejo, de ahí que muchos estudiosos hayan intentado dividir los falsos amigos en diferentes categorías; presentaré a continuación en un breve resumen algunas de las propuestas, destacando aquello que para mí es más relevante en el caso de la relación rumano-español.

Desde un punto de vista léxico, Neta (2000: s.p.) habla de vocablos que “comparten entre las dos lenguas semejanzas parciales ya sean gráficas, semánticas o fonológicas. Parciales porque presentan uno o varios rasgos que divergen en las dos lenguas, produciéndose por lo tanto una aparente equivalencia”. Ceolin (2003) los divide en *fonéticos* (“palabras que no coincidiendo en la ortografía, coinciden o pueden coincidir (por una pronunciación equivocada) en la fonética”) y *ortográficos* (“palabras que coincidiendo en ambas lenguas en la ortografía, no coinciden o pueden no coincidir en la pronunciación”). Neta (2000: s.p.), habla de *heterotónicos*, idénticas en las dos lenguas la forma gráfica y/o fónica (igual o semejante) y el significado; la diferencia estriba en que presentan el acento tónico ubicado en diferente sílaba. Ofrezco a continuación una lista de ejemplos entre el español y el rumano, proveniente de Madrona y Pisot (2009: 13):

acad**e**mia	*academ**ie***	in**ú**til	*inut**il***
atm**ó**sfera	*atmosf**e**ră*	kil**ó**metro	*kilom**e**tru*
bar**ó**metro	*barom**e**tru*	m**a**gia	*mag**ie***
c**á**ndido	*cand**id***	micr**ó**fono	*microf**o**n*
c**á**tedra	*cat**e**dră*	n**e**utro	*ne**u**tru*
c**é**lula	*cel**u**lă*	n**ó**mada	*nom**a**d*
com**e**dia	*comed**ie***	oc**é**ano	*oce**a**n*
di**á**logo	*dial**og***	**ó**rgano	*org**a**n*
dif**í**cil	*dific**il***	par**é**ntesis	*parant**e**ză*
éxtasis	*ext**a**z*	p**é**ndulo	*pend**ul***
farm**a**cia	*farmac**ie***	p**ó**stumo	*post**u**m*
f**é**rtil	*fert**il***	pr**ó**logo	*prol**og***
f**ú**nebre	*fun**e**bru*	sat**é**lite	*satel**it***

De cualquier forma, Ceolin (2003: 47) afirma que: “Esta definición y tipología de los falsos amigos parece fijarse solo en el aspecto léxico-semántico, es decir, en el aspecto exterior del vocablo e en su significado” (Trad. mía.). García (2003: 45) da un paso más en este sentido, al defender que casi todos los autores se centran apenas en las palabras y se olvidan, al clasificar los falsos amigos, de otras lexías complejas como las expresiones idiomáticas. Así, la autora propone una clasificación de falsos amigos aplicable a lexías simples y complejas y para ello parte del concepto de falso amigo no sólo a nivel semántico sino, lo que a mi parecer es sumamente importante, también sintáctico y pragmático.

Falsos amigos estructurales

Una vez analizado en el apartado anterior algunos ejemplos de la dificultad que supone trabajar con los falsos amigos de uso, deseo hacer mención de otro de los aspectos aún poco estudiados y que suscita bastantes dificultades entre los aprendientes rumanos de español (y viceversa), por mi propia experiencia en su momento: los llamados falsos amigos estructurales; en palabras de Ceolin (2003: 47), que no deja de resaltar algo que yo también defiendo: “El problema de los falsos amigos léxicos es identificarlos y el de los estructurales es dominarlos” (Trad. mía.). Del mismo modo, Montero (2007: 439) se refiere a ellos en idénticos términos: “En muchas ocasiones los falsos amigos estructurales pueden ser tanto o más ‘peligrosos’ que el vocabulario propiamente dicho a la hora de la enseñanza/aprendizaje/traducción”. La hipergeneralización suele ser, así, frecuente fuente de errores: “¿Quién no ha usado alguna vez una palabra en italiano, portugués o español que creía que era correcta y se ha encontrado con la sorpresa de que no existía?” (Carlucci y Díaz 2003: 174). Para el caso rumano, recuerdo con nitidez un par de ejemplos de alumnos míos: *‘rayo’ [quería decir ‘paraíso’] (<rum. *rai*) y *’deserto’ [quería decir ‘postre’] (<rum. *desert*); tales estudiantes pensaron, con lógica: si rum. *lup* > esp. lob**o**; la hipergeneralización debería, según esa lógica, funcionar de igual manera en tantos vocablos masculinos terminados en consonante.

Una gramática contrastiva español-rumano

Teniendo en cuenta los peligros sobre los que vengo alertando en este artículo, en especial los de los falsos amigos estructurales, varias editoriales han ido lanzando al mercado gramáticas contrastivas entre el español y una lengua específica (hasta donde sé, y por dar apenas algunos ejemplos, alemán, francés, inglés, chino, rumano, griego moderno, italiano, japonés, polaco y portugués, distribuidos entre las editoriales punteras en la publicación de materiales específicos de ELE como puedan ser Difusión, Edinumen o SGEL, entre otras).

Así, en el año 2009, junto con mi gran amigo Rafael Pisot, profesor del Instituto Cervantes de Bucarest, y por lo tanto conocedor de primera mano de las posibles necesidades de este tipo de material, decidimos proponer a la editorial Edinumen, con la que ambos veníamos colaborando desde hacía tiempo, la publicación de una obra que considerábamos imprescindible. Y que nosotros sepamos, ha sido la única editorial que finalmente ha decidido apostar por la edición de esta gramática contrastiva español-rumano (al menos, así se desprende de la lectura del artículo de Dinică (2014: 148), en el que no aparece citada ninguna otra de estas características). Es de justicia añadir que la obra no hubiera sido posible sin contar con la inestimable ayuda del Dr. Constantin Teodorovici, investigador de la Academia Rumana en el Instituto de Filología Rumana “A. Philippide” de Iaşi.

Decidimos dividir el libro en 11 grandes capítulos, que abarcan las principales categorías gramaticales: desde la pronunciación y ortografía, pasando por el sustantivo, el artículo, el pronombre, el adjetivo, los adjetivos y pronombres numerales, todo el sistema verbal, el adverbio, la preposición, la conjunción para acabar tratando las proposiciones subordinadas, pudiendo, así, realizarse una lectura íntegra de la obra, o bien consultar directamente el capítulo en el que se esté interesado.

Algunas peculiaridades de *nuestra* gramática contrastiva

Una de las características que más nos sorprendió en las así llamadas gramáticas contrastivas entonces existentes, era que en general estaban pensadas solo para el hispanohablante deseoso de iniciar o profundizar el conocimiento de la otra lengua en liza. Pongamos por caso, si se trataba de la conjugación del presente de indicativo aparecía apenas la del español, no la de la lengua extranjera comparada (véase a modo de ejemplo, para el italiano, González y Gómez, 2008: 51); igual suerte corrían todo tipo de irregularidades. Por ello, lo que pretendimos desde el primer momento fue redactar un libro útil no solo a los hispanohablantes sino también a los hablantes del otro idioma, obviamente con conocimientos de español, que deseasen profundizar más en las diferencias gramaticales de esta lengua con la suya. Intentamos conseguir ese propósito presentando el contraste siempre desde la doble perspectiva (al tratar la conjugación verbal, por ejemplo, presentando sea la española que la rumana, tiempo por tiempo, como puede consultarse en Madrona y Pisot, 2009: 64–115). Los contenidos gramaticales aparecen bien desde la perspectiva del español bien desde la del rumano, habiendo traducido igualmente toda la nomenclatura y todos los ejemplos. Asimismo, decidimos resaltar en cuadros aparte contenidos gramaticales que no coincidían en ambas lenguas, para llamar la atención del lector, con la denominación NOTA. Un ejemplo sería (Madrona y Pisot, 2009: 36):

> Un uso particular del rumano es el denominado dativo posesivo. Consiste en el uso de las formas átonas del complemento indirecto con valor posesivo:
> *Mi-am făcut studiile la Madrid* > He realizado mis estudios en Madrid
> *Şi-a împărţit averea la săraci* > Repartió su fortuna entre los pobres.

Otra de las características, como se demuestra en el ejemplo anterior, es que a lo largo de todo el libro, la nomenclatura y ejemplos en rumano aparecen en cursiva, lo que facilita enormemente la lectura y la posibilidad de realizar con un solo golpe de vista el contraste entre ambos idiomas.

Conclusiones

A lo largo de las páginas anteriores he pretendido tratar brevemente los siguientes aspectos, sobre los que se ha basado el artículo:

- la proximidad lingüística entre dos idiomas puede ser un arma de doble filo para los estudiantes, ya que pueden caer fácilmente en el falso amigo y en la fosilización del error;
- tal proximidad lingüística se da entre el español y el rumano, al ser ambas lenguas neolatinas. De ahí, que profesores y estudiantes deban extremar la atención durante el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje, y los traductores en el desempeño de su trabajo;
- son varios los tipos de falsos amigos: están los léxicos (que se pueden clasificar en diferentes categorías, como la fonética o la semántica); y los pertenecientes a una categoría quizá más endiablada, los estructurales, más difíciles de dominar en opinión de varios autores;
- ante la evidencia de ese hecho, varias editoriales españolas han editado gramáticas contrastivas específicas español-lengua extranjera, contando también el rumano con una de estas características, publicada en Edinumen por Madrona y Pisot (2009), con alguna originalidad frente a otras obras similares de circulación en el mercado

Desearía finalizar el artículo citando la idea con la que Dinică (2014: 148) define la gramática contrastiva que aquí hemos presentado, pues se trata de la esencia de lo que hemos defendido en las líneas anteriores: "El estudio de Pisot y Madrona Fernández (2009) sobre las principales diferencias gramaticales entre el español y el rumano sistematiza algunas similitudes lingüísticas que facilitan el aprendizaje de ambas lenguas o, por el contrario, lo dificultan al generar interferencias".

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Translation within TEFL: The Nonprofessional Skill

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Abstract:
With translation used, then banned, then reinstated in TEFL, the mixed expectations employers have from prospective workers about their linguistic competence entail distinct nuances the classroom context takes in what regards translation. Boris Naimushin's concept of a fifth skill has important consequences in the shift from a secondary role of translation in support of the other four skills (reading, writing, listening, and speaking) to a purpose of its own. The paper explores the border zone between professionalized translation and learner's translation starting from Naimushin's hypothesis. It aims to support the use of translation in language teaching while warning on the implications on the labour market of the existence of non-professional translation and translators. The references to Romanian learners reflect some specific aspects in the perception of translation as part of the foreign language experience. The paper also provides a few considerations on the impact of translation on learners of different levels suggesting that, should translation be included as a fifth skill, it should ideally have its own distinct descriptors in correspondence to those of the CEFR, for each level. This is another challenge in distinguishing between professional and learner's translation, but very relevant for employers who specifically want to recruit speakers of other L2 languages for jobs other than professional translation, but involving translation competences.

Keywords: translation, teaching, competence, techniques, skills, level descriptors

Introduction

The rise of new trends in the labour market entails a predictable orientation towards new skills and a more complex profile of employee eligibility, especially in communication. There is a growing need for speakers of foreign languages and, as Guy Cook shows in his book *Translation in Language Teaching* (2010), this need revolves around a very basic service of mediation between two languages at any level of international business. Mediation is a real-life end of using a foreign

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language – at a more or less professional level between translators, interpreters and amateur enthusiasts or simply speakers of English pressed by their job to do some translating on the side. The need for a form of mediation is as old as languages, but formal training in professional translation is very new (after World War Two, in professionally-oriented courses, and later, in the 1990s, as an academic discipline).

So, teachers, companies and language centres do their best to cover this need with language courses in a large variety (for adults, for specific purposes, for translators etc.), with translator training courses, training in communication skills, or even with negotiation packages (i.e., assistance provided by language and translation experts during business negotiation). This reflects the general awareness, today, that using a foreign language is not the same as being a translator – not in the recent sense of the word since the establishment of the legal status of the latter as a distinct profession in its own right, with specific qualifications and standards.

Nevertheless, on the labour market, the expectations regarding employability include translation skills as part of general communication in a second language, especially at B2 level and above – B2 being considered sufficient for business, education and research. Currently, language performance is described in terms of achievement in the four skills: reading, writing, listening and speaking, and language teaching is organized similarly, which makes it easy to standardize international criteria of equivalence between educational programmes in the field of modern languages. The problem stems from the fact that where employers require good knowledge of a second language – often demonstrated by a language certificate, be it an international exam or the company's own language test, they get maybe a good description of the candidate's proficiency detailed in the four skills (language certificates provide different kinds of reports on reading, writing, listening and speaking depending on the institution), but also expect their employees to be able to do some form of translation, either because they do not want to invest in professional translation services, or even despite already having an in-house translator.

Despite the obvious necessity of faithful transcoding between languages, can we include and give equal ranking to translation among the other four traditional skills? It would not be a first: in the past, translation was one of the aims of learning a foreign language. More than just a technique, it demonstrated a student's ability to translate literature, to read and translate critically, and to participate in bilingual negotiations. Translation was not a recognized job, but doing it reflected knowledge of a second language. If one could not do translation, it was the same as not having sufficient knowledge of that language. In today's terms, an efficient effort of language acquisition should build a multi-linguistic competence (Malmkjaer, 1998:1).

But the probability of using translation varies with the learners' needs, in other words, it depends on the learner profile and the type of course. If the course is content-, or task-oriented, it will not place a special emphasis on translation. If we also consider the prerequisites for such an approach, this probability decreases even further. Not all learners of English have a good command of Romanian, even as adults – many of them happen to have fossilized linguistic idiosyncrasies, not many of them are philologically oriented students, not many of them understand or are willing to use metalanguage when learning grammar, few of them have previous experience using a dictionary, and even fewer are able to explain words in Romanian. In other words, most students outside secondary education have little to no experience in intralanguage translation and do not really expect to learn English to function as translators, but only to be able to communicate in English.

Teaching and Translation

Today, the Grammar Translation Method well behind, the focus in teaching a second language is on communication, fluency, comfort, negotiated linguistic accuracy, self-confidence and learner autonomy. The reality of multicultural classes excludes the opportunity of translation, and teachers themselves may not know their students' mother tongue. Most mainstream methods of teaching English do not aim to train students in translation, or even require translation or the use of the mother tongue.

The Grammar-Translation method made translation unpopular as a *teaching* method. Robert Lado, with his book *Language Teaching, a Scientific Approach* (1964), is among the earliest authors who rejects translation in language teaching. Yet, its merit of language awareness (albeit written literary language, and at sentence level, and often aiming for the form as proof of language acquisition) is reappraised today (comparing and contrasting mother tongue and foreign language, reducing interference, easier acquisition, easy identification of language difficulties etc.). Other subsequent methods of teaching give only secondary priority to L1 use in class.

The need for translation in language teaching has reemerged at about the same time as the development of professional training for translators and interpreters, and for the first time with the purpose of mediation. But this is the difficulty in making room for a *fifth skill* in language teaching. In his article, *Translation in Foreign Language Teaching – the Fifth Skill* (2002), Boris Naimushin gives a teacher's perspective. He starts from the generally agreed assumption that being fluent in a foreign language is not the same as being a good translator and proposes to introduce translation as a distinct skill in its own right among the other four. The reality he describes suffers from the drawbacks of the communicative language teaching, namely that teaching a foreign language without any interference of the L1 even at low levels leaves a learner with difficult zones of grammar in the foreign language because he/she cannot imagine a correspondence with more familiar concepts in his/her L1. To make matters worse, the textbooks that follow the communicative approach are designed for an international audience and do not feature translation. This compels learners to interrupt their activities in order to confer with their peers or instructor in their mother tongue (if the teacher can use it too). Then, Naimushin suggests, why not reintroduce translation in a manner that meets the learner's need for L1 use, but does not lead to training in professional translation as they are very different things (Naimushin, 2002: 47–48). There is a relationship between translation and the other skills: basically, to be able to translate does involve good reading/listening and good writing/speaking. In recent terminology, professional translation is the visible result of the translational competence[1]. For non-professionals, that is, in the TEFL context, we refer to the multi-linguistic competence (Malmkjaer, 1998: 1). There are differences between professional translation and that used (and aspired to) in language teaching. One is the idea of level of competence and the corresponding syllabus.

In teaching English as a foreign language, all translation work is subordinated to the syllabi designed for each level of competence and, in fact, for each type of course and learner profile. Professional translator/interpreter training is independent of L2 level syllabi as it presupposes a very good command of the source and target languages, and very good translational competence (Campbell, 1998: 154) – which includes other factors too (the textual competence covers the linguistic component, but the other two components in Campbell's model, disposition and monitoring, cover the translator's endeavour to critically select from specialized domain, jargon, writing/speaking conventions, translation conventions, cultural factors, techniques, medium, purpose etc.).

Then, there's the approach to translation. In teaching English, translation is used to practice certain lexical and grammatical structures

[1] EMT (European Master's in Translation) group, 2009.

in the foreign language (English). Thus, translation is L2 oriented, and the source text in L1 is designed so as to prompt the recognition of the situation in which a structure is used, and the production of that structure. In L2-L1 translation, the text is authentic (albeit adapted to the learner's level) and the purpose of the exercise is, again, to demonstrate understanding of certain structures in L2.

In professional translation, the focus may be on the Source Language (keeping the product as similar to the source as possible), or the Target Language (when the product is meant to serve a particular agenda, and thus is the result of a series of decisions on the amount and quality of information included, style, cultural and linguistic changes, and genre conventions).

The debate about the use of translation in language teaching is ongoing. For example, although she highlights the merits of translation in developing the multi-linguistic competence, Kirsten Malmkjaer, in her book *Translation and Language Teaching* (1998), makes a strong case against using translation in the EFL classroom. The only concession she allows is for EFL teacher training programmes, but not really for EFL learners because it's time-consuming, devoid of practical applicability, a source of errors particularly in the case of word-by-word translation which misleads students into thinking they can extend a particular model of translation to other situations, a bad test for the fours language skills, a barrier against thinking in the foreign language etc. On the other side of the issue, Boris Naimushin supports the use of translation, because the opportunity for *contrastive analysis* of L2 and L1 provides the missing pieces in the foreign language puzzle. Indeed, to identify "systemic and functional equivalents" (Naimushin, 2002: 48) is to reduce the potential for error. This is a powerful argument. If thinking in another language comes from accumulating linguistic automatisms, then contrastive analysis helps consolidate and recover them in case they are forgotten. And contrastive analysis in TEFL is always based on the resources available to the learners at their level of language. The resources usually come from a pre-established syllabus for each level (see the international descriptors for each level, and teacher's handbooks for the syllabus of each level). If we are to accept translation as a fifth skill, it should be possible to get your students to do some form of translation even at very low levels.

Techniques

To move closer to translation as a distinct skill, here are some translation techniques that can be used in class. Techniques of direct translation include literal translation, borrowing and calque. Techniques of oblique translation include modulation, transposition, adaptation, reformulation, and compensation.

For A1 and A2 levels, *literal translation* (word for word) could be used, and *borrowing* (within the limits of the syllabus, see topics and vocabulary – ie, *café*, *hamburger*, some other food items familiar to the learners as coming from their own culture, but now part of international cuisine). The limited range of vocabulary revolves around very familiar topics (one's family, school, daily routine, the home, the workplace). The words are selected from the high-frequency range (very frequently used), and the structures rarely involve building an extended sentence. Another factor is the learners' age. Children are bound to be interested in talking about their school and their favourite subject, whereas adults need frequently used words to talk about their place of origin, work and work place. That means borrowing will probably be more appropriate for A level adults.

Calque is loan translation: the phrase enters English as an already translated item from another language. This concept is better understood in the relationship between the mother tongue and the source language of the calque. Romanian students understand calque occurrences (from French, English, Russian, Hungarian, Italian, Greek etc. – i.e., cultures that have had an influence on local fashion and mores) in Romanian literature. But from the ELT point of view, such occurrences (especially coming from a third language, not English or Romanian) count as non-familiar topics and are, consequently, far beyond the A1 and A2 syllabus. From the *oblique techniques*, *compensation* too has a very limited applicability at low levels. For example, it is a must in the case of degrees of formality between Romanian and English, where the meaning of the pronoun 'you' is supported by the context – which requires special attention on the part of the teacher in preparing the assignment. *Modulation* in early stages can only come as a given lexical item to be learned automatically as it is (e.g., 'Cati ani ai?' – 'How old are you?').

At intermediate levels (B1 and B2) the syllabus indicates a certain degree of independence in communication, a certain degree of flexibility in discourse and implicitly more lexical variety. Independence in communication comes with a series of functions that may be transposed differently in L1 and L2. Illustrative examples taken from the B1 syllabus include "*Adjectives and their connotations*", "*Stating preferences and opinions*", "*Guessing*", "*Advising*", "*Talking about possibility/probability*" etc.. As a consequence, the range of translation techniques widens to cover all the direct ones. From the oblique category, in addition to the other oblique techniques used at A levels, *reformulation/equivalence* can only be used within the range of idioms taught at this level. It must be said that B levels still confine the authenticity of materials and tasks used in class. Learners are exposed to accents other than British (or American), but varieties of English are in fact reserved for higher levels, and B level learners are not expected to produce English utterances in other accents (accent in fact is not actively taught, it is the learner's personal choice). Reformulation is a creative process that depends on the learner's knowledge of the source and target cultures and on his/her ability to manage discourse. *Transposition* (a kind of shift of word class) is very adequate for this level and has in fact been used for a long time in order to make students aware of the lexical and morphological potential of words in contrast to their mother tongue.

For C1 and C2, *adaptation* can be used given the presence of other cultural components in the syllabus – literature, arts, politics, sciences, environmental issues, social issues etc. This technique, even though adequate for this level, demonstrates creative interpretation and intercultural knowledge more than linguistic accuracy, and should not be used as a representative indicator in the assessment of the L2 language. Admittedly, this is the point where professional translator training begins. *Compensation* also requires the learner's ability to rely on the context and cultural factors in order to make up for untranslatable pieces somewhere else in the text.

All these aspects do not necessarily entail that a C2 student who has been practicing the above techniques can actually function as a translator. This only happens after specialized theoretical and practical training. At least in the Romanian system of education, even in the case of intensive and bilingual courses of English, the students do not receive instruction in advanced linguistics (semantics, pragmatics) or in translation theory. If they did, there would probably be a few voices suggesting the necessity of some translation theory in EFL teaching. Naimushin believes this is the case: in his article he suggests using translation (plus some basic translation theory) with students of "various levels of instruction" – though in his class they are all university students, which means they have recently been exposed to the study of language and can handle theories of translation. The exercise he illustrates involves authentic non-edited texts for which students provide a simplified translation to demonstrate they understood the text.

But this is only included in tertiary education. In fact, for the time being, the national curriculum for any level of pre-university English learning does not even include translation as a separate skill besides the traditional four, as the general view of the desired competences in learners has not yet reached the 'multilingual' stage.

However, I do not believe that teaching translation in pre-university schools, up to level B2, has to go that far into the abstract. Naimushin's view is based on the premise that (his) learners are comfortable enough using abstract concepts about the language (L1 and L2). But practice shows that even experienced users of L2 may not know, or be interested in, metalanguage to the extent to which they can justify a certain version of translation, and may in fact have a very weak interest in the theory of translation even though they may be able to convey the meaning. In reality, immigrants (who learn English) can perform a basic type of translation which is not necessary as literal as classroom translation because they automatically adapt to the function, style, register and local conventions of the L2 when they immerse in the L2-speaking environment. They notice[2] all these aspects and test them in an autonomous manner even beyond the limits of their L2 (English) course syllabus. This particular category of students is evidence that translation should be used as early as possible in the study of English. I would add here another example in support of this view: the way linguistic dictionaries of English are different from so-called *Learner's dictionaries*. In the history of learner's dictionaries, A. P. Cowie shows that 'vocabulary control' was the original preoccupation at the root of such an instrument (Cowie, 1999: 15). Language teachers of the 1920s were trying to put together a limited selection of lexical structures to help their students and the efforts of categorizing these structures for teaching purposes were later embodied in dictionaries, which in turn became very complex reference tools with pictures, annexes, multimedia and interactive technologies added to them. So, monolingual learner's dictionaries create the context for noticing and encourage contrastive analysis.

Classroom Activities

In terms of *classroom activities*, some of them have already been used as a way to teach the other four skills. Guy Cook (Cook, 2010: 127–141) makes a few suggestions, for example:

- close translation (to transmit *ideas* as closely as possible);
- word-for-word translation to emphasise the differences between common utterances in two languages;
- analysis of video subtitles;
- sentence building, where alternate students add a word to a short sentence, and translate it in turn.

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[2] In his article *Seeing what they meant: transcribing as a route to noticing*, Tony Lynch refers to noticing as a factor enhancing language awareness (Lynch, 2001: 25).

Only the last can be used at lower levels, as all the others involve good knowledge of both languages and cultures, and communication on complex topics. The most difficult is critical appraisal of video subtitles. In Romania, despite newer trends (dubbed cartoons mostly), most TV programmes are broadcast in the original language and subtitled. Learners have a real opportunity to think of the appropriacy of the translation in the subtitle, and this has been a popular method of learning a foreign language regardless the age. In other countries, this opportunity is not as frequent outside the classroom as many programmes are dubbed. In the absence of constant exposure to subtitled programmes, it is difficult to raise the learner's interest in subtitling – watching a dubbed movie is a different kind of receptive activity, it excludes simultaneous reading. But no matter the opportunity itself, the activity is a bit ambitious in the absence of pre-established criteria for analysis, which means it is necessary to complement the task with some theoretical explanations.

In the reality of the classroom, just like concepts about grammar, most theory about translation can be avoided with careful wording of the teacher's instructions. Examples of translation activities (for individual, pair or group work):

- dictionary research
- finding a simpler phrase
- mime play
- identifying the correct translation (either in L1 or in L2)
- role play on a given script, where one participant is a foreign traveler and one is the local (or even a third party as a translator or even interpreter, as long as the script keeps to the adequate level of listening and speaking)
- guessing the meaning of words from the context
- giving the gist in the other language
- paraphrasing
- giving a definition or a description for a word in the other language
- word-by-word translation, especially in learning grammar structures
- picture mediation: L2 phrase + picture = L1 phrase (for reformulation/equivalence)
- changing the order of words (for transposition), ie. numbering/arranging them etc.

It is worth mentioning a special difficulty in using translation with EFL classes. We start from the premise that students are familiar with intralanguage translation in L1, which in reality is just a hypothesis. Another hypothesis is that they can negotiate meaning in L1. Ideally, we should first make sure that learners are able to explain, define, describe, clarify, synthetize, summarize, or reformulate information in their own language at least, if not in both L1 and L2, before attempting translation – or at least this is the case of professional translation. Unfortunately, in Romanian lessons this does not happen. This is due to the fact that, typically, Romanian students do not study Romanian grammar after the eighth form (age 15) and, in the years they do study the grammar of Romanian, they are very rarely required to do certain activities designed to train their ability to negotiate meaning (i.e., rephrasing). The reality is that, in the process of learning English, many students are only beginning to understand the possibilities of intralanguage translation in their mother tongue.

Materials

The materials have to comply with the same description as those used for other skills (reading, listening), within some limits. For example, since literary translation is a specialized branch of professional translation, there is no point in forcing it upon a non-professional translation class even if literature is part of the syllabus. In real life, the average user of English will rarely be in the situation of giving a literary translation. Also, technical or specialized language should be avoided since what is taught is general, possibly standard or international English. Then, the texts should represent contemporary English and not other stages in the history of English. As for the geography of English, non-professional translation for didactic purposes should be limited to what can be found in the syllabus for each level. For advanced learners though, care should be taken not to turn the English class into a professional translation course. The fact that close-to-native speakers get to understand English in most varieties and accents and are trained in discourse management does not make up for the formal translator training. At the end of the day, what is relevant for all students regardless their level is whether they can function in English, not how much they can translate it. Besides, even before the reintroduction of translation, the matter of varieties and accents in English teaching was already clear: they are the learner's personal choice. The teacher can only give some guidance in terms of consistency in the learner's choice (help with spelling, lexis, grammar and the adequate dictionary), but not actively teach a particular variety (except for a special purpose, e.g. for acting). The same goes for translation. In any case, the selected material for class work should be short and always open for discussion. The teacher will make it clear to students that, despite the permanent emphasis on linguistic accuracy, there is always room for an alternative translation.

The context for the word/phrase/fragment to be translated is a must, translation is impossible without it.

Also, the sample should be subordinated to the linguistic priorities of the lesson. After all, one main reason for using translation is linguistic awareness in both L1 and L2. If, for example, a particular unit focuses on conditionals, then the text selected for translation within that unit should, in turn, exploit the same structure and not something else.

Finally, reference sources. At non-professional level, it is difficult to introduce highly specialized dictionaries, glossaries, or terminological databases. But students can be expected to consult several types of bilingual and monolingual dictionaries: linguistic, didactic, encyclopedic, thesaurus, along with other sources available now even online, such as maps, pictures, multimedia materials, interactive applications etc.

Assessment

If we want to regard translation as part of the process of acquiring a language, assessing non-professional translation must be regarded within the framework of teaching English and less as a distinct professionalized activity. As a fifth skill, (written) translation relies on other two: reading and writing. We could, of course, ask our students to try their hand at interpreting as well (so as to include listening and speaking in the discussion), just for the fun of it, but at a non-professional level it still relies on repetition, transcribing and translating eventually. We started from the premise that translation is an instrument in language teaching and an indicator of language proficiency, which unfortunately means that what gets assessed is still the language rather than the translation. The fifth skill helps learners develop the other four, it makes them better readers and writers, but its original premise was a new and necessary competence.

Professional translator training now in full swing (at graduate and postgraduate level), the idea of translation competence reflects the need for standardization in this profession at many levels: assessment, quality control, quality assurance, good practices, research and development etc. There are multi-component models for the translation competence. The model issued by the EMT group (2009) envisages the translator training programmes. Its definition of competence is “the combination of aptitudes, knowledge, behaviour and knowhow necessary to carry out a given task under given conditions” (EMT, 2009: 3). For professional translation, the components of this competence include: translation service provision competence, language competence, intercultural competence, information mining competence, thematic competence, and technological competence. Another model comes from the Barcelona-based PACTE group and comprises five sub-competences: bilingual, extra-linguistic, knowledge about translation, instrumental, and strategic, as well as a number of psycho-physiological components (O'Brien, 2011: 36–37).[3] It suffices to say that it is not appropriate to apply these definitions of translation competence to TEFL translation.

But this does not mean it is not possible to assess non-professional translation. The literature gives examples of assessment scales for translation: we find linguistic criteria (spelling, syntax, semantic coherence, terminological pertinence and precision, stylistic and idiolectic quality of translation), accuracy (semantic equivalence/similarity) vs. expression (readability) criteria on a sentence-by sentence basis (preset number of sentences to be translated) (Tsagari, 2013: 5–6), or closeness of meaning vs. fluency/readability. In her article Teaching Translation (Shore, 2001: 250) she distills the factors that influence the assessment of a translation product down to the central concept of *equivalence*. She proposes another term for this, *correspondence*, to accommodate the idea of flexibility in translation. She finds there are many levels of correspondence between the original text and a translated version of it (textual, graphological, morphological, lexical etc.), and that is why our decision on the equivalent version depends on the way we prioritize (or 'weight') certain types of correspondence at a given moment – with the obvious awareness that other types will be ruled out in the process. This is a key aspect in assessing TEFL translation. In this context, there is no pre-established scale of assessment but teachers have to make a new one each time they assess translation. In other words, the scale changes with the learner's progress.

I have found studies presenting class experiments of TEFL translation where professional criteria were used to assess a class of English learners (Tsagari, 2013: 5). In one instance, the teacher designed a scale with 6 bands for 'accuracy' (meaning equivalence), and a scale of 4 bands for 'expression' (meaning understandability). Her purpose was to explore reading comprehension issues in her class in order to further plan remedial work with her students. It is tempting to try and apply assessment criteria from another domain, of course, and it never hurts students to get a glimpse of at least one aspect of professional

[3] A more complete presentation of the translation competences is given by Dorothy Kelly in her book *A Handbook for Translator Trainers* (2014).

translation. But it should only be a leisure experiment. Teaching professional translation involves a series of courses in advanced linguistics, text analysis, discourse analysis, and translation analysis. As long as these components are absent from an *English as a Foreign Language* syllabus, translation must also be assessed without them. In fact, since non-professional translation depends on, and is a reflection of, reading and writing, its assessment must be at least similar to these.

For those who insist on treating translation as a separate skill in its own right I have two suggestions.

1. One is a set of *general* criteria that is easy to use for teachers. It is only applicable for non-professional translation as part of TEFL:

Content: this criterion is similar to equivalence of meaning or accuracy and can be assessed on a sentence-by-sentence basis.

Compliance with the syllabus: this is especially relevant at higher levels, since there is a tendency for students to use the simpler word instead of a more complex idiomatic construct they are expected to be able to use.

Stylistic equivalence: this criterion is not relevant at lower levels, but it demonstrates knowledge of style, register and genre in writing from intermediate levels up.

Grammatical accuracy: it includes all aspects studied in class which are subject to evaluation, it is a sine qua non in the context of using translation for teaching English.

Promptness of reaction: provided the test is set against a time limit, or uses oral translation, it demonstrates easiness in expression and fluency in English. This criterion however can be ruled out if dictionaries are allowed.

Situational adequacy: It demonstrates a good understanding of the source text and the context of the translation sample.

This list can generate a number of assessment scales for each level as it is not possible to assess these indicators/descriptors at all levels in the same degree of achievement. For example, at A1 and A2, *grammatical accuracy* and *stylistic adequacy* would only demotivate learners as these aspects are in fact not expected at this level. Also, since hesitation is normal, *promptness* cannot be assessed.

At B levels, we can expect *grammatical accuracy* and *stylistic adequacy* within the limits of the syllabus, and some *syllabus compliance*. *Situational adequacy* can become of interest at level B2.

For C1 and C2, all criteria apply within the syllabus. If in Writing and Speaking learners are expected to demonstrate a very good knowledge of a variety of vocabulary and grammar structures, this should also feature in translation. However, this does not include varieties of English, as shown above.

The above list is a helpful suggestion for those teachers who resort to professional criteria because there is no other reference standard. It illustrates the view that translation is relevant *as an end-product*. But we should keep in mind that, basically, translation in the classroom is mostly an exercise of *contrastive analysis* between L1 and L2, and an opportunity for genuine discovery, it is used more as *a process*. And here is the second suggestion:

2. In the light of Susanna Shore's idea of 'weighting', teachers could decide on a set of correspondences to be assessed at one time. For each level – i.e., within the boundaries of each syllabus – it is possible to give priority to a particular grammatical/lexical structure, register, style, genre, discourse feature etc. and create a band system for evaluating equivalence in translation. This approach relies on the language syllabus, in other words, whatever is taught in terms of language and communication, it will be practiced in translation, too.

Of course, we can make an analogy with Speaking and Writing (other productive skills) and reflect upon the communicative nature of these activities – the general opinion is translation is not communicative –, and the authenticity of the task itself. Translation can be published, there are translation competitions for students, and teachers make efforts to motivate their students by offering them non-conventional translation "toys" such as brief exercises of subtitling and interpreting. But this never goes as far as standardized assessment.

Consequences

There are a number of important consequences to the attempt of defining assessment criteria for the fifth skill. Even though they can be standardized in alignment with the syllabus for each level, and translation can be assessed in a standardized and objective manner even in non-professional terms (or, perhaps especially here), the status of the multilingual competence is not yet clearly defined among other competences. If it were, it would change the world of standardized language descriptors and exams. This fifth skill would create confusion among institutions which require a language certificate for education or work purposes. What could they make of a candidate's ability to translate (whatever the level) – which is different from a formal qualification?

Secondly, since non-professional translation focuses on L2 regardless of which language is Source and which is Target, how could the examination task be divided between an assessor of English and a native speaker of any other language? And if, realistically, translation can only be used in some classes (consider, for example, the case of international students and international teachers who are not native speakers of English but do not speak their students' L1 either), isn't it unfair to try to standardize procedures of assessment? Not to mention the impact on the English Teaching market – all of a sudden all the native English teachers – now in high demand should either study a foreign language or pair up with non-native teachers of English.

The way out of this fatality is to accept that this fifth skill cannot be given equal footing in standardized international tests yet. It can only remain an option, an instrument for an easier understanding of similarities and differences between mother tongue and foreign language, but it is bound to remain in subordination to the other four skills. While we can teach and test translation, the outcome of this effort will, for the time being, only be recognized in the quality of the learner's reading and writing.

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Socio-Cultural Difficulties in Teaching Political and Diplomatic Language at the Preparatory Year[*]

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Abstract:
The aim of this paper is to present some of the social and cultural difficulties which appear during the process of teaching and learning political and diplomatic language at the Preparatory Year (Faculty of Letters, University of Bucharest). The identification of the aforementioned difficulties is based on a six-year experience in teaching this specialised language to foreign students who intend to study in Romanian different scientific areas, mainly related to law and political sciences. The paper examines various situations in which the socio-cultural background of the foreign students becomes a barrier to the proper comprehension of political and diplomatic concepts, as well as to the corresponding terminology.

Keywords: teaching difficulties, specialised language, political and diplomatic language, foreign students, socio-cultural barrier

Preliminary considerations

The object of this paper is represented by some social and cultural difficulties which occur during the process of teaching political and diplomatic language at the Preparatory Year of Romanian. This programme is organised by the Romanian Studies Centre of the Faculty of Letters (University of Bucharest) and is addressed to foreign students who want to continue their studies in Romanian at various faculties.

The paper is in line with previous analyses concerning different aspects of the aforesaid specialised language taught to foreign students who want to pursue an academic career in law or political sciences (Grigore 2014, 2015). The present research aims to identify and to comment upon particular situations in the process of teaching and learning political and diplomatic language at the Preparatory Year. Those situations have often appeared in the course of the last six years

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of teaching this specialised language. They are based on the assumption that the socio-cultural barrier characterises any process of teaching a (specialised) language to students who are not native speakers. Also, this barrier causes several difficulties in the comprehension and acquisition of linguistic notions.

As far as the structure of this paper is concerned, the first section (*Short description of political and diplomatic language within the teaching process at the Preparatory Year*) takes into account a concise presentation of the general framework regarding the process of teaching the specialised language at the Preparatory Year organised by the University of Bucharest. The second section (*Socio-cultural difficulties in teaching political and diplomatic language at the Preparatory Year*) represents the extended part of the study and contains the analysis of precise situations in which socio-cultural aspects hindered the teaching process. The last part (*Conclusions*) states the final remarks resulted from the analysis performed in this paper.

Short description of political and diplomatic language within the teaching process at the Preparatory Year

Within the programme of teaching Romanian as a foreign language at the University of Bucharest, *Political and Diplomatic Language* course takes place in the second semester of the academic year, as do the other courses of specialised languages (Niculescu, 2014: 193–194). At that moment in time, the level of Romanian that foreign students should have achieved corresponds to levels A2–B1 in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Biriş, 2014: 7; Grigore, 2014).

In the first part of the second semester, the students who register for *Juridical* specialisation have the obligation to attend courses or lectures in which basic political and diplomatic terminology is studied. The duration of these mostly-introductive courses is almost ten weeks and is completed with a written exam. After the introductive lectures, in the second part of the semester, the students are taken over by a professor from the Faculty of Law (University of Bucharest), who is specialised in teaching *Political Doctrines* course (also see Niculescu, 2014: 194).

Together with the complementary *Juridical (Legal) Language* course, *Political and Diplomatic Language* course is dedicated to a relatively small number of foreign students. Every year, that number ranges from 10 to 15 students, who are distributed in the so-called group of Law. Generally, these students intend to follow in Romanian an academic path related to juridical or political field of studies. As a consequence, the effective specialisations for which students opt at the end of the Preparatory Year are *Criminal (Penal) Law*, *Constitutional*

Law and Public Institutions, *International Law* etc. (among juridical studies) or *Political Sciences* (as the main specialisation of the political area).

Based on the interrelation of the political domain with other scientific areas, there have been cases in which students who prepare for other specialisations or faculties (such as history, international relations, or sociology) have been distributed in the group of Law.

Except for the diversity given by the specialisation itself, differences appear with respect to the studies planned in Romania. Frequently, these are MA or PhD studies, and, very rarely, BA programme studies. Unfortunately, a dissociation between these academic paths is not made and all students ultimately arrive in the same group of Law. This fact results in yet another diversity concerning the syllabus meant to be studied in the first ten weeks of the second semester.

The task of teaching political and diplomatic language is further hampered by the absence of a didactic material (i.e., a textbook) devoted to the problems which the political and diplomatic terminology poses (Grigore, 2014). This state of facts characterises the teaching process of many specialised languages at the Preparatory Year organised at the University of Bucharest and elsewhere[1]. The teaching of this specialised language does not benefit from bibliographical references either. Unlike the complementary juridical language, theoretical and/or methodological matters of political and diplomatic language have not been discussed by any major research until now[2].

Consequently, a course material (which is found as a manuscript at the present time) has been used for the last six years in the teaching process of political and diplomatic language. This course material has been permanently revised and improved according to the students' demands and the difficulties involved by various scientific domains such as diplomacy, history, international relations, law, political sciences, sociology etc.

As to the subjects discussed, this course material takes into consideration the ten-week structure mentioned above. Thus, the

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[1] The publication of a textbook reserved to medical terminology (Biriş, 2014) should be mentioned as one of the recent didactic materials used in the complex process of teaching and learning specialised languages by foreign students. Moreover, it should be specified a textbook dealing with the specialised language of Algebra and Mathematical Analysis, which is in course of preparation at the Romanian Studies Centre in the Faculty of Letters, University of Bucharest (Niculescu, 2014).

[2] For the process of teaching juridical language, the specialised bibliography (Moldovan (Editura) 2012) registered not only bibliographical references about methodological aspects (Stoichiţoiu, 1988), but also proper textbooks (albeit out-dated ones: Voica, Fotea, 1994; Toma, 1996).

material is divided into two large sections which cope with external politics, as well as internal politics (Grigore, 2015). The first section contains four units: 1. *International Community (I). The United Nations. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation*; 2. *International Community (II). The European Union*; 3. *International Community (III). The Council of Europe*; 4. *Monarchy vs. republic*. Other four units form the second major section of the material and their numbering continues the precedent units: 5. *Political parties in Romania*; 6. *The Parliament of Romania. The Senate. The Chamber of Deputies*; 7. *The Government of Romania*; 8. *Romanian Presidency*. A special course is added to these units and its purpose is to revise the matters which have been discussed throughout the lectures in order to take and successfully pass the final written exam.

The sheer enumeration of the titles present in the syllabus proves a consistent stock of terminological information and concepts. They are intended to offer an overall and, simultaneously, faithful picture of the political and diplomatic language. One can easily notice a certain degree of emphasis laid on terms which denote concepts denoting international organisations (especially, to European institutions). In addition, the emphasis affects terms which refer to contemporary Romanian politics. This emphasis is justified by the desire to acquaint foreign students with scientific notions that have a high probability of being used during the future lectures that they are going to attend at the faculties of law or political sciences.

The problems which have raised the awareness up to this point of the analysis are particularly caused by extra-linguistic factors. Apart from them, there is a problem due to a very important, yet, heterogeneous feature, given by the geopolitical and cultural background of each foreign student who belongs to the group of Law. Until now[3], the majority of students who form this group came from countries outside the European Union (Afghanistan, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cameroon, Chile, Germany, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Venezuela, and Vietnam). The names of the countries underline a variety of cultures (including traditions and mentalities), societies and political systems (with different forms of government and political regimes).

The multitude of societies and cultural backgrounds gathered each year in the group of Law usually acts as a barrier in the proper comprehension of the concepts employed in *Political and Diplomatic*

[3] March 2016.

Language course. Subsequently, the socio-cultural barrier hinders the learning and efficient assimilation of political and diplomatic terminology. The direct results of this action are the difficulties in producing new sentences and texts, starting from the scientific stock which is being taught.

Socio-cultural difficulties in teaching political and diplomatic language at the Preparatory Year

One of the main difficulties which have appeared because of the socio-cultural barrier is the acquirement of notions and terms about European Union (EU) institutions, their procedures and legislation etc. This difficulty accounts for those scientific contents which have entered Romanian language as a consequence of Romania's admission to the EU, an event which happened on January 1st, 2007. The scientific contents are treated in units 2 and 3 from the syllabus which has been detailed in the previous section (*supra*).

The complexity of EU terminology makes it less accessible even to a native speaker of Romanian, who possesses an average knowledge of his or her mother tongue. However, for a non-native speaker, the situation grows in complexity, due to his or her status as a person who must acquire correctly and in a relatively short period of time notions and terms that will be present in the future lectures delivered in Romanian.

In this situation, the socio-cultural difficulty starts from the fact that the foreign students who are EU citizens are outnumbered by those who are non-EU citizens. Each year, the majority comprises students that come from Arabic-speaking countries and, thus, from a Muslim cultural background (i.e., either Middle East or North Africa). Additionally, an important number of students that have attended the course recently came from Central Africa or South America.

The understanding of all mechanisms which ensure the very existence of EU institutions becomes difficult for these students whose origins are not only outside the European Union, but outside Europe. The difficulty resides in the fact that non-European students do not have this sort of extra-linguistic realities in their geopolitical and social environment. In other words, the absence of extra-linguistic realities triggers a rough conceptualisation of scientific contents about the EU, while its comprehension is done in an intricate manner.

An illustration of this type of difficulty is the structure *community acquis* or *acquis communautaire*, which denotes the body of common rights and obligations that is binding on all the EU member states. The acquis is made up of the content, principles and political objectives of the Treaties; the legislation adopted pursuant to the Treaties and the case law of the Court of Justice; declarations and resolutions adopted by the Union; instruments under the Common Foreign and Security Policy; international agreements concluded by the Union and those entered into by the member states among themselves within the sphere of the Union's activities (Definition – *Acquis*). In addition to this, it is considered that the *acquis communautaire* is formed as a basis of the judiciary management in the EU member states (Pinteală, Tenț, Sima Pinteală, 2009: 10).

The explanation of the complex meaning that the structure *acquis communautaire* has is done in a complicated manner, interrelated with other abstract and specialised terms (e.g. *agreement*, *declaration*, *legislation*, *resolution*, *treaty* etc.). To explain the structure *community acquis* in a clear manner, it is necessary to correctly decode and thoroughly learn the other terminological units. Only after this initial phase is achieved can the student pass on to the accurate definition of the concept under scrutiny.

Another example of socio-cultural difficulties in teaching political and diplomatic language is determined by the partial (and, generally, mistaken) knowledge of some concepts. The situation starts from the existence of three distinct European institutions with similar names – the Council of the European Union, the European Council and the Council of Europe. The frequent mistake made by foreign students is to perceive the three denominations as total synonyms, and, hence, to consider that they refer to the same European institution.

Nonetheless, the error can be explained with strong arguments. On the one hand, the mistake is based on the presence of the adjective *European*, derived from the proper name *Europe*. This could be the cause for the confusion between the structures *European Council* and *Council of Europe*. In case the meaning of *European* does not become instantaneously obvious (although this is a rare possibility), the students can consult *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române* (namely, *the Explicative Dictionary of Romanian Language*, abbreviated *DEX*, 1998). This is the major lexicographical source recommended by the Preparatory Year professors for learning the grammatical genders and various synonyms. The students resort to the traditional version of *DEX*, 1998 or, very often, to the online version, though the latter is not fully accepted by linguists.

Irrespective of the chosen version, foreign students find the adjective *European* defined in the following way: "which belongs to Europe or to Europeans […], related to Europe or to Europeans" (*DEX*, 1998: s.v. *European – my translation*). Therefore, the meaning that the adjective has is almost identical to the one provided by the noun in the genitive case *(of) Europe*, which, in Romanian, has the same form as the dative case *(to) Europe*.

On the other hand, the foreign students who come from countries situated outside the European continent share the unanimous (yet, mistaken!) opinion that the European Union is the only political organisation of Europe, due to its importance in economic and international relations. The confusion between the Council of the European Union, the European Council and the Council of Europe is, thus, motivated by an extra-linguistic reason (i.e., the origin in another geopolitical region) and it is intensified by the lack of a thorough knowledge of all European institutions.

As a matter of fact, the structures *European Council* and *Council of European Union* (frequently replaced with *Consilium*) designate two different institutions of the EU, while *Council of Europe* refers to a separate international organisation (i.e., it is not part of the EU at all). Nevertheless, the structure *European Council* defines an institution concerned with the general political direction and priorities of the European Union. The institution consists of the heads of state or government of the member states, together with its President and the President of the Commission (*Council – EU*). At the same time, *the Council of the European Union* denotes an institution representing the member states' governments. This institution is also known informally as the EU Council and it is where national ministers from each EU country meet to adopt laws and coordinate policies (*Ibidem*).

Other difficulties in the process of understanding scientific notions are linked with cultural facts, because they refer mostly to historical matters. This type of difficulties (basically, cultural ones) are identified in the contents associated to units 4 and 5 from the course material. The units deal with the main forms of government (namely, monarchy and republic) and political parties, respectively.

However, some foreign students encounter many problems in understanding concepts such as types of monarchies throughout the history of Europe (*dukedom*, *empire*, *kingdom*, *principality* etc.), types of monarchs (*emperor*, *king*, *prince* etc.) and components of Western European aristocratic hierarchy (*baron*, *count*, *duke*, *earl*, *marquis* etc.). The problems appear as a result of those students' origin in an essentially Islamic culture, corroborated with an unsystematic knowledge of universal history[4].

[4] The matter of aristocratic hierarchy of Western Europe also occurs in a unit subsequent to the one about the forms of government, namely, unit 6, whose central topic is the

First of all, the problems which happen are explained by the fact that many Muslim countries do not have (and did not have whatsoever) monarchies identical to the European ones, but specific forms of government such as *caliphate*, *emirate*, or *sultanate*, and, accordingly, rulers like *caliphs*, *emirs*, or *sultans* (see *DEX*, 1998: s.v. *caliph*, *caliphate*, *emir*, *emirate*, *sultan*, and *sultanate*). The differences deepen even more with the varied means of defining terms which denote European and Muslim leaders. In Arab cultures, the latter are seen as successors of Prophet Mohammed (*DEX*, 1998: s.v. *emir*), whereas, at least during the Middle Ages, a European ruler was perceived as God's anointed one[5].

Secondly, one can remark the confusions caused by the existence of two different means used to encode the same referent. For instance, the word *emir* is the Arabic equivalent for *prince*, a fact which leads to an inter-linguistic synonymy. Therefore, the native speakers of Arabic tend to use the more familiar term of *emir* instead of the Romanian word. In order to correct this situation, the students are constantly told that Romanian has kept the word *emir* with a narrow meaning, because it only designates a prince who rules over a Muslim country. Accordingly, the inter-linguistic synonymy which has been identified is only a partial one.

Thirdly, another cultural difficulty is shown in unit 5, which is assigned to Romanian political parties. A *multiple choice* exercise is centred upon a text which provides a short history of Romanian political parties during the 20th century. At some point, the text informs the reader about the growing influence of the extreme right in Romanian politics during the period of time between the two World Wars. The text continues with the example of the Iron Guard (i.e., an extreme right political party) and draws a comparison between this Romanian party and Adolf Hitler's Nazi party in Germany or Benito Mussolini's Fascist party in Italy. In relation with the latter one, the text specifies that Mussolini was called "Il Duce" (namely, "The Duke").

Parliament of Romania. The purpose of an exercise suggested in this unit is to evaluate the students' reading comprehension starting from a written text. That text details the similarities and differences between the Romanian Parliament and the British one. Within the category of similarities, it is found the bicameral structure of both legislative organs, while the organisation of the British Parliament in the House of Lords and the House of Commons is among the differences. On this occasion, the meaning of the term *lord* is brought into discussion. The term becomes a hypernym of a semantic paradigm which is composed of *baron*, *count*, *duke*, *earl*, *marquis* etc.

[5] Cf. the particle *Io* (< *Ioannes* = God's anointed one). This particle is found in official Romanian documents from medieval times and precedes the name of a Moldavian or a Wallachian leader, so as to show his divine right to rule over the country.

A cultural difficulty is shown here through the use of the word *duke*. The cultural barrier can cause misunderstandings if the notion *duke* has not been well assimilated by the foreign students in unit 4. – *Monarchy vs. republic*. Beside the aforementioned cultural barrier, a stylistic barrier appears, through the metaphorical appellation of “The Duke”, which was awarded to Mussolini by his followers. The political leader himself did not belong to the Italian aristocracy and, subsequently, was not a duke in the true sense of the word. Nonetheless, his political power resembled that of the influent dukes who ruled over the Italian states during the Middle Ages.

Conclusions

The present research commented upon some of the difficulties which have occurred in the process of teaching political and diplomatic language in the Preparatory Year (Faculty of Letters, University of Bucharest). The recurrent situations which were analysed have in common the socio-cultural barrier, which frequently poses problems to foreign students, especially to those who come from Arabic-speaking countries. The problems that foreign students have concern the proper comprehension and efficient assimilation of basic political and diplomatic terminology.

The socio-cultural difficulties have been identified throughout six years of teaching that specialised language to foreign students who intend to pursue an academic path in law or political sciences. Due to the absence of a suitable textbook, the teaching process was based on a course material, which was handed in to the students who form the group of Law.

The six-year experience in teaching *Political and Diplomatic Language* course has revealed that the socio-cultural barrier affects two sides of the basic level in political and diplomatic terminology. On the one hand, the students have their origins in different societies, which are far away from the European continent and the European Union, from a geographic and geopolitical perspective. This distance implies the absence of extra-linguistic realities characteristic to the EU, which are difficult to be comprehended by non-EU citizens (see the case of the structure *acquis communautaire*). Furthermore, there are confusions between terminological structures which seem to denote an identical referent. Without a prior knowledge of the way in which the European Union and the Council of Europe are organised, it becomes possible the situation in which a foreign student considers that some structures like *The European Council*, *The Council of the European Union* and *The Council of Europe* are synonymous.

On the other hand, the contribution of the cultural background is seen particularly in relation to types of monarchies (with special reference to the ones in the history of Europe). Neither the types of monarchs nor the aristocratic hierarchy in Western Europe are easier to be understood by foreign students. On the contrary, they seem to be more difficult for Arabic-speaking students, who are familiarised with other types of monarchies (e.g. *caliphate*, *emirate*, and *sultanate*). Sometimes, even partial inter-linguistic synonyms, such as *emir* and *prince*, or metaphorical appellations (e.g. “Il Duce” for the Italian leader Mussolini) become sources for further confusions related to cultural background.

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Considérations didactiques sur l'emploi et l'omission des déterminants dans cinq langues romanes : espagnol, galicien, catalan, français et roumain

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Didactic Reflections on the Use and Absence of the Articles in Five Romance Languages: Spanish, Galician, Catalan, French and Romanian

Abstract:
Since it is well known the difficulties of learners of Romance languages studying nominal phrases without articles, in this paper we will present evidence of a comparative study regarding the use and the absence of definite and indefinite articles in five Romance languages, languages which distinguish genre and number. The analyses show significant differences in the use and absence of the article in Romance languages, even if they are related languages. In this study we consider the acquisition of the article in L1 as a reference point for the acquisition of it in other Romance languages. Authors like Cenoz, 2001; Jarvis, 2003; Odlin et Jarvis, 2004; Pavlenko et Jarvis, 2002 highlight the necessity to take into account the role of other languages previously acquired. This exhaustive analysis will serve as a tool for the learners who are in contact with Romance languages for whitch the similarities of linguistic structures are not always a help in the process of language learning, but they present difficulties which must be removed from their interlanguage stuctures.

Keywords: Romance languages, linguistic distance, definite and indefinite article, interlanguage

Introduction

Certains mots, certaines parties du discours servent à déterminer les noms et leurs substituts, les pronoms. Ce sont les déterminants morphologiques qui comprennent l'article et les adjectifs déterminatifs. Les déterminants morphologiques ne s'emploient qu'avec le nom déterminé, ils n'ont pas d'existence indépendante. Ils n'ont de sens qu'avec le nom déterminé.

Dans notre étude nous présenterons les formes, les emplois et valeurs de l'article défini et indéfini dans cinq langues romanes :

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l'espagnol, le galicien, le catalan, le français et le roumain et ensuite, certains cas d'omission d'articles et d'interférences linguistiques qui peuvent apparaître au passage d'une langue à l'autre.

Concernant l'emploi des noms sans déterminant (NSD), Chierchia (1998) a développé une théorie intitulée le *Nominal Mapping Parameter* selon laquelle les traits binaires [+arg], [-préd] permettent la construction des catégories syntaxiques gouvernées par le nom. Dans les langues romanes les noms sont associés aux prédicats et analysés comme [-arg], [+préd] et ne peuvent pas apparaître dans une position d'argument. À la différence d'autres langues comme le chinois, elles distinguent entre noms dénombrables et noms indénombrables et nécessitent le marquage de nombre sur le nom. Les langues germaniques comportent les traits binaires [+arg], [+préd], ce qui explique que les noms se présentent avec articles en position d'argument mais aussi que les noms indénombrables et les pluriels sont nus tandis que les noms dénombrables ne le sont pas.

Le phénomène de l'acquisition des syntagmes nominaux sans déterminant, notamment dans les langues romanes, a suscité des débats importants surtout concernant le rôle joué par la langue maternelle des apprenants et aussi par l'autre langue dans le développement bilingue. En ce qui concerne l'acquisition d'une langue maternelle romane comme l'italien ou le français, les études d'Antelmi (1997), Pizzuti & Caselli (1992) et de Van der Velde (2004) suggèrent que les italiens acquièrent l'article plus vite que les enfants français. Cette explication est due au fait que le français n'admet pas de noms nus, tandis que l'italien, l'espagnol, le galicien, le catalan et le roumain admettent des noms nus au pluriel surtout dans la position d'objet.

Dans le cadre d'études comparatives, un grand nombre de chercheurs (Chireac, Serrat et Huguet, 2011; Hammarberg 2001; Ringbom, 2007; Singleton, 2001) a attiré l'attention sur l'idée que les langues apparentées s'influencent à un plus haut degré que les langues plus lointaines. Les études de ces auteurs, portant sur les apprenants multilingues, ont mis en évidence l'influence des langues apparentées l'une sur l'autre et ont montré de façon convaincante l'importance de la distance linguistique entre les langues en contact.

Étant donné le manque d'études traitant des syntagmes nominaux avec et sans déterminants dans plusieurs langues romanes en contact, il paraît pertinent de révéler, d'un point de vue comparatif, les différences significatives dans l'emploi et l'absence des articles dans cinq langues romanes, phénomène rarement analysé en linguistique descriptive.

Méthodologie

La recherche a été conçue dans la perspective théorique de l'analyse des déterminants dans les cinq langues romanes en contact. Le but principal est de nous servir de cette étude comparative pour aborder un problème d'ordre linguistique concernant les systèmes morphologiques de l'espagnol, du galicien, du catalan, du français et du roumain qui présentent des ressemblances et des différences en relation avec l'emploi et l'absence des déterminants.

Dans l'intérêt de nous approcher du niveau de connaissance et de manipulation que les apprenants montrent sur ces points divergents des langues en question, nous nous servirons de la présentation des déterminants dans chaque langue étudiée et décrite ci-après :

En espagnol, nous allons présenter les formes et les caractéristiques des articles défini et indéfini ainsi que le phénomène de contraction de l'article en contact avec les prépositions *a* et *de*.

En galicien, notre intérêt est essentiellement porté sur la deuxième forme de l'article, la variante allomorphique, phénomène rarement visible dans une langue romane. Nous allons observer aussi les cas de contraction de l'article défini et indéfini au contact des prépositions.

En catalan, nous allons centrer l'analyse particulièrement sur les cas de l'élision qui affecte les articles définis et les formes de l'article contracté au contact des prépositions. Nous allons examiner aussi l'emploi obligatoire de l'article défini devant les noms propres, caractéristique définitoire de la langue catalane.

En français, nous allons regarder avec attention surtout le cas d'élision et l'emploi de l'article partitif afin d'examiner les difficultés d'utilisation des déterminants chez les apprenants parlant une autre langue romane.

Et finalement, en roumain nous allons décrire les principales caractéristiques de l'article défini enclitique placé devant le nom, le cas de la perte de l'article après une préposition, les déclinaisons conservées du latin ainsi que le genre neutre, comme une curiosité linguistique puisque le roumain est resté la seule langue romane que a préservé ce genre.

Après la présentation de cette analyse, nous allons consacrer la dernière partie de l'étude aux cas d'omission des articles définis et indéfinis dans les cinq langues romanes en prenant en compte les différences de suppression de l'article défini et indéfini.

Les formes et les valeurs des syntagmes nominaux avec déterminant

En principe, tout nom en langues romanes est précédé d'un article. La présence de l'article (ou la possibilité de sa présence) devant un mot indique que ce mot est un nom ou qu'il est employé comme nom : *le livre* (nom proprement dit), *le passant* (verbe employé comme nom), *le* *riche* (adjectif employé comme nom), *le pourquoi*, *le si* (mots invariables employés comme noms).

L'article est considéré un mot outil et il a le rôle d'individualiser les objets désignés par le nom, marquant sa valeur définie ou indéfinie. L'article indique en même temps le genre et le nombre des noms. Il n'a pas d'existence indépendante, on ne l'emploie qu'avec le nom.

Le latin classique n'employait pas l'article. On disait, par exemple : *Non scholae sed vitae discimus* (Nous apprenons pour *la vie* et non pour *l'école*). Toutes les langues issues du latin, par contre, ont développés un système d'articles (Carlier, 2001), pourtant, l'article est une création originale.

L'article défini en langues romanes individualise l'être ou l'objet nommé et sert à indiquer :

(1a). une personne ou une chose déjà connue :
El hombre se ha salvado. (esp.)
O home salvouse. (gal.)
L'home s'ha salvat. (cat.)
L'homme s'est sauvé. (fr.)
Bărbat*ul* s-a salvat. (roum.)

(1b). une personne ou une chose déterminée comme différente des autres :
El perro de mi vecino. (esp.)
O can do meu veciño. (gal.)
El gos del meu veí. (cat.)
Le chien de mon voisin. (fr.)
Câine*le* prietenului meu. (roum.)

(1c). une personne ou une chose considérée comme seule de son espèce :
el sol (esp.)
o sol (gal.)
el sol (cat.)
le soleil (fr.)
soare*le* (roum.)

L'article indéfini sert à designer une personne ou un objet quelconque entre toutes les personnes ou tous les objets de la même espèce. Son individualisation reste cependant indéterminée.

(2a). Ha comprado *un* libro. (esp.)
Comprou *un* libro. (gal.)
Ha comprat *un* llibre. (cat.)
Il a acheté *un* livre. (fr.)
A cumpărat *o* carte. (roum.)

(2b). Ha visitado a *un* amigo. (esp.)
Visitou a *un* amigo. (gal.)
Ha visitat a un amic. (cat.)
Il a visité *un* ami. (fr.)
A vizitat *un* prieten. (roum.)

Premièrement, nous présenterons les caractéristiques des articles dans les langues romanes analysées dans cette étude.

La langue espagnole connait deux espèces d'articles : l'article défini et l'article indéfini. Les formes des articles définis et indéfinis de l'espagnol sont présentés dans le tableau 1. À la différence du français et du catalan, l'article défini ne s'élide pas devant une voyelle. Cependant, devant les noms qui commencent par un *a* tonique (graphies *a* et *ha*), on utilise les formes masculines des articles défini *el* et indéfini *un* (*el águila*, 'l'aigle', *un águila*, 'un aigle' ; *el hambre*, 'la faim', *un hambre* 'une faim'). L'article défini **la** apparaît normalement devant un adjectif féminin ou un nom féminin commençant par **a-** non tonique : *el alma pura*, 'l'âme pure', *la amplia casa*, 'la vaste maison'.

Il y a des cas quand l'article sépare le nom en le posant dans une sphère de détermination, et il a un sens absolu : *el calor del verano* 'la chaleur de l'été'.

L'article a un sens générique quand il ne démarque pas un objet déterminé, mais il présente celui-ci comme représentant de toute son espèce (Seco, 1992):

(3a). *El* hombre es mortal. (3b). *La* mujer es frágil.
L'homme est mortel. La femme est fragile.

L'article indéfini est surtout employé pour individualiser un être ou un objet à l'intérieur d'une catégorie :

(4) No es *un* lirio sino *una* azucena.
Ce n'est pas un iris mais un lys.

article défini				article indéfini			
singulier		pluriel		singulier		pluriel	
mas. el	fém. la	mas. los	fém. las	mas. un	fém. una	mas. unos	fém. unas

Tableau 1. Formes de l'article défini et indéfini en espagnol

L'article masculin singulier *el* se contracte avec les prépositions *a* et *de*.

(5a). Voy *al* cine. (5b). Vuelvo *del* teatro.

Je vais au cinéma. Je reviens du théâtre.

La contraction ne se fait pas du moins à l'écrit avec un nom propre ou un titre qui commencent par l'article *El*.

(6a). De vuelta *de El* Ferrol, voy *a El* Escorial.
De retour du Ferrol, je vais à l'Escurial.
(6b). Admiro tanto un cuadro *de El* Greco como un capítulo *de El* Quijote.
J'admire autant un tableau du Gréco qu'un chapitre du Quichotte.

Dans la langue galicienne, les articles défini et indéfini présentent les formes suivantes (tableau 2).

article défini				article indéfini			
singulier		pluriel		singulier		pluriel	
mas. o	fém. a	mas. os	fém. as	mas. un	fém. unha	mas. uns	fém. unhas

Tableau 2. Formes de l'article défini et indéfini en galicien

Concernant l'article défini, hormis les formes présentées dans le tableau 2, il existe une seconde forme d'articles, une variante allomorphique des premières formes *lo, la, los, las*, d'emploi obligatoire après la préposition *por* (*Vai polo carreiro. Il va son chemin*) ou après l'adverbe *u* (*u-lo libro? Où est le livre?*).

La deuxième forme de l'article peut être représentée par écrit dans les cas suivants :

Avec trait d'union :

- après une forme verbale qui finit en –r ou –s. Ces consonnes disparaissent devant la présence de la seconde forme de l'article.

(7a). Vou merca-*lo* pan. (7b) Esquecémo-*lo* libro.
Je vais acheter du pan. Nous oublions le livre.

L'exception à cette règle sont les participes : *lidos os exames*, les examens lus, *estudiados os casos*, les cas etudiés, *feitas as análises*, les analyses faites, etc.

- après les pronoms enclitiques *nos, vos, lles*:

(8a). Fíxolle-*la* merenda. (8b). Merquéivo-*lo* libro.
Il leur a fait le goûter. Je vous ai acheté le livre.

- après les pronoms *nós* et *vós* toniques, quand ils sont précédés d'une sorte de spécification, surtout de numéro. Dans ce cas, l'article appartient au même groupe phonique que le pronom.

(9a). Nó-*lo* dous. (9b). Vó-*los* catro.
Nous, les deux. Vous, les quatre.

- après l'adverbe interrogatif de lieu *u* :
(10a). *U*-lo *neno*? (10b). *U*-las *casas*?
Où est l'enfant? Où se trouvent les maisons?

Sans trait d'union :
- après les prépositions terminées en –r ou –s : *por*, *tras* et *des*.
(11a). *Pola* noite. (11b). *Tralo* monte.
Pendant la nuit. Derrière la montagne.

- après les indéfinis : *todos, todas, ambos, ambas, entrambos, entrambas*.
(12a). *Ámbolos* rapaces. (12b). *Entrámbolos* dous.
Les deux enfants. Entre les deux.

- après la locution conjonctive *e mais*
(13) *Fomos eu e mailo fillo do señor Miguel.*

On est allé le fils du monsieur Miguel et moi.

En galicien, les articles définis masculins et féminins se contractent au contact des prépositions *a*, *con*, *de* et *en* (tableau 3).

	O	A	OS	AS
A	ó/ao	á	os/aos	ás
CON	co	coa	cos	coas
DE	do	da	dos	das
EN	no	na	nos	nas

Tableau 3. Formes des articles contractés en galicien

(14a) *Aspira á alcaldía.* (14b) *Ás veces teñen razón.*
Il aspire à être maire. Parfois ils ont raison.

(14c) *Fala co seu curmán.* (14d) *Foi pasear cos seus amigos.*
Il parle avec son cousin. Il est allé se promener avec ses amis.

En galicien, l'article en contact avec la conjonction comparative *ca* présente les formes suivantes : *có, cá, cós, cás* (Instituto da Lingua Galega, 2005).
(15) *É mais vella* ***cá*** *miña.*

Elle est plus âgée [persoană] / vieille [persoană sau obiect] / ancienne [obiect] que la mienne.

Concernant l'article indéfini, celui-ci présente aussi des formes contractées avec les prépositions *con, de* et *en* comme dans le tableau 4.

	UN	UNHA	UNS	UNHAS
DE	dun	dunha	duns	dunhas
EN	nun	nunha	nuns	nunhas
CON	cun	cunha	cuns	cunhas

Tableau 4. Formes des articles indéfinis contractés en galicien

(16a) *Caeu nun erro.* (16b) *Bateu cun home na praia.*

Il est tombé dans une erreur. Il s'est battu avec une personne à la plage.

En catalan, les articles définis et indéfinis sont placés devant les noms et en indiquent le nombre et le genre (tableau 5). L'élision, qui consiste dans la suppression des voyelles *e* et *a* comme en français, affecte les articles définis singuliers *el* et *la* devant les noms commençant par une voyelle (sauf *u* et *i* atones dans les mots féminins) ou un *h* muet : *l'avi* (le grand-père), *l'ull* (l'œil), *l'hivern* (l'hiver) (Freysselinard, 2002 : 14).

article défini				article indéfini			
singulier		pluriel		singulier		pluriel	
mas. el, l', en	fém. la, l'	mas. els	fém. les	mas. un	fém. una	mas. uns	fém. unes

Tableau 5. Formes de l'article défini et indéfini en catalan

En catalan, comme en français, les articles définis masculins *el* et *els* se contractent au contact des prépositions *a*, *de* et *per* pour donner : *als, del, dels, pel, pels* (tableau 6). Une particularité du catalan concerne les formes du féminin *la*, *l'* et du masculin *el*, *l'*, *en* devant les mots propres : *la* Rosa, *l'*Anna, *el* Joan, *l'*Esteve, *en* Jaume, d'emploi obligatoire (Solà, 2008).

prépositions	el + consonne	el + voyelle	els
a	al	a l'	als
de	del	de l'	dels
per	pel	-	pels
per a	per al	per a l'	per als

Tableau 6. Formes des articles contractés en catalan

La fonction de l'article en français comme dans les autres langues est d'actualisation du nom. Selon Guillaume (2009 : 174), « l'article opère la transition du nom en puissance (état conceptuel acquis) au nom en effet (nom appliqué dans le discours) ». Le français distingue deux genres : le masculin et le féminin (tableau 7). Les langues romanes, à l'exception du roumain, ont perdu le neutre. En latin populaire déjà, le neutre avait été éliminé et la plupart des noms neutres du latin sont devenus masculins en français.

Tableau 7. Formes de l'article défini et indéfini en français

article défini				article indéfini			
singulier		pluriel		singulier		pluriel	
mas. le, l'	fém. la, l'	mas. les	fém. les	mas. un	fém. une	mas. des	fém. des

L'article *l'* s'appelle article élidé et s'emploie devant un nom qui commence par une voyelle ou un h muet. Devant les noms qui commencent par une consonne ou un *h* aspiré, on emploie l'article complet.

(17) *le pain, le livre, le héros, le hangar, la table, la science, la honte, l'homme, l'habit, l'hôtel, l'actrice, l'ombre, l'unité, l'honneur, l'histoire.*

Les formes du pluriel ne font pas d'élision. Avec les noms commençant par une voyelle ou par un *h* muet, on fait la liaison de

l' *–s* : *les œufs, les histoires, les herbes*.

L'article indéfini précède toujours le nom et s'accorde avec lui en genre et en nombre. Son individualisation reste cependant indéterminée :

(18) Il a acheté *un livre.*
Il a visité *un ami.*

Le français dispose aussi d'un article partitif qui se place devant les noms des objets indénombrables, pour indiquer que l'on ne considère qu'une partie de l'espèce désignée par le nom. L'article partitif est formé de la préposition *de*, pure ou combinée avec l'article défini (tableau 8) : manger *du pain*, acheter *des fruits*, fondre *du plomb*. On emploie avec un article partitif même les noms des choses qui se comptent, mais qui sont employés par figure comme des noms des choses qui ne se comptent pas :

(19) Il y a *du gibier* dans cette région, *du lièvre*, *du lapin*, *du perdreau*.

Par extension, on emploie l'article partitif avec les noms abstraits : avec *du courage*, faire *du bruit*, montrer *de la bienveillance*.

article partitif			
singulier		pluriel	
mas. du (de l')	fém. de la, (de l')	mas. des	fém. des
de après la négation			

Tableau 8. Formes de l'article partitif en français

En roumain, l'article défini est généralement enclitique (tableau 9) et fonctionne comme un suffixe, comme une particule soudée au nom (Iliescu, 2009) contrairement à l'espagnol, au galicien, au catalan ou au français, où il est placé avant le nom. Son principal rôle est d'individualiser un objet connu. Selon sa particularité fonctionnelle et sémantique, l'article défini est un élément anaphorique et déictique (Bărbuță *et al*. 2000).

genre	masculin		féminin		neutre	
n° / cas	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
nominatif accusatif	-l (-le, -a)	-i	-a	-i	-l	
génitif datif	-lui (-i)	-lor	-le	-lor	-lui	-lor

Tableau 9. Formes de l'article défini (enclitique) en roumain

La grande particularité du roumain c'est la règle selon laquelle le nom perd l'article défini après une préposition (excepté la préposition *cu*).

(20a) *pe Ø dulap* (20b) *lângă Ø foc* (20c) *cu prietenu**l***
sur armoire à côté feu avec ami DÉF
'sur l'armoire' 'à côté du feu' 'avec l'ami'

En plus d'être la seule langue romane à conserver le genre neutre (Bikić-Carić, 2009), le roumain a aussi préservé en partie la déclinaison du latin (Triadafillu, 2001), du fait d'avoir été au contact des langues slaves fusionnantes. Les exemples donnés en (21) résument l'essentiel des déclinaisons.

(21) stea fém. (étoile); *prieten* mas. (ami); *tren* n. (train)
a. nominatif/accusatif b. datif/génitif
singulier fém. *stea (stea + ea)* singulier *stelei (stea + ei)*

‘étoile’ ‘de l’étoile’
pluriel *stelele (stele + ele)* pluriel *stelelor (stele + lor)*
‘les étoiles’ ‘des étoiles’

c. nominatif/accusatif d. datif/génitif
singulier mas. *prietenul (prieten + ul)* singulier *prietenului* (*prieten + lui)*
‘l’ami’ ‘de l’ami’
pluriel *prietenii (prieteni + ei)* pluriel *prietenilor (prieteni + lor)*
‘les amis’ ‘des amis’

Le nom neutre n’a pas de forme spécifique : au singulier il utilise celles du masculin et au pluriel, celles du féminin (Madrona et Pissot 2009), contrairement au français.
(22) a. nominatif/accusatif b. datif/génitif
singulier n. *trenul (tren + ul)* singulier n. *trenului (tren + lui)*
‘le train’ ‘du train’

pluriel n. *trenurile (trenuri + ele)* pluriel n. *trenurilor (trenuri+lor)*
‘les trains’ ‘des trains’
Le roumain n’a pas d’article partitif. Son correspondant roumain est le nom employé sans article.

(23) *El mănâncă Ø unt*.
PRON.3.SG. manger.3.SG.PRE. beurre
‘Il mange du beurre.’

L’article indéfini roumain est proclitique (tableau 10), comme dans les autres langues romanes : *un izvor* ‘une source ‘, *o furnică* ‘une fourmi’. Parfois, entre le nom et le déterminant on peut intercaler un déterminatif adjectival : *un drum lung*, ‘un long chemin’ *o albastră mare* ‘une mer bleue’. Dans ces groupes, l’article se réfère au nom, pas à l’adjectif.

genre	masculin / neutre		féminin	
nº / cas	singulier	pluriel	singulier	pluriel
nominatif / accusatif	un	nişte	o	nişte
génitif / datif	unui	unor	unei	unor

Tableau 10. Formes de l’article indéfini (proclitique) en roumain

Les cas d'omission des articles définis et indéfinis

En général, les noms dans les langues romanes analysées dans cette étude sont précédés de l'article, mais il y a certains cas, assez nombreux, de suppression de l'article. Nous montrerons les différences d'omission des articles définis et indéfinis et les caractéristiques des syntagmes nominaux sans déterminant dans les cinq langues romanes.

Dans les noms déterminés par un adjectif déterminatif, on supprime l'article défini ou indéfini en espagnol et français (Brito, *et al.* 2010), à la différence du galicien, et du catalan, qui admettent le nom avec article devant le possessif, et du roumain, langue dans laquelle l'article apparaît placé après le nom.

(1) mi libro
o meu libro
mon livre
el meu llibre
cartea mea

En français les noms : *Monsieur, Madame, Mademoiselle* contiennent déjà un possessif et ne prennent pas d'article. Dans les autres langues, l'article subsiste :

(2) Monsieur Dupont arrive. (fr.)
O señor Dupont chegou. (gal.)
El señor Dupont llega. (esp.)
El senyor Dupont arriba. (cat.)
Domnul Dupont soseşte. (roum.)

Pour indiquer l'âge, l'heure, les jours de la semaine, au singulier pour évoquer un jour en particulier ou au pluriel pour indiquer la périodicité on emploie l'article seulement dans l'espagnol, le galicien et le catalan. Il est supprimé dans le français et le roumain.

(3) A los treinta años. (esp.)
Aos trinta anos. (gal.)
A les trenta anys. (cat.)
À trente ans. (fr.)
La treizeci de ani. (roum.)

Dans presque toutes les langues romanes, sauf le français, les noms de continents, pays, régions, provinces ne prennent pas d'article :

(4) Francia	Europa	Portugal
França	Europa	Portugal
França	Europa	Portugal
la France	l'Europe	le Portugal
Franța	Europa	Portugalia

En espagnol, galicien, catalan et roumain, l'article défini pluriel est généralement omis, mais en français on admet les noms avec articles en position d'objet d'un verbe transitif.

(5) *Leemos Ø libros*. (esp.)
Lemos Ø libros. (gal.)
Llegim Ø llibres. (cat.)
Nous lisons *des* livres.(fr.)
Citim Ø cărți. (roum.)

Aucune de ces langues n'admet le nom sans article (6a) et (6b) en position initiale de phrase. Dans l'exemple (6), les syntagmes nominaux sont symétriques.

(6a) *Unos perros ladraban*. (esp.)
Uns cans ladraban. (gal.)
Uns gossos ladraven. (cat.)
Des chiens aboyaient. (fr.)

(6b) Los chicos corren. (esp.)
Os mozos corren. (gal.)
Els nois corren. (cat.)
Les garçons courent. (fr.)
Băieții aleargă. (roum.)

Tout comme l'indéfini pluriel en roumain, catalan et espagnol, le partitif s'impose pour le français dans l'exemple (7a) et (7b).

Il n'existe pas d'article partitif dans les trois autres langues de telle sorte qu'une phrase française avec l'article partitif se traduit tantôt par un déterminant indéfini pluriel si le nom est en position initiale d'énoncé, comme en (6) ou par l'article zéro si le nom est en position d'objet, comme en (7a), même si le catalan admet optionnellement *de* comme en (7b) avant les noms anticipés ou répétés par le pronom faible *en* (Petit i Aguilar 1998).

(7a) Ha comido Ø manzanas. (esp).
Comeu Ø mazás. (gal.)

Ha mejat Ø pomes. (cat.)
Il a mangé *des* pommes. (fr.)
A mâncat Ø mere. (roum.)

(7b) Como pan y carne. (esp.)
Como pan e carne. (gal.)
Menjo Ø pà i carn (cat.). De pa i carn, no en menjo. (cat.)
Je mange *du* pain et *de la* viande. (fr.)
Mănânc Ø pâine şi carne. (roum.)

En français, dans certains cas, on remplace l'article indéfini et l'article partitif par la préposition *de,* comme par exemple dans les phrases négatives (8). On remarque les différences avec les autres langues romanes : espagnol, galicien, catalan et roumain , et l'emploi de la forme pleine du partitif lorsque la négation se rapporte à une qualité spécifique et pas à la quantité.

(8) No come jamás carne. (esp.)
Non come xamais carne. (gal.)
No menja mai carn. (cat.)
Il ne mange jamais *de* viande. (fr.)
El nu mănâncă niciodată carne. (roum.)

(9) *No compréis patatas, sino alubias.* (esp.)
Non compredes patacas, senón fabas. (gal.)
No compreu patates, sinó fabes. (cat.)
N'achetez pas *des pommes de terre*, mais *des haricots*. (fr.)
Nu cumpăraţi legume, ci fructe. (roum.)

Si le complément de ces verbes est déterminé, on l'emploie avec article :
(10a) Tengo una sed terrible. (esp.) (10b) Tiene un hambre de lobo.
Teño unha sede terrible. (gal.) Ten unha fame de lobo.
Tinc una set terrible. (cat.) Té una fam de llop.
J'ai une soif terrible. (fr.) Il a une faim de loup.
Îmi este o sete teribilă. (roum.) Am o foame de lup.

Il est bien connu que certaines prépositions ne sont que rarement suivies d'article :
Sin : *sin miedo, sen medo, sense por, sans peur, fără frică*
En : *en coche, en coche, en cotxe, en auto, cu maşina*.
On remarque que dans ces cas, en roumain s'emploie le nom avec l'article enclitique *–a*.

Un cas particulier est représenté par les locutions qui en français et en roumain s'utilisent avec le déterminant défini, mais pas dans les autres langues comme espagnol, galicien et catalan.

(11a) En presencia de (esp.) (11b) en honor de (esp.)
En presenza de (gal.) en honra de (gal.)
En presència de (cat.) en honor de (cat.)
En *la* présence de (fr.) en *l*'honneur de (fr.)
În prezenț*a* (roum.) în onoare*a* (roum.)

Devant certains adjectifs indéfinis placés devant le nom comme *autre*, on ne place pas l'article en espagnol, galicien et roumain, sauf en français et catalan, langues dans lesquelles il est employé régulièrement (12a). Cependant, devant *demi*, *tel, certain, égal, semblable, quelconque* on situe l'article seulement en français (12b).

(12a) Vendré otro día. (esp.) (12b) Vuelva dentro de media hora.
Virei outro dia. (gal.) Volva dentro de media hora.
Vindré *un* altre dia. (cat) Torni dins de mitja hora.
Je viendrai *un* autre jour. (fr.) Revenez dans *une* demi-heure.
Voi veni în altă zi. (roum.) Întoarce-te peste jumătate de oră.

On a déjà souligné les cas de suppression les plus communs de l'article défini et indéfini dans les cinq langues et on a vu les différences et les ressemblances entre toutes les langues en contact. Il faut ajouter qu'il y a aussi d'autres cas d'omission, dans quelques langues romanes qui n'ont pas été mentionnées, comme la suppression de l'article dans les apostrophes, dans les énumérations littéraires, les proverbes et les dictons, dans les titres, les adresses, les annonces, les avis et dans les tournures familières.

Conclusion

Nous avons exposé des similitudes et des différences d'emploi et d'absence de l'article défini et indéfini avec l'objectif de prévenir l'acquisition erronée des noms avec et sans articles faite par les apprenants étrangères qui sont en contact avec plusieurs langues romanes. Des élèves immigrants parlant une langue romane comme par exemple un italien, un roumain ou un portugais qui suivent pratiquement tous les enseignements dans d'autres langues romanes dans des contextes bilingues en Espagne, comme Galice, Catalogne ou Pays Basque doivent apprendre deux langues romanes en contact, la langue co-officielle le galicien, le catalan ou l'euskera avec l'espagnol, langues de scolarisation dans les institutions maternelles, primaires et secondaires. Puisque toutes les langues en contact sont d'origine romane, le facteur *typologie* est pertinent.

L'apprenant lui-même, en construisant son interlangue, doit essayer d'évaluer la distance entre la langue source et la langue cible et créer sa propre 'psychotypologie' de la proximité entre les deux langues. La solution n'est pas de transférer toutes les formes d'articles de la langue maternelle aux autres langues acquises, mais de filtrer « les éléments des deux langues où l'on observe une identité de forme et de fonction » (Kellerman, 1980: 55).

Il est extrêmement important d'arriver à savoir quelles sont les difficultés linguistiques de ces groupes d'immigrants venus d'autres pays, comment peut-on réparer les erreurs qu'ils commettent et mettre en évidence le fait que ce n'est pas toujours une langue apparentée qui sert nécessairement à acquérir avec plus de facilité une autre langue romane. Quelles sont les stratégies didactiques dont les professeurs peuvent se servir pour que leurs élèves n'arrivent pas à l'échec scolaire ?

Les enfants entrent par immersion dans un bain linguistique doublé dans le cas de l'apprentissage de deux langues en contact. Selon l'hypothèse contrastive, la langue nouvelle L2 sera déterminée par la L1 et ses structures déjà acquises auparavant. Le transfert linguistique peut avoir des rapports bidirectionnels: d'une part, l'influence d'une L1 vers la L2 et L3, d'autre part des influences du L2 sur la L1 et la L3 ou du L3 sur la L1 et la L2 (Cenoz, 2001; Jarvis, 2003; Odlin et Jarvis, 2004; Pavlenko et Jarvis, 2002). L'apprenant est induit en erreur, ce qui provoque un transfert négatif et des interférences. Klein (1989) identifie six composants de l'acquisition et l'apprentissage d'une langue : l'impulsion ou la motivation à apprendre, la faculté ou la capacité linguistique, l'accès à la langue, la rapidité du processus d'acquisition, le rythme d'acquisition et l'état final de l'apprentissage, l'approche le plus près possible de la norme linguistique de la langue cible. Au moment où l'enfant est en contact à l'école avec deux langues romanes et commence l'apprentissage dans ces langues il a déjà acquis la faculté du langage en L1. On croit légitime d'affirmer qu'en apprenant une L2 et L3, un élève recourt à des processus cognitifs communs à la L1 et L2 ou L3, processus que l'apprentissage des L2 et L3 permet de développer en même temps. Les langues d'un apprenant plurilingue sont activées en production orale et écrite lors d'une interaction en langue cible, aspect que permet de tester le transfert linguistique des langues en contact.

Les enfants habitués à travailler en deux langues vont développer une aptitude considérable à l'acquisition d'une troisième, voire d'une quatrième langue, car ils ont pris l'habitude de manipuler deux codes, deux langues dès le début de leur apprentissage.

Cette étude comparative sur le plan de la morphologie, en présentant les différences et les similitudes d'emploi et d'omission des articles, joue un rôle important dans l'apprentissage des langues apparentées lorsqu'un apprenant passe par plusieurs langues romanes. Les professeurs, en considérant les points communs (la typologie) et les différences entre les cinq langues, doivent viser le développement de l'interlangue des apprenants. De cette manière-ci, ils pourront programmer des activités en utilisant des supports linguistiques différents pour mettre en évidence les caractéristiques de contraste entre les cinq normes linguistiques de l'emploi et de l'absence de l'article. À ce stade, les enseignants, conscients de toutes ces différences et ressemblances, pourraient adapter leurs stratégies d'enseignement.

Dans cette perspective, notre étude suggère la nécessité de porter une attention spéciale à l'article défini et indéfini surtout au cas d'omission de ceux-ci pour empêcher un transfert négatif d'une langue vers l'autre. Dans l'apprentissage des langues, les transferts et les interférences n'ont pas une seule origine qu'on puisse localiser uniquement dans L1 ou dans L2, mais des origines complexes qui se situent tantôt dans L1, L2 et même dans L3.

Cette étude, avec ses limitations, pourra fournir une base de travail pour les chercheurs qui envisagent d'étudier les influences interlinguistiques dans l'apprentissage de plusieurs langues romanes en contact.

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Adapting Methods of Teaching Romanian as a Foreign Language to the Target Group

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Abstract:
The increasing number of foreigners interested in learning Romanian for various reasons (whether they come to study in Romania, they come to work in Romania or they settle permanently in this European country) had required creating and teaching a new domain: "Romanian language as a foreign language". Thus, Romanian language teachers have found themselves in the position to teach their mother tongue from a completely different perspective, something not easily achieved. And, from this viewpoint, many have rightly asked themselves about the magic formula by which the foreigner, regardless of country of origin, age, sex, occupation, social status or religion, could learn Romanian quickly and easily.

A recipe to guarantee full success, in our view, has not been found yet. Therefore, in this article we have tried to analyze how different methods of teaching Romanian language must suit the different types of course participants and their level of knowledge of Romanian. Thus, we described methods such as exposure, conversation, linguistic analysis, discovery, problem solving, demonstration, working with the textbook, teaching game, teamwork, brainstorming and exercise method.

The conclusion we have reached is that, regardless of how homogeneous a group of course participants may be, the use of a single teaching method, even if it is the most suitable for the target group, will not be able to guarantee full success; therefore, we rely on the premise that only the combination of several methods of teaching Romanian as a foreign language can bring the desired result, namely the acquiring by non-native speakers of a new language that they need to understand and speak.

Keywords: method, target group, Romanian as a foreign language, learners

Teaching Romanian as a Foreign Language (RFL) is an activity not only interesting and challenging but also difficult and exhausting. It has been proven that being a native speaker of Romanian alone does not qualify one to teach this subject, which raises many problems due to the fact that it requires an entirely different approach of the lexical, grammatical and syntactic structures of the language. In order to get the

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expected results, i.e. the acquisition of good Romanian writing, reading and speaking skills by the students, the teacher must often find the most appropriate method in his/her endeavour; he/she must select and adapt different RFL teaching methods to the target group. This group may be highly heterogeneous (different social categories, different ages, different cultures and religions) and may have to cope with different problems (comprehension, adjustment to the new situation); therefore, in order to succeed in his/her attempt to transfer knowledge of Romanian as a Foreign Language to such a group, the teacher will certainly have to go beyond one teaching – learning method, and combine several teaching methods and procedures.

In this paper we will present several RFL teaching methods and determine the appropriate target group for each of them.

1. The first method presented is the ***exposure method***, which, in turn, includes: the lecture, the narration and the explanation. The *lecture* is an appropriate method for advanced student groups, from B2 to C1/ C2 level (according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages); this method can also be successfully used for teenager and adult student groups who can follow a lecture and focus in order to understand the message conveyed. A large variety of subjects can be taught using the lecture method, ranging from Romanian literature and history to aspects of culture and civilization. The *narration*, as a teaching method, is similar to the lecture; the narration must obviously be adapted to each group level, irrespective of the students' age. Hence, the narration must start from simple topics (for A1 and A2 levels) and advance to complex topics (C1, C2 levels) and take into account the specific characteristics of each student group. The materials recommended for the narration are based on short texts on family, professional activities, time and space directions or living conditions for beginners, and various types of literary or non-literary texts for advanced students. The *explanation* follows the broad lines of the lecture and the narration; it is a method that requires thinking and its aim is to clarify some notions, principles or cases; additionally, the explanation plays an important part in the student's understanding of Romanian language functions and specific properties to be subsequently acquired and used by the non-native speakers. Therefore, the explanation is the first step towards non-native speakers' acquisition of Romanian as a foreign language skills, namely understanding some linguistic properties (for example, when to use the enclitic definite article or not, or the forms of the future tense simple with its different stylistic uses). By the explanation, the teacher aims, as far as possible, to provide an answer to the students' *why* questions in order to help them understand and acquire the novel items.

2. The ***conversation method*** requires the permanent formative and informative dialogue between the teacher and the student or among two or more students; being an active method, the *conversation* is considered to be one of the most important methods of learning a foreign language and it is greatly appreciated by both teachers and students; it enables the latter to express themselves in a foreign language that they are trying to acquire, for various reasons. The conversation method stimulates and directs the students' activity through dialogue, irrespective of the type of conversation – introductory or final, information provision, repetition and systematization, or testing and evaluation (Eftenie, 2008: 5–6). They will actively participate in the conversations and express their own views on the topics proposed for discussion; in this way, students will develop and train their thinking and gradually learn to think in Romanian. If, for beginner groups, the discussion is on common topics involving a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar activities (daily activities, family, friends, weather), for advanced groups discussions can easily be turned into debates on general not just personal interest topics. As can be noticed, the conversation, be it free, thematic or directed, must always be adapted, not only to the Romanian language level of the non-native speakers but also to their social and professional categories, so as not to create embarrassing or potentially conflict situations among participants. The teaching conversation can take place both vertically, between teacher and student, and horizontally, among two or more students. In our opinion, the catechetical conversation, which generally involves a review of previously acquired knowledge, and the vertical conversation are recommended for younger age groups, since they mainly involve the memory and children generally tend to provide standard answers. The Catechetical conversation is highly recommend at the beginning of the class to activate "anchor-ideas, or at the end of the teaching activity, when *feedback* is provided, or to reinforce knowledge acquired during the studying of a topic" (Parfene, 1999: 26). But, the use of these methods for older age groups is not precluded, when the focus is on the students' acquisition of certain linguistic structures. For advanced groups and older age groups, the heuristic (Socratic) conversation approach is recommended by which the teacher's questions address to students' judgment and they aim to stimulate and develop thinking in the foreign language. Open or close questions, stimulating or exploring questions put the student in different language situations, which he must cope with. Furthermore, in our experience, we can argue that, apart from other benefits, the horizontal dialogue creates cohesion among new groups of students, and, while barely knowing each other at first, after joining in conversations they even form friendships.

Therefore, irrespective of its form, in order to become a successful method, the *conversation* (that some RFL manuals are based on) must meet several general conditions: it should systematically rely on language structures; it should go from particular to general aspects, urging the students on to noticing and comparing certain linguistic properties, testing their thinking by asking for justified answers; it should avoid random questions and instead follow the logic of the cognitive process (Parfene, 1999: 26); it should clarify, summarize and consolidate the knowledge acquired; it should assess and test the use of the acquired knowledge, of the grammar skills and uses (Goia, 2002: 108). Additionally, in order for the conversation method not to be an utter failure, we believe that several recommendations should be taken into account: 1. the conversation must be based on clear and precise questions; for that reason, for beginner groups whose students do not master the sentence syntax very well and have a poor vocabulary allowing them to use only simple forms, the teacher must sometimes repeat the question or reformulate it, utter it more slowly; in the horizontal conversation, students must be helped to address clear questions themselves to their colleagues; in this case, the teacher plays an essential part, as it has seldom happened that some shier participants in the conversation abandon the dialogue; they must be encouraged and motivated to have simple conversations at first on familiar or everyday life topics; 2. students should be given enough time to formulate the answers; this requirement differs from one group to another and must be adapted depending on the language skills of the majority of the students; 3. the teacher should not address a different question until a satisfactory or complete answer has not been provided for the previous question; d. the teacher should avoid ambiguous questions (questions with multiple answers or no suitable answer); 5. under no circumstances, must the teacher provide an answer instead of the students (when they have difficulties in finding the answer, the teacher must only guide students towards finding the desired answer) and, especially, he/she must not pointlessly repeat their answer (if students in the classroom do not understand the answer given by a colleague, the latter must be asked to repeat or reformulate the answer, to give additional explanations, if possible); 6. the teacher must not speak more than the students, thus, the students not participating at all or having limited participation in the conversation, they may get bored, a situation encountered especially for younger target groups or beginner groups, if the level of the conversation is not adapted to the students' level of comprehension. A successful conversation sometimes depends on the manner of asking the questions; but this should be varied in order to avoid a possible monotony of the action; thus, 1. *group questions* (addressed to the entire class) must alternate with 2. *individual questions* (addressed to a single student; but randomly, not in a given order, as sometimes students can anticipate things or not pay attention except when they know it is their turn), or with 3. *relay and communication questions* (addressed by the student to the teacher and then readdressed by the latter to the entire class) or with 4. *review questions* (the teacher asks for the rest of the class's opinion on an answer provided by one of their colleagues). Thus, "the true dialogue, as argued by modern methodology, is based on *intercommunication*, on a substantial exchange of ideas between teacher and student, and among students themselves" (Goia, 2002: 110).

3. Another method of teaching Romanian as a Foreign Language, on which we focus is the following paragraph, is the ***linguistic analysis***, classified into the phonetic, morphological, syntactic, lexical, orthographical and spelling analysis. Depending on the overall goal and aims, this method can be used in almost all types of lesson. The linguistic analysis method, without focusing on theoretical aspects, as the ultimate goal is that non–native speakers acquire Romanian comprehension, reading, speaking and writing skills, is important by allowing students to familiarize themselves with the structure of Romanian, its internal structure and development rules; this method helps students gain, in time, their own ability to express, generalize and think in Romanian.

In our opinion, the most important linguistic analysis methods are the lexical, syntactic and spelling analysis methods. It should be noticed that, by the lexical analysis method, foreigners develop the ability to work with Romanian vocabulary, they learn to use synonyms, antonyms, lexical fields, that allow them to express themselves accurately and in various structures in the foreign language that they wish to acquire. "The lexical analysis technique consists of using conversation based on linguistic material given, aiming for the *identification, meaning, expressive function* of different categories of words, in the linguistic context they belong to" (Parfene, 1999: 30). The spelling analysis aims at aspects of correct spelling in Romanian and it represents a complex phenomenon since it includes all the other analyses: phonetic, morphological, spelling. The spelling analysis method relies on acquisition of the Romanian spelling rules, as well as punctuation rules. Dictation, free writing or writing on a given topic for beginner groups, essays or literary analyses for advanced groups help the teacher assess the manner and level of acquisition of Romanian in terms of correct spelling of sounds and sound groups (*ce, ci, ge, gi, che, chi, ghe, ghi* that raise special problems especially for students who speak languages that do not have these sounds), of grammar forms and structures (verbs with personal pronoun or reflexive pronoun in the Accusative or Dative case) or orthograms (*s-au / sau, v-ar / var, ne-a / nea, c-ar / car* etc.). The syntactical analysis method is also important, whose aim is the ability to build correct and coherent Romanian clauses and sentences, both written and oral. This method particularly helps speakers of agglutinative languages, for whom, at first, building sentences in an analytic language, such as Romanian is, seems extremely hard. Gradually, however, by noticing the word order and relations among words that form sentences, at first simple, then more complex clauses and later sentences, this target group will certainly acquire the ability to speak and write correctly in Romanian.

4. Learning by ***discovery*** is considered by some research works as a modern teaching method, even though it combines elements of traditional teaching such as identification or the heuristic conversation. In our opinion, this method, based on the individual's own learning ability, is the most appropriate method for the student to acquire information and new skills, to notice by himself/herself how the rules governing the phonetic, morphological and syntactic system of the foreign language to be acquired for a longer or shorter study period, work and interact. Learning by discovery is, definitely, a method that will never bore the student and will invite the student to constantly draw parallels with his/her native language. Scientifically, there are more types of discovery: 1. *Inductive discovery*, that goes from the objective reality of the linguistic study material to categories and rules (discovering in a selected text the verb forms and the event time, that then lead to the structure rule, for example the perfect compus for beginner groups). 2. *Deductive discovery* that goes from categories and rules to exemplifying them by concrete aspects, using syllogistic reasoning (for example, also for A1 groups, to discover nouns starting from the definition and finding examples in the text); 3. *Analogical or transductive discovery* that operates with analogical reasoning (from the resemblance of certain aspects of two things one can deduce the probability of the resemblance of the two things (Parfene, 1999: 54). For noticeable results of the RFL teaching – learning activity it is recommended to use all three types of learning through discovery; additionally, this method must be combined with other methods, depending on the aspects of the item to be acquired and on the operational objectives set by the teacher during the process of teaching the lesson and learning of the concerned aspects by the students.

5. ***Problematization*** represents a more complex manner of applying the theory of learning by discovery (Parfene, 1999: 55) and it is used in situations that cannot be solved except by reasoning. As a method of learning Romanian as a Foreign Language, it can be used for all levels

in all the stages of the teaching process, for all ages and socio – professional target groups. In using this method, the teacher has the difficult job of creating problem situations, conflict situations requiring knowledge and awareness on the part of the students, which can create, in their mind, contradictions between what they know and what they do not know, urging them to find solutions by repeated tests, by demonstrations and logical argumentations. The importance of learning by problematization stems from the fact that it involves the students' reasoning, it stimulates their observation spirit, the power of analysis and of finding solutions based on deductive reasoning, of generalizing and making transfer of knowledge (Parfene, 1999: 56). Thus, finding solutions to problem situations requires several steps: 1. defining the starting point and the goal, 2. presenting the problem, 3. organizing the information, 4. processing the information inductively or deductively, 4. making a decision, 5. testing the results (Gouelin, 1972: 165). The teacher's role is to present the problem situation and to discreetly guide the students towards finding solutions. An example of a problem situation is solving the conflict situations generated by omissions which are liable to be filled in different ways, depending on possible message options (Beldescu: 125–126); for example, the teacher writes on the board messages such as: *Ei sunt bolnav (They be.IND.3PL. sick-.MASC.SG/root)* – or *Ion culege din grădină castraveț- copți (John picks ripe.MASC.PL. cucumber- from the garden) and* asks students to fill in the morphological markers so that they can obtain two different messages, if possible. After finding both solutions, the students are asked to explain the meaning the sentences acquire in the first communication situation (with plural markers) and in the second communication situation (with the definite article), then they are asked to create other similar problem-situations.

6. The ***demonstration*** is a traditional teaching method , which consists of using a series of logical judgments, along with the simultaneous use of intuitive means (sketches, drawings), so the foreigner can visualize the abstract relations of the new language which he must learn (Cerghit, 1976: 124). Undergoing a continuous process of modernization and procedural renovation, the demonstration is a method which benefits nowadays from the advantages of modern technology and equipment (video projector, retro projector), its use is highly appreciated by the students. The method of demonstration helps students (through the guided and correct performance of some analyses, comparisons, syntheses and generalizations) to understand the meaning of the basic structure of some linguistic phenomena; but, in order to avoid an emphasis on descriptive activities to eliminate the passive

attitude of students during the learning process, the demonstration has to make the course participants shift the focus from the perceptive to the rational moment. For example, the demonstration, combined with the conversation and the syntactic analysis methods, is very appropriate for teaching the grammatical category of voice in Romanian, at intermediate level; thus, the teacher writes on the board (possibly after watching some short videos or after showing some sketches highlighting verb action for the three voice distinctions in Romanian) sentences such as: *Mama spală copilul. / Copilul se spală. / Copilul este spălat de mama lui.* (*Mother is washing the baby. / The baby is washing (himself). / The baby is being washed by his mother*). And then, by means of guided and vertical conversation, it urges the students to rationally find the syntactic and logical connections in each text. After have understood these relations, the teacher demonstrates on the board, by graphically indicating the relations between subjects and their predicates, ending up with a representation such as: 1. Subject → Predicate → Direct Object, 2. Subject ↔ Predicate, Subject ← Predicate ← Agent (logical subject). In our own experience, we can argue that the demonstration is highly appreciated by students, since it involves them actively in the RFL teaching-learning process and it urges them to process the information so that, by mental operations, they eventually build the theoretical notions discussed.

7. The ***textbook work*** is a complex teaching-learning method, because it "selects, combines and distributes various other methods, depending on the topics approached and the instructive-educational-formative goals (the conversation, the linguistic analysis, the demonstration, learning through discovery, problematization, various types of exercises)" (Parfene, 1999: 66). This method is used for all levels and ages, but the teacher must pay careful attention to selecting the Romanian as a Foreign Language textbooks from the wide variety on the Romanian market, especially since these works are not always adapted to the level indicated in the title. Moreover, the teacher has the role to guide students and familiarize them with the particularities and the tasks of the textbook, in order for them to be able to discover, understand and internalize the explanations in the textbook. As a RFL learning method, the textbook work can be practiced both in the classroom, by individual assignments, and at home by the homework that the student must do or by going over the texts again, learning the new words and reinforcing the theoretical notions taught in class. The textbook work also gets the student accustomed to working with a different kind of supporting materials: exercise books, dictionaries, and specialized journals.

8. Another RFL teaching method is the ***teaching game method*** (see Dafinoiu, 2012: 165–171). It is well known that the game is a childhood

activity and, for the young groups of students, the efficiency of using the game in the process of teaching Romanian as a Foreign Language is easy to understand. But this teaching method can just as well be applied to older, even adult students, because adults haven't forgotten how to play. The game elements included in the lesson will certainly get the students' attention throughout the entire teaching activity and eliminate boredom, considered to be "*the deadly sin of teaching*" (Herbart). Using the teaching game in the RFL teaching process makes the student learn the language with pleasure, get more involved in the on-going classroom activity, it makes shy students be more open, more courageous, build their trust in their ability to answer the various questions/ tasks addressed in a language that they do not master yet. The game can eliminate the monotony produced by drills (the same types of exercises solved mechanically create boredom among students), to relieve the tiredness at the end of the classes (the level of concentration goes down as the level of tiredness rises), stimulate competition among participants, acquire new information, and, last but not least, the teaching game method is a good opportunity for the teacher to consolidate and verify the knowledge previously acquired by the students.

Games develop the concentration ability, the observance of certain rules, the ability to take quick decisions, to solve problem situations, they stimulate the students' creativity and involves all course participants in the teaching-testing process.

The teaching game is a guided activity, therefore it must be announced and prepared; its success depends on the teacher's ability to efficiently combine the structural elements specific to the game: the content of the game (the topic, announced from the start), the goal, the assignment, the game activity (or game operations), the rules of the game; the game is a teaching method by which the instructive – educational element combines with the entertaining one. The teacher organizes the class and introduces the students to the rules of the game, which all participants must understand, internalize and apply; these rules must not be changed during the game. The rules may have different functions: either clarify the content of the game to the participants, or is designed to ensure the completion of the assignments. The teacher leads the game and ensures that all participants observe the rules of the game. By using of the teaching game as a RFL learning method, any teacher may easily notice that, similarly to the conversation method, the game also has the role to bring the group together, as the game stimulates and motivates students, it brings joy and satisfaction to the winners, it teaches the losers to accept defeat without holding grudge against their colleagues.

9. ***The exercises method*** is also a teaching approach, considered to be successful in the process of learning a foreign language, in this case, of learning Romanian.

Under one interpretation, the exercises mean a repeated action to acquire skills and abilities, more specifically, the increasingly proficient use of Romanian by non-native speakers, by learning its grammatical rules and their correct use in practice; essentially, learning by exercises consists in the students' repeated actions designed to apply their theoretical knowledge of Romanian in actual speech. The exercises learning method is recommended for all levels, and any target groups, both during the teaching classes aimed at reinforcing the newly acquired knowledge, and during the classes designed to review some older knowledge (see Dafinoiu, 2008: 549–601). This method is obviously combined with other methods, especially the conversation. The exercises have a multiple aim: firstly, to reinforce theoretical knowledge; to develop the skill and ability to apply the theoretical knowledge; to adapt and transfer the theory to different practical situations; to acquaint the student with the use of the dictionary; to develop independent work as well as group work skills; to make the teacher aware of possible gaps and wrong interpretation of the theory. The range of exercises which can be used for teaching Romanian as a foreign language is extremely wide, starting from A1/A2 level writing and reading exercises, to writing and analysis of texts for the C1/C2 levels. Thus, "according to their functions, exercises can be classified into: introductory, basic, creation, reproduction, operationalization, development, extensive, parallel, structural, testing exercises, individual or team exercises, collective, or oral, written, practical and mixed exercises" (Parfene, 1999: 59). In order for the exercises learning method to be successful, it requires some criteria, requirements and basic demands, including: exercises should be adapted to the theoretical knowledge acquired; the student should be aware of the exercises to be solved; the students should have learned the underlying theory necessary to solve the exercise; the exercises should be scientific and practice-oriented designed to raise the students' interest; the exercises should require the students to make a mental effort to find the correct solutions, not just solve the exercises mechanically; the assignment should be clearly formulated; they should be adapted to a certain level of difficulty and length according to the students' level and age; exercises should be varied and alternated to eliminate boredom and monotony; the teacher should timely check and correct the exercises and explain to the students where the mistake lies, etc. Among the many types of exercises which can be solved in the classroom depending on their target group, we mention: spelling and orthoepy exercises (dictation, multiple choice or error correction), rewriting, fill in the blanks, multiple choice, exercises requiring students to recognise structures and give reasons for their choice, narrative writing exercises, exemplifying, substitution exercises etc.

10. In the RFL teaching activity, the ***teamwork method*** should not be ignored**,** as the most important benefit of this method is that of uniting the group; this method "creates and maintains cooperation and competition relationships among members of a group or various student groups, in order to solve the learning tasks." (Eftenie, 2008: 120) Even if, initially, it appears to be a simple method, its content may raise problems, because the teacher must be able to select the team members appropriately, meaning that he must balance the teams from the point of view of their ability, he must designate a group leader, to assign tasks with a similar level of difficultly, to correct the written or oral texts produces by the students and, last but not least, to determine a final ranking based on the results of the teams. The method can be successfully applied to all target groups, regardless of the participants' age, sex, level or intellectual capacity, on condition that the assignments be adapted to each group based on its particular characteristics. Teamwork is a method recommended in reinforcement and systematization of previous knowledge, review and testing classes. The advantages of this method are clear considering that it has a positive influence on the development of attention and interest at group level, it stimulates individual activities to the extent that the success of the entire group depends on the individual work of each member, it develops creative thinking through the fact that every member of the group must complete his/her assignment by finding diverse and original solutions. By involving all participants in solving the assignments given by the teacher, teamwork turns the class from an unorganized group, unresponsive to the activity, into a dynamic, homogeneous and coherent, ambitious group aiming for the win. The teamwork method is often combined with other methods such as the conversation, the explanation and the demonstration, this time used by the students in motivating their answers to the given assignment.

11. A final RFL learning method which we will discuss is ***brainstorming***, also known as "the assault of ideas" or "storm in the brain". Considered by some specialists as an alternative of the problematization method and taking into consideration the specific nature of this teaching strategy, we consider that brainstorming is a modern method that can be applied for C1/C2 level students who are already acquired RFL structures, since this method is designed for "successive questions meant to facilitate the students' creative thinking

and spontaneous answers" (Goia, 2002: 126), This aspect requires problematization of discussions based on Romanian literature, science and technology, history and cultural life topics, and less or not at all on aspects of Romanian grammar. To trigger the so-called "storm" in the students' brain, they must be confronted with a problem-question which should urge them to combine surprising and spontaneous ideas, departing from the teaching approach used up to that moment (Goia, 2002: 126).

As can be noticed, there are numerous and various RFL teaching-learning methods, all sharing the same goal: to enable non-native speakers to quickly, efficiently and correctly learn Romanian; thus, whether we consider traditional or modern methods, active-participatory or not-participatory methods, whether they are designed for teaching and communicating information, or reinforcement and consolidating of the knowledge acquired by students, or testing and grading the results of the class participants' work, the teaching methods can be easily adapted according to the specific characteristics of each target group, and, for maximum efficiency of the instructive-educational process, they must always alternate, be combined and complete each other; combining several methods will certainly guarantee the full success of the teacher's activity, both regarding the introduction of new knowledge and the testing of the knowledge acquired by the student. Some of the methods indicated above can be used both in teaching and in testing, for example the conversation method (both heuristic and catechetical) or the linguistic analysis method; other methods can be used for reinforcing knowledge or for the acquisition of speaking and writing skills, for example the exercises method. The success of these teaching methods and procedures depends to a great extent on the teacher's ability to select, apply, and take into account some basic principles such as: the principle of systematizing and structuring the information given to the students, the principle of continuity and enrichment of (grammatical and lexical) knowledge from one lesson to another, the principle of accessibility and gradual rise of the level of difficulty of the items taught, the principle of adaptation to students' age and intellectual capacity.

In conclusion, we can argue that no teacher can provide a full success recipe for the teaching-learning-testing of RFL knowledge, irrespective of his/her teaching experience. This assumption starts from the idea that, in his/her attempt to transfer information to a target group willing to learn Romanian as a foreign language, the teacher runs into a series of variables related to age, socio-professional category, sex, individual intellectual and educational characteristics, which are part of the course participant's internal structure. Nevertheless, if, in the end, after some hard, long and sustained effort, the teacher realizes that his/her students can understand a written text or an oral speech, they can write and speak Romanian correctly, it means that his/her work was not in vain and that, regardless of the teaching methods used, they were successful.

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Ce se (mai) ştie despre ***rudari?*** (studiu sociolingvistic cu privire la situația rudarilor din localitatea Valea Mare, județul Vâlcea[*])

Alina-Iuliana Popescu[**]

***What do We Know about The Throughmakers?* (Sociolinguistic Study on the Situation of the Romani People, from Valea Mare, Vâlcea County)**

Abstract:

Over time, the research studies on those minority populations were, unfortunately, very few, limited to: Ion Chelcea, *The Throughmakers. Contributions to an ethnographical "enigma"*, Bucharest, 1943 and *The Throughmakers of the Danube Valley*, 1978; C. Serban, *Contributions to the History of the Throughmakers from Romanian Country*: *The Gypsies Throughmakers from the 17th to the 18th century,* in the "Magazine of History", XII, 1959, no. 2, p. 131–147); Ion Calotă, *Speech of the throughmakers from Oltenia*, Craiova, Sibla, 1974, and *The Throughmakers from Oltenia*. *Dialectology and linguistic geography study*, 1995. As it concerns the *băieşi*, we shall mention two reference works of some local researcher, Dorin Lozovanu, The *Romanian population from the Balkan Peninsula*, geographically human study (thesis), Iaşi, July, 2008, and Nicolae Saramandu, *Dialectal research to an unknown group of Romanian speakers: Băiaşii from the Northern Croatia*, "Phonetics and Dialectology", no. XVI, 2007.

Vasile Ursan explained in his paper that "băieşii from Jina are the gypsies who formerly worked in quarries" and Nicolae Saramandu, in his article, restrict the ethnonym only on the Roma population (Gypsies) of the Central Europe. This ethnographic and linguistic identity between *the Throughmakers* and *the Băieşi* (goldsmiths miners) we have tried to establish during the study and we have conducted research on customizing the inhabitants of the village of

[*] Alegerea acestei localități de rudari, din regiunea Oltenia, este mai mult un pretext pentru realizarea paralelei lingvistice, pe care o vom efectua între *rudari, băieşi* şi *românii* vorbitori ai graiurilor nordice. Desigur, ancheta de teren pe care am efectuat-o se referă strict la această localitate însă pentru realizarea acestui studiu am avut în vedere și studiile anterioare ale lui Ion Calotă cu privire la *Graiul rudarilor din Oltenia*, informațiile primite de la Vasile Ursan, în a sa lucrare *Graiul din Mărginimea Sibiului (teză de doctorat),* în care vorbește și el despre *băieşii din Mărginime,* sau lucrarea lui Dorin Lozovanu, *Populația românească din Peninsula Balcanică (teză de doctorat),* în care îi cercetează pe *băieşii din Europa Centrală.*

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Valea Mare, from Vâlcea county. Linguistic differences, caught by Nicholas Saramandu, we consider minor, in opposition to many of speech similarities. Field survey, which we conducted, largely impressionistic transcribed, come to annihilate any doubts about the idea that it would be about two different populations. It is clearly an overlap both linguistic and ethnological. As for the identity of the Roma population, we are opposed to the view of Ion Calotă who talks about an identity of the two populations. We will come back, in this regard, with additional conclusions in a study on all the Throughmakers populations from Oltenia.

Keywords: investigation, sociolinguistic study, the Romani people, dialect, linguistic geography

Pe site-ul *http://www.paundurlic.com/forum.vlasi.srbije/* se dezbate, intens, de mai bine de doi ani, problema legăturii etnice şi lingvistice între *băieşii* de pretutindeni[1] şi *rudari.* Polemicile au ca punct de plecare însăşi etimologia celor două denumiri, care conduce şi spre o anumită istorie, considerată capabilă să elucideze nelămuririle.

De-a lungul timpului, cercetările cu privire la aceste populații minoritare[2] au fost, din păcate, extrem de puține. Deşi nu s-ar spune că *rudarii* ar face obiectul unei cercetări științifice istovitoare, dense, riguroase, iată că studiile care îi privesc există, însă ele se limitează la: Ion Chelcea, cu cele două lucrări: *Rudarii. Contribuții la o «enigmă» etnografică*, Bucureşti, 1943 şi *Rudarii de pe Valea Dunării,* 1978; C. Şerban, *Contribuții la istoria meşteşugurilor din Țara Românească: țiganii rudari în sec. XVII-XVIII,* în „Revista de istorie”, XII, 1959, nr. 2, p. 131–147); Ion Calotă, *Graiul rudarilor din Oltenia*, Craiova, Editura Sibla, 1974 şi *Rudarii din Oltenia. Studiu de dialectologie şi de geografie lingvistică românească,* 1995. În ceea ce-i priveşte pe *băieşi*, menționăm două lucrări de referință ale unor cercetători autohtoni: Dorin Lozovanu, *Populația românească din Peninsula Balcanică, Studiu uman geografic (teză de doctorat),* Iaşi, iulie 2008 şi Nicolae Saramandu, *Cercetări dialectale la un grup necunoscut de vorbitori ai românei: Băiaşii din nordul Croației,* în „Fonetică şi Dialectologie”, nr. XVI, 2007.

[1] Conform informațiilor mai multor surse, *băieşii,* ca populație, există în majoritatea statelor din Europa Centrală, dintre care amintim: Croația (jupânia Medjimurie), Slovenia, Ungaria, Bosnia (Banja Luka) şi Herțegovina, Serbia şi Muntenegru şi România. (informații preluate de pe site-ul menționat deja, *http://www.paundurlic.com/forum.vlasi.srbije/,* dar şi din *teza de doctorat* a prof. Dorin Lozovanu, *Populația românească din Peninsula Balcanică, Studiu uman geografic*).

[2] Deşi ne alăturăm celor care spun că *rudarii* şi *băieşii* reprezintă una şi aceeaşi populație, totuşi, în această primă parte a lucrării noastre păstrăm distincția între ei sub formă de premisă pe care o vom combate pe parcursul lucrării noastre.

Înainte de a face o „teoretizare” cu privire la originea etnică a *băieşilor* şi/sau *rudarilor*, cu aplicare pe populaţia de rudari din satul Valea Mare, judeţul Vâlcea, mai trebuie să menţionăm că se pune problema dacă etnia romă (ţiganii) este sau nu inclusă în această categorie.

În acest sens, trebuie precizat că rudarii îi consideră inferiori pe ţigani: „De notat este că înşişi rudarii se distanţează de originea şi identitatea etnică ţigănească, în cea mai mare parte considerându-se etnici români”[3].

> „*Rudárỉ ni zíșỉ, mai mult rudárỉ , măsărịáşỉ…Cu líỉngurỉ, cu fúᵘsă... Nu ţigánỉ!* (Sagắĉu Rắda. Uoptzăĉỉ şî tréị de ani)[4].

Totuşi, Dorin Lozovanu precizează, în lucrarea sa, că: “Deşi originea românească a acestora (a rudarilor – n.n. A. P.) a fost exprimată de unii cercetători maghiari (V. Kovach Aladar, 1922) sau români (V. Nicolaescu Plopşor), bazându-se pe argumente lingvistice şi etnofolclorice, în totalitate româneşti, alte opinii insistă la caracterul lor ţigănesc, ca o ramură a ţiganilor răspândiţi pe un areal larg, pe baza trăsăturilor antropologice şi structurii socio-economice […]. Afirmaţiile precum că rudarii şi băieşii sunt un trib români-ţigănesc, care au ca limbă maternă româna, completează teoriile referitoare la caracterul etnic al acestora (R. Uhlik, cercetător din Bosnia, 1955)”[5]. De asemenea, Ion Calotă numeşte capitolul introductiv al studiului său *Rudarii din Oltenia: Introducere. Graiul ţiganilor rudari…*[6]. Acelaşi autor rezervă câteva pagini pentru a pune întrebări şi a da răspunsuri cu referire la originea celor două etnii. Fără să zăbovim prea mult asupra acestora (întrucât nu fac obiectul direct al cercetării noastre!), rezumăm concluzia la care a ajuns Calotă, dezbătând studiile a doi lingvişti (V. Nicolaescu Plopşor şi Ion Chelcea), şi anume că deşi originea rudarilor ar putea să fie una romă, cert este că, pe parcursul anilor, aceştia din urmă s-au desprins foarte mult de *ţigani*, atât social, etnologic cât şi lingvistic. „Deşi antropologic-somatic, rudarul e ţigan, […] *el păstrându-şi trăsăturile fizice, caracteristice rasei ţiganilor*, într-o nuanţă specifică, totuşi rudarii nu vorbesc ţigăneşte, şi, spre deosebire de toţi ţiganii, rudarii practică obiceiul *gurbanului*[7]”[8].

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[3] Vezi Lozovanu, *Peninsula Balcanică*, p. 219.

[4] Informator din Valea Mare, judeţul Vâlcea, în cadrul anchetei linvgistice pe teren, din vara anului 2008.

[5] Lozovanu, *Peninsula Balcanică*, p. 220.

[6] Ion Calotă, *Rudarii din Oltenia*, Craiova, Editura Sibila, 1975, p. 9.

[7] „Gurbanul este cunoscut si sub denumirea de Pastele Rudarilor sau Ruga. Conform tradiţiei de Gurban, rudarii – şi mai ales cei bolnavi – trebuie să sacrifice un miel şi să se roage pentru însănătoţire. Pregătirea mielului se face aşa cum doreşte cea maiă în vârsta

În localitatea Valea Mare, din județul Vâlcea, din totalul de familii existente, aproximativ 100 sunt de rudari. Localitatea, făcând inițial parte din cadrul comunei Băbeni[9], odată cu urbanizarea acesteia din urmă[10], se transformă în cătun al noului oraş Băbeni. Deşi slab populată, localitatea beneficiază, totuși, de o biserică ortodoxă şi de o şcoala generală, cu clasele I-VIII[11]. Valea Mare este o localitate aflată la 6 kilometri de centrul oraşului Băbeni, având o populație de peste 3.000 locuitori. Istoria rudarilor ajunşi aici, în Valea Mare, ne-o spune chiar unul dintre informatori, care îşi susține originea inițială în Galicea (comună din județul Vâlcea, care inițial aparținuse Argeşului), până când au venit „*á*pili m*á*r*ỉ*, şî n*i̯*-*á* spăr*i̯á*t Uóltu' şî B*íi̯*strița. N*i̯*-*á*u sc*ó*s b*ằ*rcili d'acol*ó* arm*á*ta. Şî n*ói̯* n*i̯*-*á*m, spăr*i̯á*t, kă nu ni m*ái̯* d*úș*ăm acol*ó*. Am av*ú*t b*á*n*ỉ*, da' nu să găs*á* păm*ấ*nt"[12].

Ancheta pe teren pe care am efectuat-o în perioada august 2008, pe un eşantion inițial de doar 4 persoane[13], a avut ca obiectiv identificarea principalelor particularități de grai ale rudarilor din această zonă, cu scopul integrării acestora într-un grup sociolingvistic. Ancheta nu s-a bazat pe un chestionar prealabil, ci pe discuții libere cu informatorii, transcrierea înregistrării fiind, în cea mai mare parte *impresionistă*, realizându-se şi o *normatizare* ulterioară, pornind de la aceasta.

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persoană din familie: răscopt sau fiert. Ca ingrediente, se folosesc numai apă, sare şi frunze verzi! Odată cu pregătirea mielului, femeile pregătesc tuciul cu mămăligă şi fac trei pâinici nedospite. În momentul în care este mâncarea gata, persoana cea mai în vârstă începe să se roage! De Gurban, cel mai bătrân rudar ține loc și de preot! La masa Sfinților, așa cum o numesc rudarii, este invitată toată comunitatea, însă nu pot participa decât cei care sunt curați sufletește. Gurbanul se mai poate organiza de Sfântul Gheorghe și la Înălțare: singura condiție este ca ritualul să se desfășoare pe verdeață. Sărbătoarea rudarilor – Gurbanul, sărbătoare locală organizată la Băbeni, județul Vâlcea, constă în valorificarea unor obiceiuri preluate și păstrate de comunitatea rudarilor din localitate." (Sursa: http://dordeduca.ro/evenimente/gurbanul/885/)

[8] *Ibidem*, p. 11.

[9] Fosta comună, Băbeni, deținea, în componența sa, 7 sate, orânduite concentric, împrejurul Ungurenilor (acesta cuprinzând toate instituțiile administrative, precum şi cele mai importante unități economice): Români, Valea-Mare, Tătărani, Capu-Dealului, Pădurețu şi Bonciu. Datorită faptului că, în prezent, avem de-a face cu ***oraşul Băbeni,*** satele componente au devenit **cartiere.**

[10] „Începând cu iunie 2002, prin aplicarea Legii nr. 429/2002, publicată în M.O., nr. 497, din 27 iunie 2002, comuna BĂBENI devine oraș" – (informațiile provin de la „Consiliul local al orașului Băbeni, județul Vâlcea – Legislația a-III-a").

[11] Conform Consiliului local al orașului Băbeni, județul Vâlcea – Legislația a III-a.

[12] Cf. Pă*ú*n Cimpo*i̯é*ru (85 ani), informator din Valea Mare, în cadrul anchetei lingvistice din vara lui 2008.

[13] Ne propunem ca acest studiu să devină o monografie amplă, a localității în cauză, pentru care ne propunem să continuăm ancheta, pe un număr mai mare de localnici din Valea Mare.

Ulterior cercetării noastre, am avut la dispoziție lucrarea de doctorat a profesorului univ. dr. Dorin Lozovanu, un studiu de geografie umană, cu privire la *Populația românească din Peninsula Balcanică*, în care este cercetată şi problema *băieşilor* din Peninsula Balcanică şi Europa Centrală.

Cercetătorul amintit identifică o oarecare suprapunere etnică între *băieşi* şi categoria largă a *romilor*: „Băieşii, populația de limbă română, însă, la origine, în mare parte, țigani, este identificată în Vojvodina, precum şi în Croația sau Ungaria, ca *băieşi*, *băiaşi*. Etnonimul de *băiaş* este cel mai probabil legat de apelativul dat minerilor, de la baie (mină). Originea acestora este din teritoriile Transilvaniei, după specificul dialectal, aceştia se apropie de ardeleni. Migrația lor pe întreg teritoriul Imperiului Austro-Ungar, cel mai probabil, a început în secolul XVII. Modul de viață mobil, în trecut chiar nomad, face complicată identificare unei regiuni exacte de origine”[14].

Etimologic, etnonimul *băieş* are următoarea explicație:

BĂIÉŞ, *băieşi*, s.m. Lucrător într-o mină (de aur). < ***Baie***[2] + suf. – *aş*, ne precizează *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*[15], pentru ca *Dicționarul de sinonime* să ne confirme: ***BĂIÉŞ*** s. v. *miner*[16]. În completare, aducem şi etimonul cuvântului de la care derivă acesta: ***BÁIE***[2], *băi*, s.f. (Reg.) *Mină*[1] (din care se extrag mineralele).

[Pr.: ba-ie] – Din magh[17]. ***Bánya,*** ne precizează aceeaşi sursă explicativă[18]**.**

Vasile Ursan explică, în lucrarea amintită, că „băieşii din Jina sunt romii care, odinioară, munceau în carierele de piatră”[19], iar Nicolae Saramandu, în articolul *Cercetări dialectale la un grup necunoscut de vorbitori ai românei: Băiaşii din nordul Croației,* limitează utilizarea etnonimului numai la populația de români (țigani) din Europa

[14] Lozovanu, *Peninsula Balcanică,* p. 220.

[15] DEX 1998 = *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române,* Academia Română, Institutul de Lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan”, Bucureşti, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 1998.

[16] Mircea şi Luiza Seche, *Dicționar de sinonime,* Bucureşti, Editura Litera Internațional, 2002.

[17] „În limba maghiară miner se zice *bányász, bánya* fiind mină. Maghiarii consideră că etimologia termenului *bánya* este slavă, dar probabil că cel slav provine din latinescul *balneum,* pl. *balnea* care în limbile moderne înseamnă baie. În limba maghiară termenul a luat alt sens, prin generalizarea minelor situate lângă băile cu calități naturale terapeutice. Fără îndoială că echivalentul *baie* din limba română a însemnat *mină*, iar *băieş* este de origine română.“ vezi: Sursa: *http://www.paundurlic.com/forum.vlasi.srbije,* sau Sursa: *http://dict.sztaki.hu/dict_search.php?L=HUN%3AENG%3AEngHunDict&O=ENG&flash=&E=1&sid=986c764fc6602c3c1fab6cca8b9bb644&in_form=1&W=b%E1nya&M=1&P=0&C=1&T=1*

[18] Cf. *DEX,* 1998, ed. cit..

[19] Vasile Ursan, *Graiul din Mărginimea Sibiului*, Timişoara, 2004, p. 130.

Centrală[20]. Ni se pare totuşi puțin nejustificată această *resctricționare*, din moment ce orginea *băieşilor* este în Transilvania secolului XVII. Populația de *băieşi* din Europa Centrală este o populație imigrantă românească.

Despre etnonimul *rudari*, aflăm că e „denumire dată, în țările româneşti, unor lucrători (țigani) care confecționau obiecte din lemn; *p. ext.* meşter țigan care lucrează din lemn albii, linguri, fuse etc. – Din bg. Rudar”[21]. Prin urmare, tot țigani, dar o anumită categorie a țiganilor, şi anume țiganii meşteri. „Meşterii romi, care se ocupă, astăzi, de prelucrarea lemnului sunt rudarii. Inițial, rudarii, după cum le arată şi numele (slavul *ruda*, „minereu” > rr. *rud*, „metal”), se ocupau cu *spălatul aurului*: ei culegeau aurul din nisipul râurilor (mai ales în Transilvania) şi îl topeau în lingouri printr-o tehnică specială[22]. Ulterior, din motive de asemenea descrise deja, a avut loc un transfer ocupațional sau o reconversie profesională, rudarii trecând la prelucrarea lemnului”[23].

Dorin Lozovanu face distincția istorică între băieşi şi rudari, astfel: „Băieşii sunt originari, în mare parte, din teritoriile Banatului, Crişanei, Ardealului, iar rudarii, din Banat, Oltenia şi Muntenia. Migrația lor spre vest şi sud nu este atestată documentar, însă, cel mai probabil, s-a petrecut în secolele XVII-XVIII. Aceştia s-au răspândit chiar şi în areale mult mai mari, până în Bosnia şi Croația. Rareori au înființat localități separate, cel mai frecvent formând mahalale în satele şi oraşele unde s-au aşezat”[24].

Pornind de la felul obiectelor confecționate din lemn, se disting câteva tipuri de îndeletniciri, rudarii care le practică putând fi şi ei „clasificați” / grupați în funcție de aceste. Astfel, cei care se ocupă cu **rudăritul propriu-zis** poartă numele de *butnari* (care fac obiecte casnice din lemn: blide, scafe, cauce, donițe, maiuri de bătut rufe etc.) şi

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[20] Vezi Nicolae Saramandu, *Cercetări dialectale la un grup necunoscut de vorbitori ai românei: Băiaşii din nordul Croației.*

[21] Cf. *DEX*, 1998, ed. cit.

[22] „Instrumentele rudarilor constau dintr-o scândură, cu adâncituri tăiate transversal şi mărginită, în ambele părți, de o stinghie de lemn. Pe această scândură, numita *doscă*, ținută ca un plan înclinat, se întindeau țesături de lână şi ea era scufundată în apa amestecată cu nisip, a râurilor. Sedimentul aurifer era reținut de o țesătură care, spălată într-un butoi, îşi separă nisipul de aur, cel dintâi curgând printr-un jgheab. Minereul adunat se zdrobea într-un mojar de fonta, simplu sau amestecat cu mercur, pentru a se obține un amalgam. Acesta se storcea într-o pânza, apoi se topea într-un vas de ceramică. Aurul topit era apoi realizat în tipare, ca lingouri”. Apud. Alexandru Gaiță, Direcția județeană Braşov a Arhivelor Naționale

[23] Apud. Idem.

[24] Lozovanu, *Peninsula Balcanică*, p. 57.

covătari / albieri (care fac albii, capistre si coveți; cei ce practică **lingurăritul** se numesc *lingurari*, care confecționează linguri, lingurițe, găvane, cupe, linguroaie, polonice; cei care se ocupă cu **fusăritul** sunt *fusari*, meşteri în confecționarea fuselor şi, nu în ultimul rand, cei care se ocupă cu **lădăritul** - *lădarii*, specializați în mobilier (mese, scaune, dulapuri etc.), mai ales în lăzi de zestre, lăcrițe, „hambare” şi tronuri (de ținut mălaiul). O ramură distinctă este aceea a *corfarilor*, care împletesc corfe sau coşuri din nuiele de alun, de răchită sau de salcie.[25]

Desigur că, alături de această clasificare, mai există şi altele, pe care le menționează, succinct, şi Ion Calotă în studiul său[26] şi dintre care mai interesantă ar fi aceea în funcție de proprietarul pe care rudarii îl aveau, aici încadrându-se: *„țiganii domneşti, mănăstireşti şi boiereşti*, rudarii găsindu-se printre *țiganii domneşti:* „*Țiganii domneşti* erau următorii: *aurarii* sau *rudarii* (care, în loc de contribuțiuni, dări, culegeau aurul din nisipul râurilor Olt, Topolog, Argeş şi, în special, Dâmbovița, unde se găseşte aur mai curat – 700 sălaşe; *băieşii* sau *aurarii valachi*, care scoteau aurul din pietre – 100 sălaşe; *aurarii aşezați locului* – 1000 sălaşe; *lingurarii* care lucrează vase de lemn şi orice obiecte casnice – 800 sălaşe; *lăieşii* care lucrează fierul – 700 sălaşe, – în total, 3300 sălaşe”[27]. Aceasta ar fi o clasificare mai complexa, capabilă să elucideze, oarecum, nelămuririle. Într-unul dintre interviurile anchetei, pe care am efectuat-o, ne este prezentată o scurtă informație, capabilă să confirme această clasificare: „Şî ne̯-ám cumpărát pămẫnt cu bánii̯ dă la moşîi̯érĭ (boi̯érĭ)” Păún Cimpoi̯éru (85 ani).

Rudarii din Valea Mare sunt, în mare parte, *lingurari*, *fusari* şi, câțiva, *covătari* şi *butnari*. Meseria se păstrează, din tată în fiu, şi este dusă mai departe cu iscusință şi seriozitate de către cei tineri. De fapt, de către partea bărbătească tânără, femeile ocupându-se, mai mult, cu negoțul produselor confecționate!.

A.P. *[Şi, ia spuneți-mi, despre tradiția asta cu lingurile: dvs. faceți linguri?]*

R.S.*… cu lííngurĭ… mă dúc la pi̯áță cu lííngurĭ …coló la Vấlşa, la Vấlşa mă dúc.*

A.P. [*Dar dvs. faceți lingurile sau cine?*]

R.S. *Bătrấnu, bătrấnu* (soțul – n.n.)*… le fáşi şi i̯éu̯ mă dúc şî le tấrgui̯, le dúc la tấrg.*

A.P. *[Şi la vârsta asta* (83 ani – n.n.) *vă mai duceți?]*

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[25] Apud. Alexandru Gaiță.

[26] Vezi, Ion Calotă, *Rudarii*, p. 9–13, cap. *INTRODUCERE*.

[27] George Potra, *Contribuțiuni la istoricul țiganilor din România*, Bucureşti, 1939, apud Ion Calotă, *Rudarii*, p. 13.

R.S. *Mă dúc, mă dúc ş‿acúu̯ma, mă dúc ş‿acú, da' am fost cam şúbrădă, da' mă duc. Avém líi̯ngurⁱ… ne dúşem la pi̯áță cu i̯ále frumos…şî le víi̯ndem.*

A.P. *[Şi cum le cumpără lumea?]*

R.S. *Ṡínşⁱ lí, şasă lí, cum găsắsc u̯ómu dă bun… cári íi̯ bún îmi mái̯ dă mái̯ múlt…*

A.P. [*Şi, ia spuneți-mi, de unde ați moştenit obiceiul ăsta?]*

R.S. *Díi̯n bătrấnⁱ, dín bătrấnⁱ… am avút bătrấnii̯ noştrⁱ… táta, máma au̯ fu̯óst bătrấnⁱ…*

A.P. [*Şi vă amintiți dvs. că lucrau şi ei?...]*

R.S. *Da, da…şă ne̯-ấu̯ născút pă nu̯ói̯, am veníi̯t nu̯ói̯, şî avém şî nu̯ói̯ acúm copíi̯, cáre le plácă şi úu̯mblă..*[28]

Totuşi, din păcate, copiii de azi, tinerii de azi, rudari din Valea Mare, nu mai sunt păstrători vii ai acestor tradiții. Mulți dintre ei sunt angajați, în diverse domenii, care îi îndepărtează de tradiția lingurăritului sau fusăritului, aşa cum recunosc ei înşişi. Atraşi de mirajul unui venit mai rapid şi mai substanțial, ei nu se mai dedică decât în timpul liber confecționării produselor din lemn, făcând din tradiție un *hobby*. Această renunțare treptată la obiceiul străbun este specifică în comunitățile de rudari de pretutindeni, nu numai în Valea Mare. Menționăm, cu această ocazie, că, numai în județul Vâlcea, se mai întâlnesc rudari, în următoarele cătune: cătunul Bolovanu, cătunul Bujorăşti, Bălceşti, cătunul din Șirineasa, cătunul Sălişte – Horezu, Bechet, Tălmaciu şi cătunul Valea Mare, sat afiliat, odinioară comunei Băbeni, ulterior, devenit cătun al noului oraş Băbeni.

Din punctul de vedere al graiului vorbit, s-au încercat puține studii cu privire la apartenența acestei etnii la o unitate lingvistică, cele mai importante fiind cele menționate deja: ale lui Ion Calotă, precum şi cercetările pe teren ale dialectologului Nicolae Saramandu. Dintre lucrările de specialitate ale Academiei Române doar *Micul Atlas Lingvistic Român*[29] rezervă spațiu cercetării graiului populațiilor olteneşti de rudari, *Atlasul lingvistic român*[30] având în vedere doar comunitățile propriu-zise de români. De remarcat este însă că rudarii de pretutindeni NU vorbesc ca țiganii, ei afirmând chiar că nici măcar nu

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[28] Transcriere fonetică după înregistrarea făcută cu reportofonul, din cadrul Anchetei pe teren din vara anului 2008.

[29] Vezi **ALRM**– *Micul Atlas Lingvistic Român*, serie nouă, Bucureşti, EdituraAcademiei, vol. I, 1956, vol. III 1967, vol. IV, 1987.

[30] ALR s.n. – *Atlasul lingvistic român. Serie nouă* (E. Petrovici coord.), vol. I–II, 1956; vol. III, 1962; vol. IV, 1965; vol. V, 1966; vol. VII, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei, 1972.

cunosc limba acestora. Există însă numeroase divergențe în ceea ce priveşte apartenența lingvistică a rudarilor.

Ion Calotă încearcă să demonstreze pe parcursul studiului său încadrarea graiului rudarilor în sistemul lingvistic al românei comune, cu unele influențe din toate graiurile dacoromâneşti, accentuând, prin aceasta, că „particularitățile lingvistice rudăreşti sunt caracteristice limbii române, nefiind vorba despre o populație diferită, *țigani rudari*[31], care vorbeşte o limbă diferită”[32]. Totuşi, el merge pe legătura care se stabileşte între graiul rudarilor din Oltenia şi cel al locuitorilor propriu-zişi olteni.

Nicolae Saramandu prezintă în articolul amintit un tabel cu principalele deosebiri existente între graiul băieşilor, cel al rudarilor (după Ion Calotă) şi cel al coritarilor din Serbia (după Emil Petrovici)[33]. Din păcate, acesta din urmă nu mai reia cercetarea, cu privire la rudarii din Oltenia, bazându-se pe informațiile pe care le are de la Ion Calotă.

În urma cercetării pe care am făcut-o pe teren, avându-i ca informatori pe Sag*á*ĉu R*á*da (83 ani), Pă*ú*n Cimpo*i̯é*ru (85 ani), Pl*é*şa Virgin*é*l (35 ani), Drăg*á*n Ioan (47 ani), având în vedere totodată şi informațiile de ordin istoric şi etnic prezentate de Dorin Lozovanu[34], am ajuns la concluzia că aceştia vorbesc un amalgam de graiuri nordice, cu câteva influențe ale subdialectului muntean. „Nu şt*i̯ú* dă un*d*'e ne tr*áź*ăm, da’ ne‿nrud*í*m în limbă cu bănețén*i̯ⁱ* şî cu moldovén*i̯ⁱ*. N*e̯*-*á*m întâln*í*t cu *i̯éi̯* şî n*e̯*-*áu̯* sp*ú*s” (Pă*ú*n Cimpo*i̯é*ru, 85 ani). Desigur că graiul rudarilor de pretutindeni nu este omogen în totalitate. Diversitatea lingvistică interioară are atât cauze geografice, cât şi sociale, de vârstă sau de gen[35]. Deşi se observă foarte clar că femeile încă mai sunt conservatoare, în cadrul anchetei noastre, am ignorat, oarecum, aceste aspecte, obiectivul principal fiind acela de a surprinde particularități de suprafață ale graiului, în vederea unei comparații ulterioare cu celelalte

[31] Am stabilit, deja, ca lingvistul Ion Calotă, consideră că rudarii aparțin, cel puțin etnic, categoriei de țigani.
[32] Vezi Calotă, *Rudarii*, p. 52.
[33] Vezi Saramandu, *art. cit*.
[34] „Rudarii sunt originari din Banat, Oltenia şi Muntenia. Migrația lor spre vest şi sud nu este atestată documentar, însă, cel mai probabil, s-a petrecut în secolele XVII-XVIII”. Cf. Lozovanu, *Peninsula Balcanică*, p. 57.
[35] Se ştie foarte bine că femeile sunt, în general, vorbitoarele mai conservatoare ale limbii, bărbații fiind influențați şi de oamenii cu care intră în contact, în cadrul diverselor *peregrinări* prin țară. Această afirmație rămâne valabilă şi pentru vorbitorii graiului rudăresc: deşi femeile sunt, de obicei, cele menite să meargă mai des cu negoțul produselor confecționate, totuşi ele continuă să rămână vorbitoarele care păstrează într-o măsură mai mare graiul originar

graiuri vorbite de populații de români sau cu graiul băieşilor de pe teritoriul dacoromân.

Un prim aspect surprins îl prezintă trecerea vocalelor anterioare *e, i,* în serie centrală, după consoanele *d, p,* mai ales în unele prepoziții (ca în subdialectul muntean, dar şi ca în graiurile nordice)[36], cum ar fi: *dă, pă, dî́n, pî́n, dî́ntre, pî́ntre* etc. În graiul rudarilor din Valea Mare (şi al celor din Oltenia, în general), acest fenomen se întâlneşte şi în cazul cuvintelor formate cu ajutorul prefixului *des- (dez-)* sau care încep cu *des-: dăscúlț, dăscălțá, dăzbrăcá, dăşk̍íde, dăştépt, dăspletítă* etc.[37] „Lucrés‿fúsă, lucrés‿fúrz‿dă tras [k] dă tors *í i̯éle.*lucréz mosu̯áră, [r] mosu̯áră, driu̯áltă dă tăi̯ețắi̯, méstecătu̯áre dă mămălígă"[38]. Este un fenomen înregistrat şi de Ion Calotă în anumite prepoziții şi anume, în: *dă, pă, pắntru, pắste,* precum şi în derivatele cu prefixele: *de-, des- (dez): dăpárće, dăcontátă, dău̯osăbíre, dăscúi̯, dăşćíd, dăzlég, dăzbrác, să dăjđi̯áță* etc., el adăugând însă mențiunea că „acesta este un fenomen general la rudarii din Oltenia, cu toate că aşa cum se ştie, în graiurile olteneşti, s-a păstrat *e* în astfel de cazuri, rezultând de aici că şi aceasta este o particularitate a bazei dialectale transcarpatice în graiul rudarilor"[39].

Îndrăznim să-l combatem pe Ion Calotă, accentuând ideea că această particularitate este una specifică mai ales *subidalectului muntenesc,* cu o oarecare răspândire şi la unele graiuri nordice. În subdialectul moldovenesc întâlnim fenomenul de închidere al lui *e* neaccentuat, final şi medial, la *i,* în astfel de cuvinte: *disfáŝim, discúlț,* sau în cuvintele neaccentuate în frază: *di, pi, píntru, písti* etc. Iar „în ariile învecinate cu Moldova, formele cu *e* neaccentuat, închis la *î* coexistă cu cele cu *e păstrat*".[40] În subdialectul bănățean există acelaşi fenomen, deşi „cu o corespondență mai mică decât în Moldova"[41]. Vasile Ursan surprinde această particularitate pentru *graiul din Mărginimea Sibiului,* menționând că este regăsibilă şi în unele graiuri crişene, maramureşene şi bănățene[42].

Trecem la următoarea particularitate care apropie graiul rudarilor de subdialectul muntean, de data aceasta care ține de morfo-sintaxă, şi anume *lipsa acordului* între subiect şi predicat, la persoana a III-a plural:

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[36] Vezi Vasile Frățilă, *Probleme de dialectologie română, – pentru uzul studenților –*, Editura TUT, 1987, p. 93.
[37] Vezi Idem, *Probleme*, p. 93.
[38] Calotă, *Rudarii*, p. 190.
[39] *Ibidem*, p. 56.
[40] Frățilă, *Probleme*, p. 102.
[41] *Ibidem*, p. 112.
[42] Vezi Vasile Ursan, *Graiul din Mărginimea Sibiului (teză de doctorat)*, p. 131.

„Şî propritắríi̯ a fost năvoít să vắnză pămắntu’”[43]. Vasile Frățilă explică acest fenomen, cu referire la subdialectul muntean, prin faptul că, din cauză că „la unele timpuri ale indicativului (prezent, perfect compus, viitor) opoziția de număr se neutralizează, prin generalizarea omonimiei caractaeristice verbelor de conjugarea I, unde persoana

a III-a singular este identică cu persoana a III-a plural: *el, ei lúptă, cấntă* etc., verbele de la celelalte conjugări vor cunoaşte forme omonimice: *i̯él zíĉe - i̯éi̯ zíĉe, i̯él a zís - i̯éi̯ a zís, i̯él va zíĉe - i̯éi̯ va zíĉe* etc”[44]. Nicolae Saramandu înregistrează această „identitate a formelor de persoana a III-a singular şi persoana a III-a plural, la indicativ prezent, al verbelor de conjugările II-IV”, în articolul său din „Fonetică şi Dialectolgie”, ca similitudine între graiul rudarilor, cel al băieșilor şi cel al coritarilor. Redăm numai formele primelor două graiuri: *fắśe* (rudari, cf. Calotă, *op. cit.*, p. 109, 183), şi *fắśi* (băieşi).[45]

În afară de acestea, graiul rudarilor din Valea Mare prezintă alte numeroase particularități, care îl apropie bazei dialectale transcarpatice, în special Banatului şi Moldovei. Vom prezenta, în continuare, succint, aceste particularități, făcând o paralelă cu graiul *băieşilor* din Mărginimea Sibiului, aşa cum îl aflăm de la Vasile Ursan, dar şi cu celelalte graiuri si subdialecte ale dialectului dacoromân. În prezentarea noastră vom avea în vedere, în principal, informațiile extrase în urma anchetei lingvistice pe care am afectuat-o pe teren, în vara anului 2008, dar şi prezentarea făcută de Ion Calotă, în lucrarea, *Rudarii din Oltenia*, precum şi din *ALRM* şi, mai puțin, tabelul comparativ din „Fonetică şi Dialectologie” al lui Nicolae Saramandu, întrucât acesta reia informațiile deja stabilite anterior de Ion Calotă. Totuşi, îl vom avea în vedere şi pe acesta în ceea ce priveşte surprinderea diferențelor.

Principala problemă pe care o pune accentul, în graiul rudarilor din Valea Mare, şi al rudarilor din Oltenia, în general, o consituie faptul că o mare parte a cuvintelor prezintă accentuări fluctuante, aşa cum remarcă şi Ion Calotă, în studiul său: „cele mai frecvente schimbări de accent se întâlnesc la verbe, la persoana I şi a II-a, pluralul de la indicativ prezent, precum şi la persoana a II-a plural a imperativului verbelor de conjugarea a III-a, cu formele corespunzătoare ale conjugării a II-a: *băćém – băćéț, uśíźém - uśíźéț, plînźém – plînźéț, treśém – treśéț* etc.[46], dar şi la alte cuvinte, precum*: lúbeniță – lubeníță, púreśe – puréśe,*

[43] Cf. Păún Cimpoi̯éru (85 ani), informator din Valea Mare, în cadrul anchetei lingvistice din vara lui 2008.
[44] Vezi Frățilă, *Probleme,* p. 95.
[45] Saramandu, *art. cit.*, p. 104.
[46] Această accentuare, pe ultima silabă, a unor forme verbale, este specifică, mai ales, pentru graiurile nordice.

śérere – śerére, acólo – acoló, ắripă – arípă etc, „creându-se, astfel, dublete”[47]. A doua formă accentuală a ultimului cuvânt menționat de noi (*ắripă*-***arípă***) se regăseşte şi la Nicolae Saramandu, ca exemplu de similitudine între graiul băieşilor şi cel al rudarilor din Oltenia: pentru rudari, *arípă* (cf. Calotă, p. 52) şi pentru băieşi, *harípă*[48]. Revenind la fluctuația accentuală din graiul rudarilor olteni, menționăm că, în timp ce a doua formă menține accentul etimologic, prima formă este o deviere a acestuia, din cauza influenței graiurilor alăturate sau a limbii române comune. Acest fenomen nu ține de aspecte precum „vârsta, sexul sau ştiința de carte” a persoanelor interogate, întrucât el apare şi la una şi aceeaşi persoană.

În ceea ce priveşte vocalismul, comun cu graiurile nordice, menționăm velarizarea unor vocale, precum:

• E **-** în locul lui *e* din limba comună, s-a păstrat fonetismul arhaic, în cuvinte ca *f**ă**méi̯ĕ, p**ă**réćé, n**ă**cắz.*[49] Acest fenomen îl mai întâlnim, aşa cum bine se ştie, **în toate graiurile nordice**, în Oltenia nefiind specific acest fenomen de velarizare[50].

Un fenomen specific graiurilor rudarilor se referă la cuvântul *făméi̯ĕ,* care a evoluat la *foméi̯ĕ,* prin labializarea lui *ă*, „ca urmare a acomodării la labialele *f* precedent şi *m* următor”[51]. Totuşi, Ion Calotă dă şi o explicație pentru păstrarea lui *e* etimologic, şi anum că „aceasta s-ar datora influenței graiurilor olteneşti ale localnicilor, unde fenomenul este încă viu”[52]. Menționăm că acest fenomen *nu* este întâlnit în niciunul dintre graiurile nordice, el nefiind menționat nici pentru băieşii din Mărginimea Sibiului[53]. În ancheta noastră pe teren, pentru localitatea Valea Mare, am întâlnit, în special, forma labializată: *ni̯-é dúᵘ̯şem, foméíi̯le, zắşă* (S.R.)

Dintre categoriile de consoane care influențează velarizarea, Ion Calotă menționează perechea de fricative dentale *s, z,* africata dentală, *ț* şi perechea de fricative prepalatale *ş, j*: *sắmn, brắță* (pl.), *tuşắsc* etc. Fenomenul este însă specific doar graiurilor transcarpatice şi nu caracterizează, aşa cum susține Ion Calotă, graiurile olteneşti[54]. El a identificat, probabil, acest fenomen în satele de ungureni, din regiunea

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[47] Calotă, *Rudarii*, p. 52.
[48] Saramandu, *art. cit.*, p. 103.
[49] Vezi Calotă, *Rudarii*, p. 53, cap. *Fonetica. Vocalismul. Vocale anterioare.*.
[50]Vezi Vasile Frățilă, *Dialectologia limbi romane, Partea 1*, Timişoara, Editura TUT, 1977, p. 92–94.
[51] Calotă, *lucr. citată*, p. 53.
[52] *Ibidem*, p. 53.
[53] Vasile Ursan, *Graiul din Mărginimea Sibiulu*.
[54] Vezi, în acest sens, Vasile Frățilă, *Probleme*, p. 92.

Oltenia, unde nu este vorba despre olteni veritabili, ci despre ardeleni.[55] Velarizarea este determinată şi de labialele oclusive *p, b,* fricativele *f, v* sau de sonanta *m.* Nicolae Saramandu menționează, referitor la fenomenul velarizării acestei vocale, cum că „*e* devine *ă (â),* după *b* în *băşîcă",* acesta fiind un fenomen comun gaiului rudarilor şi graiului băieşilor[56]. Cu referire la acest fenomen, Ion Calotă afirmă că prezența lui este oarecum „curioasă, în graiul rudarilor din Oltenia, în sensul că nu caracterizează nici graiurile transcarpatice, nici toate graiurile olteneşti"[57]. Lingvistul ajunge la concluzia, că, „având în vedere *ALRM 1, H. 92,* de unde rezultă că fonetismul - *bă* caracterizează şi graiurile olteneşti de sud şi de est, pe lângă graiurile munteneşti şi moldoveneşti, rudarii au împrumutat fenomenul din graiurile olteneşti de sud şi munteneşti, căci rudarii care cunosc şi practică gurbanul au străbătut câmpia Dunării, pentru a trece în Bulgaria, de unde s-au întors, fireşte, prin aceeaşi zonă, după cum este posibil şi ca velarizarea prin *b* a lui *e* să se fi produs şi datorită analogiei cu celelalte vocale , care au suferit fenomenul, ca urmare a timbrului velar al labialelor: *vorbắsc, cârpắsc, lovắsc* etc."[58]

Aşa cum identifică şi Ion Calotă, „sub influența velarizatoare a acestor consoane, diftongul *e̯á* devine *a,* la conjunctivul prezent, persoanele a III-a singular şi plural: *să vorbáscă, să lováscă* etc. numai sporadic"[59], conform lingvistului. El menționează existența acestui fenomen, doar în două localități rudăreşti din nordul Olteniei: Şirineasa şi Vaideeni, județul Vâlcea, „deci în graiul unora dintre corfari, în timp ce în toate celelalte comunități, fenomenul a fost înlocuit, sub influența graiurilor olteneşti"[60]. Noi l-am întâlnit pe parcursul anchetei noastre în graiul rudarilor din Valea Mare, deci tot într-o localitate vâlceană.

• Velarizarea lui *i* se produce, ca şi în cazul lui *e,* după consoanele: *s, z, ț, ş, j,* devenind *î,* în cuvinte precum: *maşî́nỉ, cuțî́t, sî́tă* etc.

Menționăm un fenomen, cu privire la graiul rudarilor din Oltenia, pe care *nu* îl surprinde Ion Calotă, şi anume închiderea vocalelor finale neaccentuate, ca în Moldova[61]. Astfel, am surprins, în ancheta noastră, forme de tipul: *cásâ, másâ, mámâ, féti, mári, víni* etc. Pentru acest din urmă cuvânt, menționăm că la rudarii din Valea Mare am întâlnit şi

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[55] Vezi, Vasile Ursan, *Graiul din Mărginimea Sibiului.*
[56] Cf. Saramandu, *art. cit.,* p. 102.
[57] Calotă, *Rudarii,* p. 53.
[58] *Ibidem,* p. 58.
[59] *Ibidem,* p. 67.
[60] *Ibidem,* p. 67– 68.
[61] Vezi şi Frățilă, *Probleme,* p. 101–102.

forma cu palatalizarea labialei, (tot ca în Moldova![62]): *ǵíni*. De asemenea, am întâlnit în ancheta noastră formele *fétili, maşı́nili,* fenomen din nou specific ariei dialectale subcarpatice.

De asemenea, ca o asemănare între graiul rudarilor şi cel al băieşilor, menționăm că *i* trece la *ă*, după *r*, în cuvinte precum *lắcrămă*, la rudari (cf. Calotă, *op. cit.*, p. 103), şi *lắcrămă*[63].

În ceea ce priveşte consonantismul, menționăm că în graiul rudarilor, aşa cum surprinde şi Ion Calotă, se întâlneşte un fenomen existent în subdialectul bănățean, şi anume „alterarea dentalelor, ca fenomen aproape general, indiferent de zona oltenească, în care găsim astăzi stabiliți rudarii. Condiția alterării o constituie vocalele anterioare, *e* şi *i,* atunci când acestea urmează dentalei”[64]. Ion Calotă înregistrează, pentru rudarii din Oltenia, fenomenul de alterare în două faze: pentru surda *t,* menționează formele *t'* şi *ć*[65], iar pentru sonora *d,* sunt menționate *d'* şi *đ*[66]. El mai menționează că „cele două faze ale procesului de alterare nu sunt determinate geografic, în sensul că nu fac arii, nu deosebesc diferitele categorii de rudari […] ele găsindu-se, de obicei, amândouă, în cadrul fiecărei comunități rudăreşti, depinzând de vârsta vorbitorilor: palatalizarea caracterizează, de regulă, generația vârstnică, în timp ce africatizarea este caracteristică, mai mult, tineretului”[67]. În graiul rudarilor din Valea Mare am surprins doar prima fază a fenomenului de alterare, în cuvinte precum: *îndrăznắşt'e, întărắşt'e, únd'e.* Fenomenul este prezent în graiurile de tip crişean şi maramureşean, după cum remarcă şi Ion Calotă, dar şi Vasile Frățilă[68]. Vasile Ursan surprinde a doua fază a procesului de alterare (africatizarea) oclusivelor dentale surdă şi sonoră, şi în graiul băieşilor

[62] *Ibidem*, p. 102.

[63] Saramandu, *art. cit.*, p. 103.

[64] Calotă, *Rudarii*, p. 76.

[65] „În primul caz, procesul alterării are drept rezultat trecerea dentalei în seria palatală, deci palatalizarea dentalei: *frúnt'e, t'ínăr, coperat'ívă, prắşt'íi̯e, mínt'e.* În cel de-al doilea, procesul alterării are drept consecință trecerea oclusivei dentale la africata prepalatală *ć*, de tip bănățean, al cărei element fricativ este *ş́*: cr*i̯é*ş*ć*et, făcăl*éć*e, *ćí*năr, păr*éć*e, fr*ắć*e etc.” Vezi Calotă, *Rudarii*, p. 76.

[6666] „Oclusiva dentală surdă, urmată de *e* sau *i,* se palatalizează în stadiul *d'* de regulă la vorbitorii vârstnici: *d'ínt'e, livắd'íi̯lĕ, d'éźet.* La vorbitorii tineri şi maturi, uneori chiar şi bătrâni, dentala se africatizează, devenind *đ*, ca în grupurile de grai bănățean, având ca element fricativ pe *ź*: *đín*c*ć*e, *ú*n*đ*iță, bor*đéi̯* etc.” Vezi Calotă, *Rudarii*, p. 78.

[67] *Ibidem,* p. 76. Ion Calotă afirmă, în aceeaşi lucrare, că „se întâlnesc şi excepții de la această regulă în primul rând la bătrâni, la care apare faza *ć* (africatizare), fenomen întâlnit în comunitățile rudăreşti de la Strehaia, Filiaşi, Hinova, Şirineasa, ceea ce face ca faza africatizării să fie, în general, mai frecventă”.

[68] Vezi *Ibidem*, p. 77; Vasile Frățilă, *Probleme,* p. 147, 158.

din Mărginime[69], prin aceasta cele două etnii apropiindu-se, din nou. Este o particularitate pe care Nicolae Saramandu nu o surprinde, în tabelul cu diferențe şi asemănări lingvistice între graiul coritarilor, cel al rudarilor şi cel al băieşilor, pe care îl realizează, în articolul deja menționat[70]. Posibil pentru că aceasta este doar o similitudine între graiul rudarilor şi cel al băieşilor, ea neregăsindu-se şi în graiul coritarilor. În schimb, el surprinde o asemănare în ceea ce priveşte „palatalizarea dentalei şi tratamentul africatei, în cuvântul *deget: źéźet* (rudari, cf. Ion Calotă, p. 248), *źę́źi̯t* (băieşi)”[71].

Şi, pentru că tot am ajuns la fenomenul de palatalizare, menționăm că în graiul rudarilor acest fenomen se întâlneşte şi în cazul sonantelor dentale sau al ocluzivei labiale nazale. Astfel, aşa cum înregistrează şi Ion Calotă, şi graiul rudarilor din Valea Mare cunoaşte o palatalizare a sonantei nazale dentale *n*, în cuvinte de tipul: *víńe, ńégru, cı̂́ńe, pı̂́ńe*[72], *bíńe* etc.[73] Pentru acest din urmă cuvânt, Calotă face precizarea că la acelaşi vorbitor sau la mai mulți vorbitori, „nazala dentală apare în toate cele trei ipostaze, cu dentală palatalizată, uşor palatalizată şi nealterată: *bíńe, bíňe, bíne”*[74].

Fenomenul palatalizării sonantei laterale dentale *l* sau sonantei vibrante dentale *r* este la fel de răspândit în rândul rudarilor din Valea Mare şi al rudarilor din Oltenia, în general. L-am identificat şi noi, în ancheta lingvistică pe care am făcut-o, şi l-a surprins şi Ion Calotă, în cercetarea sa. Redăm câteva dintre exemplele lui: pentru *l: l'éń*eş, zı̂́*l'*e, *l'é*mn etc., iar pentru *r* la forma de singular a substantivelor, formate cu sufixele *–ar, -or, -er: dogárı̇́, rudárı̇́, învățătórı̇́*[75].

Desigur că, acest fenomen, al palatalizării sonantelor dentale, aparține şi graiurilor dacoromâne de vest şi de nord „a căror arie curpinde şi nord-vestul Olteniei”[76]. Vasile Ursan nu îl notează însă pentru graiul băieşilor din Mărginime.

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[69] Vasile Ursan, *Mărginimea Sibiului*, p. 161.
[70] Vezi Saramandu, *art. cit.*, p. 102–103.
[71] Vezi, *Ibidem,* p. 102.
[72] Fără anticiparea elementului palatal, ca în graiurile de tip nordic.
[73] Vezi şi Calotă, *Rudarii*, p. 84.
[74] *Ibidem*, p. 84.
[75] „După modelul acestora, *r* are timbru palatal şi în cuvinte de tipul *cîntárı̇́, mărárı̇́* etc., iar la substantivele neutre terminate la singular în *r (mosór, car, ogór, izvór* etc.), consoana vibrantă este dură, pluralul terminându-se în *ă, mosu̯áră, topu̯áră, izvu̯áră, cáră* etc.” Cf. Calotă, *Rudarii*, p. 85. Aceste forme de plural, precum şi identitatea între plural şi singular la substantivele terminate în -*á*rı̇́, -*tó*rı̇́, sunt prezente şi în articolul lui Nicolae Saramandu, p. 104.
[76] Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 84, Frățilă, *Probleme*, p. 100.

Palatalizarea se manifestă şi în cazul ocluzivei labiale nazale *m*, pentru graiul rudarilor din Valea Mare, ca şi în aria dialectală transcarpatică, deşi Ion Calotă nu surprinde acest fenomen în studiul său asupra graiului rudarilor din Oltenia, el menționând că „acest sunet se păstrează nealterat, în orice poziție, ca fenomen general: *miu̯oríță*, *lăcrắmɨ* sau l*ắcrămɨ*, *lácrimɨ*, *ami̯áz*, *mi̯ére* etc.”[77]. Noi am notat palatalizarea lui *m* în toate formele pronumelui şi adjectivului pronominal posesiv, persoana I, singular şi plural, masculin: (al) *mi̯eu̯*, (ai) *mi̯ei̯*.

Labialele rămân, în cea mai mare parte, nealterate în graiul rudarilor din Valea Mare şi din Oltenia, în general. Ion Caoltă susține, totuşi, alterarea lui *p*, urmat de iot, fenomen pe care noi nu l-am surprins, în cadrul anchetei pe care am făcut-o: „Totuşi, spre deosebire de celelalte labiale, consoana *p* apare alterată în diferite stadii, numai când este urmată de iot şi numai în câteva cuvinte: *t′*ept sau *ć*ept „piept”, *t′*ept*á*rɨ sau *ć*ept*á*rɨ etc. Oscilația între formele cu *t′* sau *ć* nu este determinată geografic, ci depinde de vârsta vorbitorilor: fonetismul *t′* caracterizează, de obicei, vorbitorii vârstnici, în timp ce fonetismul cu *ć* caracterizează, de regulă, vorbitorii tineri”[78]. Tot el revine însă cu precizarea care ne răspunde, într-un fel, la întrebarea de ce nu am identificat în ancheta noastră fenomenul palatalizării sau africatizării acestei labiale şi anume că „formele cu labiala alterată sunt aproape generale la rudarii din Oltenia, dar ele apar paralel cu formele de labială nealterată, de unde rezultă că fenomenul este într-un vizibil regres, iar în unele comunități rudăreşti, sub influența limbii comune şi a graiurilor olteneşti, fenomenul alterării labialei nu mai apare nici în aceste cuvinte, ca şi în celealte care nu-l cunosc: ***p**i̯épt*, ***p**i̯éptárɨ*, alături de ***p**i̯átră*, ***p**i̯éle* etc.”[79].

Cel mai interesant fenomen consonantic al graiului rudarilor din Valea Mare şi al rudarilor din Oltenia, în general, îl constituie transformarea africatelor prepalatale *ĉ, ĝ* în fricativele *ś, ź*. Fenomenul este generalizat la toate cuvintele: *crúśe*, *sî́nźe*, *śobán*, *źánă* etc., mai fiind întâlnit şi în sud – vestul Transilvaniei şi Banat[80].

Nicolae Saramandu identifică zona de origine a băieşilor, cuprinzând sud-estul Crişanei, extremitatea nord-estică a Banatului şi extremitatea sud-vestică a Transilvaniei. Aşa cum menționează lingvistul, aceasta „este zona în care palatalizarea dentalelor (*t*, *d*) şi

[77] Vezi Calotă, *Rudarii*, p. 71.
[78] *Ibidem*, p. 70.
[79] *Ibidem*, p. 70.
[80] *Ibidem*, p. 87. „Existența acestui fenomen de fricatizare a africatelor, pentru rudarii din Oltenia, alături de alte fenomene, precum palatalizarea lui *n*, sau alterarea în diverse stadii a dentalelor, apropie din nou graiul rudarilor de graiurile nordice”.

tratamentul palatalelor (*ḱ, ǵ*) au acelaşi rezultat, anume africatele (*ć* [*ĉ*], *ḑ* [*ĝ*]), *ć*, apărând ca rezultat al palatalizării bilabialei *p*, în cuvinte precum *ć*ept, „piept”, *ćà*pt*ăn,* „pieptene, pieptăn (vb.)”.[81] Ion Calotă suprapune acestei zone zona rudarilor din Oltenia: „Pe baza graiului românesc al rudarilor, căci altă limbă nu cunosc astăzi, noi am ajuns să determinăm mai întâi că sunt o populație imigrată şi în al doilea rând *că au emigrat într-o zonă care cuprinde sud-vestul Transilvaniei, nord-estul Banatului şi sudul Crişanei”*.[82] Corelând cele două informații, Nicolae Saramandu sintetizează, argumentând originea celor două populații. Astfel, în opinia sa, „graiul rudarilor s-a desprins din graiurile vorbite în zona Munților Apuseni, iar purtătorii lui au fost inițial mineri aurari, scoțând aurul fie în galerii subterane, fie din nisipul aurifer al râurilor din zona Munților Metaliferi, unde această categorie distinctă de țigani a fost românizată”[83].

Tocmai această identitate lingvistică şi etnografică între rudari şi baieşi (mineri aurari) am încercat să o stabilim şi noi pe parcursul studiului efectuat, particularizând cercetarea asupra locuitorilor din satul Valea Mare din județul Vâlcea. Diferențele de ordin lingvistic, surprinse de Nicolae Saramandu le considerăm minore, în opoziție cu asemănările numeroase de grai. Studiile pe teren, pe care le-am efectuat, în mare parte transcrise impresionist, vin să anihileze eventualele îndoieli, cu privire la ideea că ar fi vorba despre două populații diferite. Este clar vorba despre o suprapunere atât lingvistică, dar şi etnografică. Cât despre problema identității acestora cu etnia rromă, ne opunem punctului de vedere al lui Ion Calotă care vorbeşte despre o identitate a celor două populații. Vom reveni, în acest sens, cu explicții suplimentare, în cadrul monografiei asupra tuturor localităților rudăreşti din zona Olteniei.

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[81] Saramandu, *art. cit.*, p. 109.
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The Geographic Origin of Romanian

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Abstract:
Romanian shares phonetic, morphological, derivational, lexical innovations with a narrow area of Western Lombard and Vivaro-Alpin Occitan. These many arguments suggest that Romanian comes from the dialectalized Latin spoken in this area.

Keywords: Romance languages, vulgar Latin, dialects, Lombard, Occitan, Romanian, lexic

The present research assumes that Romanian and other Romance languages developed from the locally spoken Latin:

- Latin spoken in northern Gaul > French
- Latin spoken in Spain > Spanish
- Latin spoken in Dacia (or Moesia) > Romanian.

This hypothesis further assumes that spoken Latin itself was, in the II-nd and III-rd centuries AD, uniform. Both notions are tacitly accepted by linguists. There are some arguments for an uniform Latin: inscriptions all over the Roman empire show good Latin and bad Latin, but no dialectalization; one should, therefore assume that the spoken Latin itself was quite uniform. Further, the historian Eutropius says that colonists came in Dacia "ex toto orbe romano" – and therefore they were wont to speak an uniform Vulgar Latin.

We will show in the following study that:

a) Romanian developed from an already dialectalized Vulgar Latin.

b) the borders of this area can be clearly determined.

Phonetic isoglosses

Scempiamento – reduction of double consonants, in Veneto, Lombard and Romanian.

There is a wide, but old, and fragmented, area of rhotacism of intervocalic –L-: in France, in the western Occitan area, at the border with Italy, and in northern Italy, western Lombardy and Canton Ticino.

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Rhotacism

The Rhotacism of intervocalic –L-

The rhotacism of **L+consonant** or **consonant+L** is common in all Italian dialects. The intervocalic rhotacism, the most typical feature of Romanian, exists, in Ligure, Alpine Lombard, XIII-nth century Lombard and Ladino.

a) Alpine Lombard and Lombard

It is typical for the Canton Ticino (intervocalic –L- > -R-)

Leventina *firè/*It. *filare, gora/gola, jarè/gelare, mer/* It. *miele, murin/* It. *molino, pèra/*It. *pala, püras/* It. *pulce, sar/salare, sarèscia/salice, scüra/scuola, surìu/solatio, uróc/* Lat. *ulucus,* It. *alloco, uriva/oliva, taura/tavol*a; Lugano *aura /* It. *aquila*

It is present not only in Alpine Lombard, It has existed in Western Lombard as well – in Milano, until the XIX-th century. For It. *voglio* we have *vö́ri/ vori* in Branzi, Campodolcino, Cremona and Laghetto. We find it in Bonvesin de la Riva, (XIII cent.) *dore/duole, feronia/felonia, gora/*It. *gola, maritïoso/ malizioso, mere/*It. *miele, perigoro* / It. *pericolo, segáre* / It. *ségale, vïora / viola, vore/vuole, sorengo* (alone)

b) Ligure

Ligure (Airole, Ventimiglia, Soldano, Brigasco *aigüra* < *aquila*) Cf. Ventimigliese *angeru, buréu* < *boletus, curumbu/colomba, deriçia/delizia, fira/filo, isura/isola, mar/male, méra/* It. *mela, sarà/salare, sarin* < *salino, sarmùira-salamoia, tera* <*tela, vera* <*vela, verin* < *veleno, vürà/volare, vurré* < *volere*, Rovegno *angə́ru/ angelo.* Airole, Olivetta, Rovegno *muriŋ, sora/*It. *suola*, Monaco *tora/*It. *tavola, vuruntá,* Albenga *isura/* It. *isola,* Pietra *fürmine, sarmuie.*

In the *Rime genovesi della fine del secolo XIII e del principio del XIV* Archivio Glottologico Italiano, vol. II, 1876. :

*angero/*Ital. *angelo, caror/calore, dor/dolore, gora/gola, lear/leale, mara/mala, maregno/ maligno, more/mola, morin/mulino, Nicheroso/Nicollo, perigoro/pericolo, quar/ quale, scora/scuola, sor/sole, sorea/*Lat. *solebat, sotir/sottile, strangorar, vorea/* Lat. *volebat, vorem/vogliamo, voruntae, tar/tale, zer/* It. *gelo*; and possibly *sar/sale* twice if our conjectural translation is right.

Rime genovesi XXXVIII (c. xlv) v. 9: cevole e *sar* pestam asai.

XCIX *De non habendo in ore aliquot malum,* v. 36: e traito un gromo de *sar*.

And, of course, the ligurian word by excellence, *garie* < *galee* (tosc. *galere*):

ma se *garie* come avanti armemo (Zabata, p. 45)

caror “heat” has an exact equivalent in Arumanian *câroare* “heat”, both from Lat. *calorem.*

Most of the words above have Romanian equivalents: *angero/înger, dor/dor, gora/gură, more/moară, Nicheroso/Nicoară, quar/care, vorem/vrem, vorea/vrea, tar/tare, zer/ger.*

The *Rime* have also other phonetic and lexical similarities with Romanian:

adormi/ Rom. *adormi*, It. *addormentarsi*; *ascosa/* Rom. *ascunsă,* It. *nascosta,*

asterne/ Rom *a aşterne.*

*avea/*Rom *avea,* It. *aveva; und/* Rom. *unde,* It. *dove*; *doi/* Rom. *doi,* It. *due*

voio/ Rom. *voi*, It. *voglio*; *stramua* / Rom. *a strămuta*, It. *spostare*

fortuna “storm” (Rom. *furtună*) existed in Old French as well.

moier/ Rom. *muiere,* It. *moglie*; *stare* with the meaning of “to live, dwell” typically Gallo-Italic.

In the *Prose genovesi* from the XIV-th century, (Archivio Glottologico vol. 8) we find:

angero, avangerio, apostori, deschonsorao, disipori, humera/umile, Herenna/Helena, mar/male, maroti/ammalati, miracori/miracoli, miria/miglia, Poro/ Paolo, quar/quale, varen/valgono, tora/tavola, ydore/idoli.

c)Ladino

It exists, but is rare in Ladino: *iarina/* It. *gallina, firare, mora/* It. *mola, ṓrə* / *olio, para/pala, sora/* It. *sola.*

Ampezzano : *chera/* It. *quella, fazoreto/* It. *fazzoletto, parota <palota* (small shovel), *parù /* It. *palude*, *pòresc < pollice, pṓreš/* It. *pulce, purinéi <pollaio, sarà* (to salt) *sciara* (ladder); *scora/* It. *scuola, sora /*It. *suola, soróio/* It. *sole, serà <gelare, siara /*It. *segale, štera/* It. *stella, tera <tela vorea/* It. *voleva*; San Stefano Comelico *saroio/sole.*

Val Badia: *ares*/It. *ale* “wings” *chṣ́ra*/ It. *quella, ćiandṣ́ra*/ It. *candela, fi**r**anda* “spun yearn” *fira* “thread” *jerè*/It. *gelare* “to freeze”, *Micurà* / It. *Nicolo, orentè*/ It. *volontà, paro**r**a, pira/* It. *pila, niora/* Ampez. *nèola,* “cloud”, *sarè/*It.*salare, sorṣ́dl/* It. *sole, stṣ́ra/* It. *stella, turghe**r**/* Gherdeina *tṣ́urbl* (Fr. *trouble,* Rom. *tulbure <*turbulus*)

The verb *valere* “to be worth” is *varái, varé,* in San Linert, Calfosch, San Cascian, Corvara and Cortina d’Ampezzo. “to want” *volere,* is *orei, urai* in eight places, and *voré* in Cortina.

Spirantization of intervocalic –B-

Latin –B- becomes –β- and disappears:

febris > Rom. *fiori,* Occit. *fieure,* Franco-provensal; western Lomb. *feura*

But Fr. *fièvre*, Ital. *febbre.*

februarius > Rom. *făurar,* Ladin *feorer,* Provensal *feureir,* Lomb. *faurei,* Veneto *fauré,*

But Fr. *février*, Ital. *febbraio.*

This phenomenon is typical only for Occitan and Cisalpine Gaul – the Padan dialects.

Vowels

Lat accented –O- > -U-: Lat. *monte*- > Rom. *munte,* Piemont, Lombardy etc.

but Fr. *montagne*, Ital. *montagna.*

Comparing Romanian to Western Lombard (and, partially, Arpitan, Alpine Occitan) we find a cluster of isoglosses – phonetical, lexical, morphological – that may be explained as relicts of the first dialectalization of Latin.

We cannot explain otherwise the extinct dialect from Névache (Alpine Occitan)

French	Romanian	Névache	Toscan	meaning
ici	aici	eishi	qui	here
marais	baltă	pauto	pantano	swamp; mud
corneille	cioară	tsaurio	cornacchia	crow
geler	ger	dzarà	gelare	to freeze
bouche	gură	gouro	bocca	mouth
génisse	mânzat	manzo	*manzo*	heifer
soleil	soare	sourë / sorè	sole	sun
toile	teară	tièro	tela	cloth

Our seven words list is based on a 70 words long list quoting Henri Rostolland *Névache et la Vallée de la Clarée*, 1930. Both phonetically and lexically, this Occitan dialect is closer to Romanian than to either French or Italian. The Western Lombard area is the one with the most isoglosses with Romanian. Not far from Névache is Graviére / Gravera (franco-provensal). It has *gou□a* – “mouth” and *pelh* “hair”. All these features – common lexical innovations in respect to Latin and Romance, phonetical innovations (rhotacism of intervocalic –R-, spirantization of –B- degemination, and so on – all these suggest that Romanian came from the dialectal spoken Latin that already had these features.

> Most sound changes between Latin and Romanian exist in the western Lombard dialect and vivaro-alpin Occitan.
>
> All classical Histories of the Romanian language discuss the sound changes between Latin and Romanian in isolation. There is nothing specific Romanian in these sound changes.

Morphology

Rom. *am căutat,* Padan *am cercato* / Tosc. *abbiamo cercato,* Rom. *ei bat,* Padan *bato* / Tosc. *battono,* Rom. *doi, două* (m. f.) Occitan, Padan *doi*, *due* (m. f.) Tosc. *due* – and many other isoglosses – suggest a relationship between Romanian and Lombardo & Veneto.

Also, participles like Lombard *cazudho,* Rom. *căzut* / Tosc. *caduto*; Lomb. *vezudho,* Ven. *vezud,* Rom. *văzut* / Tosc. *visto* represent northern anomalies and may be old dialectal forms.

The gender of some words

As one can see, Romanian does share with Alpine Lombard common innovations.

In Romanian and in Lombard of Bormio, *la lum, la mel, la fel, la flor, invern, la sudor, la sal – lumină, miere, fiere, floare, iarnă, sudoare, sare,*– are feminine, while in Italian they are masculine.

Lat	word	Portug	Sp	Cat	Occ	French	Lomb	Rom	Tosc	Diagnostic
n	mel	m	f	f	m	m.	f	f	m	no dominant pattern.
n	fel	f	f	m	m	m	f	f	m	no dominant pattern.
m	flor-	f	f	f	f	f		f	m	Toscan is divergent.
n	hibernum	m	m	m	m	m		f	m	Lombard and Romanian are divergent.
m	sudor	m.	m	f	f	f	f	f	m.	no dominant pattern.
m	sal	m.	f	f	f	m.	f	f	m	no dominant pattern

Prefixes

One can see that Romanian has most isoglosses with the Arpitan – Western Lombard area, more than with any other Romance area. Many of them – substrate words, prefixes etc. – are Romance, but not Latin: *a dezbrăca / desbrayer* v. Fr. *deshabiller,* It. *svestire* – show an early dialectalization. Many arguments suggest that Romanian comes from this *already* dialectalized Gallo-Latin from the Cisalpine Gaul: in the north (French, Occitan, Lombard, Veneto) one has a pervasive suffix *des-*, while Toscan has the other prefix, *ex-*.

If we reconstruct, from Romanian, early Lombard, Occitan and the earliest French a proto-Romance, we are able to say that

a) it represents the spoken Latin of northern Italy in the II-nd and III-rd centuries,

b) which already has words that do not exist in Classical Latin, or in Spanish, or in Toscan: *turbulus,* and even **tulburus* (Rom. *tulbure,* Lomb. Canzo, Bienate, Monza, Cozzo, Vigevano, Bereguardo, Montù Beccaria *tulbar, tulbru*). French has a different metathesis, *trouble,* while Toscan inherits the Class. Lat. *torbidus.*

Northern Italy, Veneto, Emilia-Romagna *stanco* "left-wards" Rom. *stâng* show that the meaning "left-wards" is as old as the meaning "tired".

Lexic

French	Arpitan (Francoprovensal) and Vivaro-alpine Occitan, Western Lombard	Romanian	Toscan (Italian)
champignons	buret	bureți	funghi
bouche	goura, goula	gură	bocca
cheveux	pelh	păr	capelli
deshabiller	desbraiar	a se dezbrăca	svestirsi
mal, mauvais	reo	rău	male
prêter	(imprumutare)	a împrumuta	prestare
***	dianaticus	zănatic	***
tramettre (Old Fr.)	tramettre (obsolete)	a trimite	mandare
voler	svolare	a zbura	volare

a) *campaneolus / boletus / fungus

fungus "mushroom" is the old classical Latin word, kept in Italian. French innovates and replaces it with *campaneolus > champignon "mushroom" at some unknown date. A area in Provence and the Piemont has *bulet*, *bulé*, *buret*, *buré*, from Lat. *boletus*, which was specialized and got a wider meaning.

In the glosses **Hermeneumata Bernensia** we have

fungus id est omnis *boletus* – "*fungus*, that means any kind of *boletus*".

Such a gloss was possible only in an area where *fungus* disappeared, and had to be explained through *boletus*; this was possible only in the Alps – Grisons, Piemont and the east of Provence.

b) bouche / gură

lat. *bucca* has given fr. *bouche*, tosc. *bocca*, but in the Alps, both in vivaro-alpine Occitan and Arpitan (Francoprovensal, Romand) we have *goula*, *goura*, as in Romanian.

bucca is older and more widespread. It has traces in Romanian (a *îmbuca* – to take a mouthful; *bucă* – cheek; *bucate* – food). *Gula* "animal snout" in classical latin is an innovation – an early innovation, because we find it in Romanian, who separated very early from the Romania Magna; and a northern innovation, because it is found only in the Alps between Italy and France, in the Italian Piemont and the French Provence.

c) cheveux / păr

French and Toscan keep Lat. *capilli*, "head hair" as opposed to *pili* (fr. *poils*, ital. *pelo* "body hair"). It is unclear why *capilli* disappear from a small area in the Alps. Piemont *cavei*, Lomb. *caei*, Romansh *čavels* "hair" suggest they entered in homonymy with *cavalli* – "horses".

d)

e) malus / reus

malus "bad, evil" is the old, classical, widespread Latin word. *reus* "accused > wicked, evil" is a northern word. It may be old, if we can translate

St. Augustin *Sermones*, 180, *Ream* linguam non facit nisi *mens rea*

as "only a wicked mind makes an evil tongue".

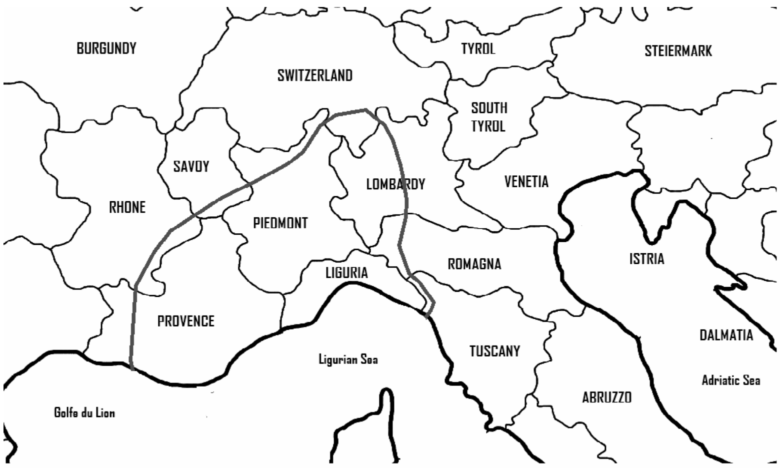
If so, it is a northern word – Augustin lived, studied and wrote in Mediolanum, in the Cisalpine Gaul. It does not exist in the Latin spoken in Spain (*Glosas emilianenses* explain: *reus* – *culpauiles*, as do the *Reichenau glosses*) nor in France. It exists in Lombard, Veneto and Ladino – a Cisalpine Gaul old dialectalism.

f) praestare / *impromutuare

Glossae Abba-pater Sangallensis 912, VII–VIII cent.: fenerat – mutuat – *inpromutat*

Reichenau glosses, VIII cent.: mutuare *impruntare*

We have here, in two old glosses, the Romanian meaning "to lend"; *emprunter* exists in French as well, but it means only "to borrow". Fr. *prêter*, Ital. *prestare* are older and continue Lat. *praesto.*



The area of origin of Romanian.

Lexical, derivational (prefixes) phonetical and morphological isoglosses.

g) dianaticus / zănatic

Attested in Maxim of Torino:

dianaticus rom. *zănatec*:

Cum maturius vigilaveris et videris saucium vino rusticum, scire debes quoniam, sicut dicunt, aut Dianaticus aut aruspex est; insanum enim numen insanum solet habere pontificem: talis enim sacerdos parat se vino ad plagas Deæ suæ, ut dum est ebrius, pœnam suam miser iste non sentiat.

"When you see a drunken peasant, you must know that he is a *Dianaticus* or haruspex".

This hapax also is found in the area we speak about, – Torino is a city in the Piemont – only there *and* in Romanian

h) volare / exvolare – Northern Italy has *svolare, svorare, zbolare* "to fly"

Rom. *şi* Old Fr. *si* “and” are northern phenomena, absent in Classical Latin and Italian. Occ. *aquest, aquel*, Catal. *aquest*, Rom. *acest* belong to a central zone, surrounded by Sp. *este,* Fr. *ce, cet,* Tosc. *questo*, *quello*.

Also, Rom. *unde,* Occit. *ont,* Lomb. *ont /* Tosc. *dove,* Fr. *où* < Lat. *ubi*; Fr. Occit. *trembler,* Rom. *a tremura /* Tosc. *tremere.* In both cases, the northern forms are dialectal innovations, while Toscan keeps the Class. Latin form.

Other northern words:

Lat. *tremulare,* Rom. *a tremura,* Fr. *trembler*; but. It. *tremare* from. Lat. *tremere*

Piem. Lomb. Romagna *meliga* “Panicum miliaceum”, Rom. *mămăligă* “polenta”

Fr. *chatouiller,* Old Fr. *catiliare,* Provens. *gatilha*, North. Italy *gatiglio* etc. Rom. *a gîdila.*

Substrate words

Some substrate words, Rom. *baligă* “manure” Lombard Ticino *belegot* “manure” belong probably to the Alpine substrate, and connect Romanian to the Northern Italy, Rom. *molid* < *molizi* (Picea abies) may be related to Arpitan *mélèze* (Larix decidua), as *zîmbru* Pinus cembra, Romansh *tsondra.*

All these data – lexical and morphological innovations – suggest that Romanian comes from a Latin dialect spoken north of the line La Spezia – Rimini, and the archaisms it shares with the South of Italy are not diagnostic. We suggest Romanian comes from a western dialect of the Cisalpine Gaul.

The rhotacism of intervocalic –L- exists in Arpitan Occitan and Western Lombard. This is an isogloss spreading across dialects. Because it exists also in Ladino and Romanian, it may be a relict of an older dialectal splitting. The division Occitan / Lombard is later.

Conclusions

We suggest that Romanian comes from a Latin already dialectalized spoken in the Alpes Maritimae, Alpes Poeninae and in the West of the Gallia Cisalpina, – western Lombardy and Liguria. Usually, the linguists point out the very visible parallelisms between Romanian and the Southern Italian dialects. We should not be misled by this obvious resemblances: the Southern Italian dialects are archaic and conservative, while French was phonetically very eroded – and is, to this day, a crumbling language, phonetically speaking. This permanent strong erosion led to the replacement of many words, and the vocabulary of modern French and Occitan is very different from Romanian.

Metaphorically put, French is an extremely wrinkled sister of Romanian, while Italian Meridional dialects are very well-preserved, young-looking cousins.

We propose a name for this area – VALLL – Vivaro-Alpin, Western Lombard, Liguria, Ladinia.

Categoria gramaticală a intensității în gramaticile actuale ale limbii române

Roxana Marcu-Oniga*

The Grammatical Category of Intensity in Contemporary Romanian Grammar

Abstract:
The article approaches a current issue of great interest for both the theoretical and the applied linguistics. It is about the report between the properties expressed by an adjective or adverb during the act of comparison, which report has been seen as unified by traditional grammar and presented therefore undifferentiated. They were called the grammatical category of comparative or simply as comparative degree. Lately, the linguists have added the concept of intensity parallel with the comparative degree. This has led to the identification of two grammatical categories: the comparative degree and the intensity without a clear delineation to be made between them.

My article reflects the current situation in Romanian grammar. The firsts to talk about intensity and in a Romanian grammar were Vladimir Robu and Iorgu Iordan in their *Contemporary Romanian Language*, (Didactic and Pedagogic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1978). The idea was taken up in other grammar books, such as the first and second volume of the *Romanian Grammar, The Word* and *The Statement* (Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2005) and *The Basic Romanian Grammar* (Encyclopedic Universe Publishing, Bucharest, 2010). Both books led to a different solution than the one proposed by Vladimir Robu.

The information contained in this article is intended as a database for a wide analysis of an interesting issue in Romanian grammar today.

Keywords: grammatical category of intensity, adjective, adverb, contemporary Romanian grammar, traditional Romanian grammar, comparative degree, intensity degree, theoretical linguistics, applied linguistics

În GALR[1], secțiunea care în gramaticile tradiționale purta numele de *comparație (grade de comparație)* este denumită, clar delimitativ, *Gradele de intensitate*, iar noțiunea ca atare este aceea a „categoriei

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[1] Academia Română, Institutul de lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti”, Valeria Guțu Romalo, (coord.), *Gramatica limbii române*. I: *Cuvântul*, II. *Enunțul*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 2005.

intensității”, „numită tradițional categoria comparației” (p. 154). Ea reprezintă, în grupul nominal, categoria specifică, intrinsecă a adjectivului (şi adverbului) în raport cu substantivul şi pronumele.

Intensitatea însuşirii poate fi: *comparabilă* sau *noncomparabilă*. Pe de altă parte, precizează Magdalena Popescu Marin, redactorul secțiunii dedicate adjectivului, „Evaluarea comparativă a intensității unei însuşiri poate fi considerată *obiectivă* şi *subiectivă* (subl. n.), ultima exprimându-se mai ales prin superlativul absolut […] şi prin pozitiv“ (*Ibidem*).

Mărcile gradelor de intensitate sunt analitice şi antepuse „determinatului”. De asemenea, ca mărci ale gradului de intensitate pot fi considerate, la rigoare, diferite mijloace expresive care sunt „mai mult sau mai puțin gramaticalizate”.

Cu excepția formantului *cel* (cf. *cel mai + adjectiv*), care este *variabil* după gen, număr şi caz, toate celelalte mărci sunt *invariabile*.

Din punctul de vedere al gradelor de intensitate, clasa adjectivului nu este omogenă atâta vreme cât există adjective incompatibile cu gradarea intensității.

Intensitatea, supusă comparației, prezintă acelaşi grad sau grade diferite pentru două sau mai multe obiecte sau pentru acelaşi obiect în împrejurări diferite, ceea ce este, deja, o constatare „clasică”. De asemenea, precizarea termenilor, care, într-o comparație explicită, sunt întotdeauna doi: termenul, de obicei un nominal, comparat şi reperul comparației.

Detaliind aria de cuprindere a comparației, aceasta se realizează:

– între două sau mai multe *obiecte*:

– din aceeaşi clasă: *Ion este cel mai bun* ***dintre elevi***;

– din clase diferite: ***Tălpile*** *sunt mai îndepărtate* ***de creştet****/ decât* ***trecutul de prezent***. (M. Stănescu).

– la acelaşi obiect în împrejurări diferite: *A putut trimite cu primejdie mai puțină* ***decât oricând*** *răvaşul său.* (M. Sadoveanu).

– între două însuşiri ale aceluiaşi obiect: *Ea,* ***mai mult speriată*** *decât* ***încântată****, se întreba ce i-a venit.* (H. Gârbea, *Enigme*).

Reperul comparației, denumit în alte gramatici *termenul al doilea*, poate fi exprimat *nonpropozițional* sau *propozițional*, el putând avea anumite funcții sintactice:

– complement, introdus prin *ca, decât, la fel ca, din, dintre* etc.: *Pe părul lor… bălai şi moale* ***ca şi auru-n spice****…* (M. Eminescu).

– complement sau atribut „fără element de legătură”: *Este cea mai bună bucătăreasă* ***moldoveancă****. Ar fi cea mai mare fericire* ***a mea***. (M. Eliade, *Maitreyi*).

– propoziție completivă sau atributivă: *Era mai înțelept* ***de cum îl cunoscuseam****…, Cel mai frumos cer* ***care mi-a fost dat să-l văd vreodată****.* (M. Eliade, *Maitreyi*).

În situația în care reperul comparației lipseşte, „avem de-a face cu întrebuințarea absolută a unor grade de intensitate care admit comparația: Este **cea mai frumoasă** haină” (p. 155)[2].

Intrând în sfera comparației, se admite că există **trei grade de intensitate** (subl. n.): pozitivul, comparativul (de egalitate, de superioritate şi de inferioritate) şi superlativul (relativ

şi absolut). Dintre ele, exprimă o comparație „explicită” numai comparativul şi superlativul relativ, superlativul absolut neindicând o comparație, cu toate că apar formulări precum: *un cer foarte întunecat, ca de furtună*.

Privită în ansamblu, „intensitatea comparată” poate fi de **egalitate** (*om la fel de frumos ca soarele*) şi de *inegalitate* (*cel mai frumos/cel mai puțin frumos dintre ei*).

Se mai precizează că „intensitatea unei însuşiri poate fi evaluată şi prin alte mijloace, exprimând aprecieri de gradare intermediare: *aproape frumos, uşor cărunt, cam alb, destul de bun* etc” (p. 155).

Gradul pozitiv este definit ca punct de reper în raport cu celelalte grade de intensitate sau, în alți termeni, este termenul zero, ceea ce înseamnă lipsa mărcilor de intensitate. Din punct de vedere semantic, el este *neutru* ca intensitate. Formal, el reprezintă „forma-tip” a adjectivului.

Cu toate acestea, pozitivul, chiar ca entitate nemarcată, poate apărea într-o comparație de egalitate, gradul de intensitate fiind indicat prin termenul al doilea al comparației: *deştept ca tine*, care poate apărea şi în inversiunea *ca tine de deştept*.

Este scoasă în evidență şi situația în care „Construcțiile cu adjectivul la gradul pozitiv comparat cu un obiect tipic pentru însuşirea respectivă sunt de cele mai multe ori echivalente semantice ale superlativului absolut”: *tare ca piatra, iute ca săgeata; Uite-i mă, căciula, frate,/ Mare* **cât o zi de post**. (G. Coşbuc).

Comentând atare construcții, Magdalena Popescu Marin arată că „Ideea de superlative, neexprimată aici gramatical, este stabilită în raport cu cunoştințele curente despre însuşirile (calitate, dimensiune etc.) lucrurilor fixate ca puncte de reper” (p. 155).

[2] În ce ne priveşte, preferăm formularea *in absentia*, care indică faptul că reperul/termenul al doilea este doar absent, nu şi inexistent, cum sugerează sintagma „întrebuințare absolută”, preluată şi ea din gramaticile tradiționale.

Gradul comparativ arată „evaluarea intensității însuşirii ca superioară, egală sau inferioară în raport cu aceeaşi însuşire a altei/altor obiecte sau a aceluiaşi obiect (în circumstanțe diferite) ori în raport cu altă însuşire care trimite fie la acelaşi obiect, fie la obiecte diferite” (p. 156). Gradul comparativ poate exprima deci *egalitatea* sau *inegalitatea*, iar în acest din urmă caz se vorbeşte de *superioritate* şi de *inferioritate*.

Din punct de vedere formal, la toate varietățile comparativului, apare schema: marcă graduală + adjectiv la gradul pozitiv + reperul comparației, care poate fi un complement comparativ.

Comparativul de egalitate are ca mărci „locuțiunile” *la fel de, tot aşa de, tot atât de, deopotrivă de* + adjectivul la gradul pozitiv + reperul comparației, „introdus” prin *ca, ca şi, cât şi*:

Sarea era ***tot atât de vânată ca*** *zahărul*. (Cezar Petrescu).

Hinduismul e ***tot atât de bun ca şi*** *creştinismul*. (Mircea Eliade).

Când raportul de intensitate egală include două calități, el se exprimă prin termeni corelativi: *tot atât de/pe cât de* + adjectiv + *cât şi de/ pe atât de* + adjectiv: *Este* ***pe cât*** *de cuminte,* ***pe atât de*** *bun.*

Dacă reperul este o propoziție, aceasta are ca elemente de relație conectivii (pre)*cum, după cum, aşa cum, întocmai cum şi cât*.

El este la fel de bun ***cum*** *este şi ea.*

Conectivul *cât* indică o comparație cantitativă şi la nivel de propoziție, şi la nivel de frază:

Era un măr mare ***cât*** *casa.*

El munceşte tot aşa de mult ***cât*** *o făcea în tinerețe*.

În situația în care, la nivel frastic, este vorba de două calități, apar construcțiile corelative *tot atât de… pe cât este de…* sau *pe cât este de… pe atât este de…:*

Este ***tot atât de*** *bun* ***pe cât este de*** *cuminte.*

Pe cât este de bun, ***pe atât este de*** *cuminte*.

Există situații în care reperul comparației trebuie dedus din context, întrucât termenul al doilea nu este exprimat. De regulă este vorba de aceeaşi calitate, dar raportată la momente diferite.

A trecut mai mult de o lună de atunci, şi *râul n-a scăzut, frica e* ***la fel de insuportabilă*** [ca acum o lună]. (M. Cărtărescu, *Travesti*).

Comparația de egalitate admite şi ea, ca şi unele grade ale comparației de inegalitate, *modalizatori adverbiali* care indică aproximarea, diminuarea sau specifică egalitatea:

Repetiția e ***aproape*** *la fel de importantă* ***ca*** *cititul.*

Este ***exact*** *la fel de prietenos* ***ca şi*** *altădată.*

Comparativul de inegalitate arată gradul mai ridicat sau mai redus al calității unui obiect. „Marcarea superiorității se face prin *mai*, a inferiorității prin *mai puțin*, ambele antepuse adjectivului” (*Ibidem*).

„Termenul de comparație” este introdus prin *decât*, „în variație liberă” cu *ca* pentru ambele specii ale comparativului de inegalitate, dacă reperul este nonpropozițional:

A ajuns mai suspicios ***decât*** *înainte*.

În construcții frastice, termenul al doilea este introdus prin *cât, decât* (popular și *de cum*) cu valoare conjuncțională:

Era mai deşteaptă ***decât*** *părea.*

Când termenul al doilea indică măsura, comparația se face prin prepoziția *de*:

Podeaua era de mozaic şi nu putea avea latura mai mare ***de*** *vreo trei metri*. (M. Cărtărescu, *Travesti*).

La comparația de inegalitate apare şi ipostaza *evaluării implicite* când „reperul” poate fi introdus şi prin *față de, în comparație cu, în raport cu, pe lângă* plasat alături de adjectivul la gradul pozitiv, şi nu la un comparativ marcat, cum apare uneori:

Andrei este mare ***față de/ în comparație cu*** *Traian*.

Și nu:

Este ***mai mare*** *față de/în comparație cu Traian.*

Și comparativul de inegalitate poate fi folosit „în mod absolut“, deci cu termenul al doilea „neprecizat, dar subînțeles, cunoscut sau presupus”:

Statui coclite pe care nu le mai observă nimeni […] le ajutam să renască la ***o realitate mai adâncă*** *într-un aer metafizic şi radios*. (M. Cărtărescu, *Travesti*)

În special **lumea mai puțin informată** și foarte *sensibilă la ideea integrității teritoriale a României […] poate fi uşor cucerită printr-o dezinformare*. („România literară”)

Sunt aduse în discuție, în mod evident, şi adjectivele neologice de origine latină cu sufixul *-(i)or* care sunt „intrinsec comparative de superioritate“: *anterior, posterior, ulterior; inferior, superior, exterior, interior*. Ele deci „implică semantic ideea de comparație, iar reperul este exprimat prin substantiv la cazul dativ sau este introdus prin *față de*: *dată anterioară conferinței, rezultat inferior aşteptărilor/****față de*** *aşteptări* etc.” (p. 157).

Se mai precizează că *major, minor, junior, senior* nu mai au sens comparativ.

În structura comparativului de inegalitate apar adverbe sau locuțiuni adverbiale care duc la apariția unor *construcții intensive şi progresive*.

În cazul construcțiilor *intensive*, „comparativele de inegalitate” sunt precedate de *mult* şi (*rar, încă)*:

Religia mea e ***mult mai bună decât a lui***. (M. Eliade, *Maitreyi*)

De când era tânără era ***încă mai strălucitoare*** *decât fiica ei.* (Al. Ivasiuc, *Corn de vânătoare*)

În construcțiile intensive, unele comparative etimologice de tipul *inferior, superior* pot fi precedate de (cu)*mult*:

Acest port militar… era considerat **cu mult superior New York-ului**. (M. Ralea)

În sens invers, *puțin*, indică diminuarea superiorității, fără însă a o anula: *copil mult mai atent decât alții* față de *copil puțin mai atent decât alții*.

În construcțiile **progresive** comparativele de inegalitate sunt precedate de *mereu, tot* şi *din ce în ce*:

Calea e închisă, ba ***tot mai încâlcită***. (Camil Petrescu, *Un om între oameni*)

Apar şi construcții cu elemente corelative: *cu cât… cu atât*:

Cu cât *citeşte mai mult,* ***cu atât****devine mai înțelept.*

Fără a se lua în discuție în mod special forma **negativă** a comparativului de inegalitate, aspect bine reliefat în gramaticile clasice, se scoate în evidență faptul că forma negativă a comparativului de superioritate este echivalentă cu forma pozitivă a comparativului de egalitate:

Sunt la noi oameni, ***nu mai bătrâni*** *decât părinții mei, care au trăit […] ca pe trei planete diferite.* (H. Gârbea, *Enigme*). Aici, **nu mai bătrâni** = **la fel de bătrâni**.

O altă echivalență, semantică, apare între comparativul de inferioritate şi forma negativă a comparativului de egalitate:

Casa mea e mai puțin solidă decât a voastră.

față de:

Casa mea nu e la fel de solidă ca a voastră.

Echivalența semantică se constată şi între comparativul de inferioritate al unui adjectiv şi comparativul de superioritate al adjectivului antonim: *mai puțin prost = mai deştept*.

În ce priveşte *inferioritatea*, ea poate fi redată şi lexical, cu ajutorul unor sufixe adjectivale diminutivale: *bunişor* „nu chiar bun, aproape bun”; *alburiu* „aproape alb”). De asemenea, sunt folosite adverbe care arată aproximația: *aproape roşu, cam nebun, destul de cuminte* etc.

Acestea în contextul în care, în forma sa prototipică, inferioritatea comparativă se foloseşte rar[3].

Gradul superlativ indică intensitatea maximă a însuşirii. Se realizează ca *relativ* şi *absolut*, ambele putând exprima superioritatea sau inferioritatea.

Redarea superlativului se face *analitic*, prin elemente gramaticalizate sau prin alte structuri ori forme specifice.

Câteva adjective neologice de origine latină, în *-im* sau *-em*, sunt, la origine, superlative: *maxim, minim, optim, proxim, ultim, infim; extrem, suprem*. Ele îşi păstrează şi în română sensul de superlativ şi nu admit, ca atare, mărcile comparației.

Suprşlativul relativ îl are ca formant pe *cel, cea, cei, cele* asociat comparativului de superioritate: *cel mai curat, cel mai puțin curat.*

„Termenul-reper“ al comparației, care este, de regulă, un substantiv sau un substitut, apare însoțit de prepoziții: *dintre* (rar *între, printre*), când substantivul este la plural, şi *din* (rar *în, de la, de sub, de pe* etc.), în special când substantivul este la singular. Prepoziția *de* apare pe lângă adverbe de loc sau de timp:

Acesta era cel mai tânăr ***dintre*** *ei.*

„Termenul de reper introdus prin *dintre* precizează colectivitatea de obiecte (denumite prin nominale la plural) din care face parte purtătorul însuşirii exprimate de adjectiv (inegalitatea inclusă)” (p. 159). În schimb *din* se asociază cu substantive colective la singular, îndeplinind acelaşi rol ca şi *din*: *cel mai frumos băiat* ***din*** *grup* [„din grupul de băieți”], *din mulțime, din gaşcă, din clasă* etc. Se mai poate asocia cu substantive masive: *cel mai răspândit microb* ***din*** *aer, din atmosferă, din natură*.

Există situații în care „termenul de reper” nu este exprimat, el fiind înlocuit cu nominale cu sens local, temporal sau partitiv. Aceste nominale, care se substituie deci reperului comparației, sunt introduse prin prepoziția *din* în special, dar şi prin prepozițiile *de, de la, în*:

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[3] În GALR I, p. 158–159, se mai specifică anumite construcții mai puțin luate în considerare în alte gramatici. Astfel, în cazul comparării cu două însuşiri opuse, comparativul de superioritate se formează cu *mai mult*, iar uneori cu *mai curând, mai degrabă:Cruciadele au fost* ***mai degrabă spectaculoase*** *decât trebuincioase.* Legată de *mai mult* apare gruparea locuțională *mai mult* sau *mai puțin* care, asociată unui adjectiv indică aproximarea însuşirii: *Procurorii aduc dovezi* ***mai mult sau mai puțin clare*** *în instanțe*.

În limbajul popular, câteva adjective sunt folosite numai la comparativul de superioritate: *haină* ***mai acătării***, *nuntă* ***mai dihai***.

Sunt considerate false comparative de superioritate grupările locuționale de tipul *de mai mare dragul, de mai mare mila, de mai mare păcatul* etc., ele fiind echivalente ale unor superlative absolute.

Este cel mai bun specialist ***din țară***(sens local, înlocuind enunțul „cel mai bun specialist dintre specialiştii din țară”).

Este cea mai frumoasă amintire ***din copilărie*** (sens temporal, înlocuitor al enunțului „este cea mai frumoasă amintire dintre amintirile din copilărie”).

E cea mai vulnerabilă parte ***din mine*** (cu sens partitiv).

Termenul-reper poate fi, pur şi simplu, neprecizat:

Rămăsesem cu ochii la el, ***în chipul cel mai nepoliticos*** […] (M. Gârbea, *Enigme*).

Când termenul-reper este precizat, el poate fi redat şi neprepozițional, prin substantiv la genitiv sau prin adjectiv cu sens local:

Mă ghemuisem acolo, în cel mai umed, cel mai secret ascunziş ***al grădinii***. (M. Cărtărescu, *Travesti*), subînțelegându-se „dintre ascunzişurile grădinii”.

El este cel mai bun brutar ***prahovean*** („dintre brutarii din Prahova”).

Problema articulării termenului-reper nominal se pune în funcție de poziția acestuia în raport cu adjectivul: este articulat când este plasat înaintea adjectivului (*A ales* ***soluția cea mai bună***) şi este nearticulat când stă după adjectiv (*A ales* ***cea mai bună soluție***).

În legătură cu superlativul relativ sunt puse şi aşa-numitele „construcții intensive” realizate cu *mult* sau *de departe*:

Mama a fost cea mai bună şi ***cu mult cea mai frumoasă femeie*** *din lume*.

Ea era ***de departe cea mai isteață*** *din clasă*.

Superlativul de inferioritate, ca şi comparativul de inferioritate, este rar utilizat. De regulă, este înlocuit cu superlativul relativ de superioritate al adjectivului antonim: *el este cel mai puțin înalt = el este cel mai scund*.

Superlativul absolut exprimă intensitatea însuşirii la cel mai înalt grad, dar fără raportare la diferite repere.

În ce priveşte mijloacele de realizare, se poate vorbi de mijloace *gramaticalizate* şi mijloace *negramaticalizate* sau puțin *gramaticalizate*.

Forma tipică a superlativului absolut este: *foarte* + forma de pozitiv a adjectivului, pentru *superioritate*, şi *foarte puțin* + forma de pozitiv a adjectivului, pentru *inferioritate*. Aşa cum se precizează îndeobşte, superlativului absolut de inferioritate i se preferă pozitivul adjectivului antonim: *el este foarte puțin politicos = el este nepoliticos*.

Alți formanți sunt *tare, mult* şi *prea*.

Sunt ***tare*** *obosit.*

Mult apare doar pe lângă anumite participii cu valoare adjectivală, manifestând tendința de a se diferenția de *foarte*:

Ceea ce el numea cu un cuvânt ***multîntrebuințat*** *în vremea lui: intuiție*. (T. Vianu, *Jurnal*).

Cu *prea* se redă prezența în exces a calității:

A cerut un preț ***prea mare***.

Asocierea lui *prea* cu *mult* redă ideea „care întrece măsura, din cale afară de”: *o pălărie* ***mult prea*** *caraghioasă.*

Procedeele *negramaticalizate* de redare a superlativului absolut sunt destul de numeroase. În GALR I, p. 162–164, sunt identificate şapte posibilități de redare a acestui tip de superlativ:

a) Cea mai răspândită este construcția [*adverb* + *de* + *adjectiv*], plasată întotdeauna înaintea substantivului determinat. Ideea de superlativ se degajă din semantica adverbului, „purtător al unor seme gradual-superlative care indică”:

– gradul maxim al unei cantitățîi: *colosal de*, *fabulos de, imens de, infinit de* etc.;

– depăşirea unei anumite limite: *excesiv de, exagerat de*;

– îndepărtarea maximă față de un punct de referință: *extrem de: Explicația este* ***extrem de clară*** *şi ține de bun-simț*;

– seme superlative din zona calității: *desăvârşit de, extraordinar de, fantastic de, formidabil de*;

– seme din zona „dezagreabilului”: *crunt de, cumplit de, fioros de, groaznic de, infernal de, jalnic de, monstrous de, oribil de* etc.

– devierea față de clasa luată ca punct de referință: *anormal de, neobişnuit de, neverosimil de*;

– neîncadrarea în clasa luată ca punct de referință: *nemaipomenit de, nemaivăzut de*.

Sunt menționate şi alte tipuri de adverbe care realizează una sau alta din posibilitățile de mai sus:

– supine la forma negativă: *nebănuit de, negrăit de, neînchipuit de, nespus de; nemaipomenit de, nemaiauzite de* etc.

– formații postverbale cu sufixul -*bil* uneori cu prefix negativ: *admirabil de, lamentabil de, incontestabil de, incredibil de, insuportabil de* etc.

b) Frecventă este şi construcția *adjectiv + de + supin*: *frumoasă* ***de speriat***, *mândră* ***de nespus***, *aprig* ***de temut***etc.

c) Construcții cu adjectivul însoțit de locuțiuni adverbiale cu semnificație de superlativ. Grupul locuțional poate apărea în postpunere sau în antepunere față de adjectiv:

Calul era blând ***din cale-afară***.

Era ***din cale-afară*** *de obosit*.

Dacă în exemplul de mai sus grupul adverbial antepus este legat prin prepoziția *de* de adjectiv, sunt unele locuțiuni care nu-şi schimbă structura în funcție de poziție:

Un port ***cu totul şi u totul alb****/ alb* ***cu totul şi cu totul****.*

d) Este interpretată ca având valoare de superlative şi construcția *adjectiv + de + adjectiv*: ***moartă*** *de beată*. Se consideră că aceste construcții au dobândit valoare de superlativ prin analogie cu adverbele din construcții de felul ***colosal*** *de mare*. De subliniat că structural, *de* se grupează cu primul adjectiv: [**putredă de**] *bogată*, [**frântă de**] *obosită*, [**nebuni de**] *îndrăgostiți*, [**morți de**] *beți* etc.

e) Redau ideea de superlativ şi unele substantive care se comportă adverbial: *beat* ***turtă****, scump* ***foc****, singur* ***cuc****, îndrăgostit* ***lulea*** etc. Dacă apar în antepunere față de adjectiv, substantivele-adverb se leagă de acesta prin prepoziția *de*: ***turtă de*** *beat,* ***foc de*** *scump*.

f) Sunt considerare ca echivalente ale unui superlativ absolut unele construcții exclamative cu *ce* adverbial şi *cât de*: ***Ce*** *frumos e afară!* ***Cât de*** *frumoasă eşti, natură!*

Chiar şi numai adjectivul la gradul pozitiv poate reda ideea de superlativ:

Frumoasă eşti, *pădurea mea/ Când umbra-i încă rară.* (G. Topârceanu).

g) Repetarea adjectivului:

Şi a făcut o nuntă ***mare, mare****.*[4]

Un procedeu care pare a prinde teren tot mai mult constă în *derivarea cu prefixe şi sufixe*. Acest procedeu, se spune în GALR I, exprimă „intensitatea maximă“, deci iese din sfera comparației. Trăsătura „superlativ” este inclusă în matricea lor semantică. Domină, evident, derivarea cu prefixe fie vechi (*prea-*, *răs-*, *stră-*), fie noi (*arhi-*, *extra-*, *hiper-*, *super-*, *supra-*, *ultra-*):

-isim: *rarisim, simplisim;*

prea- (în special în limbajul bisericesc): *preacurat, preafericit, preaînălțat*;

răs-/răz-: răscunoscut, răzbucuros;

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[4] În GALR I, p. 164 sunt prezentate şi alte modalități de redare a superlativului specifice mai ales „limbajului colocvial şi popular“: *o frumusețe de copil, o bunătate de pârjitură; deşteptul deştepților; frumos de nu se mai poate, amărât cât se poate de mult, mare cât nu se există pe lume* etc.

Se atrage atenția asupra unor structuri repetitive argotice, nerecomandabile: *băiat de băiat* etc.

Superlativul absolut se poate reda şi prin mijloace fonetice, constând din lungirea unor sunete: *acrruu, buună, rrău*. De asemenea, prin despărțirea în silabe: *în-cân-tat* prin accentuarea intensă a unei silabe: ***a****prig om*.

stră-: străvechi, străromâna;
arhi-: arhiaglomerat, arhicunoscut, arhiplin;
extra-: extrafin, extraplat;
hiper-: hipermotiv, hipercorect, hipersensibil;
super-: superadaptat, superfin;
supra-: supranatural, supraîncălzit;
ultra-: ultracentral, ultraelegant, ultramodern[5]

Prin repetarea prefixului se accentuează caracterul intensiv al derivatului: *extraextrafin, străstrăvechi* etc.

O categorie diversă de adjective este incompatibilă cu *gradele de intensitate*:

● adjectivele care denumesc o însuşire negradabilă: *absolut, brut, definitiv, etern, fix, inițial, mort, unic, veşnic* etc.

● adjectivele categoriale aparținând mai ales terminologiei tehnico-ştiințifice, „subclasă foarte bogată, prin care se exprimă referința, apartenența, originea, componența, materia, acțiunea, originea etc.: *acetic, balsamic, calcic, euclidian, geopolitic, metalic, pulmonar, termogen* etc. În mod frecvent apar ca adjective compuse: *albastru-verzui, bleu-spălăcit, dulce-acrişor, roşu-închis* etc." (p. 165);

● adjectivele care, etimologic, conservă forme de comparativ şi superlativ latinesc (v. *supra*);

● adjectivele care conțin în matricea lor semantică seme superlative: *admirabil, atotbiruitor, enorm, extraordinar, gigantic, grozav, incalculabil, teribil* etc., aici incluzându-se şi derivatele cu afixe superlative (v. *supra*);

● adjectivele derivate cu sufixe diminutivale care se apropie semantic de comparativul de inferioritate: *căldicel, frumuşel, slăbuț, tărişor* etc.;

● adjectivele invariabile provenite din adverbe: *asemenea, aşa, atare, gata*, între care *aşa* poate dezvolta un comparativ: *stai mai aşa!* [6]

Pe lângă aceste cazuri, trebuie subliniat că în categoria adjectivelor negradabile se înscriu, în primul rând, adjectivele pronominale şi numerale, alături de cele provenite din gerunziul verbelor (p. 164).

În GALR se ignoră delimitarea, corectă, din punctul nostru de vedere, operată, parțial, de Vladimir Robu, între faptele de limbă ce se circumscriu gradelor de intensitate şi cele aparținând gradelor de comparație. În fapt, s-a procedat doar la o schimbare de terminologie,

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[5] În româna actuală, în special în limbajul presei, au apărut numeroase derivate cu sens superlativ, care includ nu numai prefixe, ci şi prefixoide, cel mai frecvent apărând *mega-*, *megaproiect, megaconstrucție, megafotbalist* etc.

[6] Cf. şi Corneliu Dimitriu, *op. cit.*, p. 212–213.

prin grade de intensitate fiind denumite acum construcțiile comparative, considerate structuri omogene, din gramatica tradițională.

Dumitru Irimia, *Gramatica limbii române*. Ediția a III-a revăzută, Editura Polirom, Iaşi, 2008, pornind de la lucrarea lui Iorgu Iordan şi Vladimir Robu (v. *supra*), admite că „*Intensitatea* este singura categorie gramaticală autentică din flexiunea adjectivului, cu conținut propriu şi mijloace specifice de exprimare“ (p. 100). Înainte însă de a descrie această categorie, D. Irimia, referindu-se la distincția *grade de intensitate* şi *grade de comparație* propusă de Robu, face observația că „Sintagma *grade de comparație* este nepotrivită, pentru că absolutizează de fapt procedeul implicit în una dintre formele de manifestare a intensității unei însuşirii, fără a exprima prin ea însăşi conținutul categoriei. Dacă celelalte categorii gramaticale se denumesc prin termeni care exprimă un conținut categorical specific (*numărul, genul* etc.), e necesar ca şi această categorie gramaticală să fie denumită, în mod similar, categoria *intensității*, nume generic ce cuprinde deopotrivă *gradele de comparație* şi *gradele de intensitate* […]” (p. 361–362).

După D. Irimia, *categoria intensității* prezintă o natură dublă: *intensitatea obiectivă (comparativă)* şi *intensitatea subiectivă (apreciativă).*

A. Categoria intensității obiective (comparativ) se identifică printr-un *conținut* specific, ce derivă din „interpretarea *lingvistică* (subl. n.) a raportului dintre două sau mai multe obiecte din punctual de vedere al manifestării unei însuşiri comune sau din interpretarea unui obiect din perspectiva aceleiaşi însuşiri, situată între coordonate temporale şi spațiale diferite” (p. 100).

Manifestarea intensității unei însuşiri se poate concretiza într-o comparație explicită: „*Mai verosimil decât adevărul/*e câteodată un vis” (L. Blaga), sau poate rămâne implicit *în sintagma gradului de intensitate*: „Când ura *cea mai crudă* mi s-a părea amor…” (M. Eminescu).

„Opoziția internă” a*intensității obiective* se realizează în patru termeni *„corelativi”*, purtători de sensuri gramaticale: *echivalență, superioritate, inferioritate, superlativ*, plus un termen neutru, fără sens grammatical: *pozitiv*.

Echivalența se actualizează prin „gradul de *intensitate* **echivalentă**”, care redă „manifestarea unei însuşiri cu aceeaşi inensitate la obiecte diferite sau la acelaşi obiect în momente sau locuri diferite” (*Ibidem*).

***Cerul** era la fel de albastru **ca** marea.*

***Marea** este la fel de albastră ca **ieri**.*

Superioritatea se realizează prin „gradul de *inferioritate superioară*”, indicând „manifestarea mai intensă a unei însuşiri la un obiect în raport cu altul sau cu el însuşi într-un alt moment sau loc”. Comparația poate fi *explicită*:

Dar scumpă-i era *frăția de cruce*, ca oricărui voinic, *mai scumpă* decât *zilele*, *mai scumpă* decât *mireasa*. (M. Eminescu).

sau *implicită*:

Acei ochi de-un albastru întuneric […] devin prin asta *mai dulci, mai întunecați, mai demonici* (M. Eminescu).

„Augmentarea intensității" poate fi redată „într-o perspectivă dinamică" şi atunci gradul de intensitate devine de *superioritate progresivă*:

Din ce în ce mai singur mă-ntunec şi îngheț,/ Când tu te pierzi în zarea eternei dimineți (M. Eminescu)[7]

Inferioritatea se exprimă prin „gradul de *intensitate inferioară*". În acest caz, manifestarea însuşirii, la un obiect în raport cu altul sau cu el însuşi în momente sau locuri diferite, este mai puțin intensă:

El, este *mai puțin optimist* decât **mine**.

El, este *mai puțin optimist* ca **altădată**.

Prezentarea într-o perspectivă dinamică a diferențelor de intensitate se realizează prin *gradul de inferioritate progresivă*:

El devine *tot mai puțin optimist*.

Superlativul semnifică, prin gradul *superlativ*, „manifestarea însuşirii la un grad **maxim** sau **minim** de intensitate la un obiect în raport cu altele sau cu el însuşi în momente sau locuri diferite" (p. 101). În funcție de intensitatea maximă şi minimă, gradul superlativ prezintă două variante:

● superlativul **pozitiv**, exprimând gradul maxim de intensitate:

„De astăzi nu-mi mai pasă/ Că *cea mai dulce*-ntre femei/ Se duce şi mă lasă" (M. Eminescu).

● superlativul **negativ**, redând, în opoziție cu primul, gradul minim de intensitate:

El este *cel mai puțin pregătit* dintre toți.

B)Intensitatea subiectivă (apreciativă) are drept conținut „interpretarea lingvistică a intensității unor însuşiri din perspectiva aprecierilor subiectului locutor" (*Ibidem*).

„Opoziția internă" se realizează prin doi termeni „corelativi, purtători de sensuri gramaticale": *intensitatea relativă* şi *intensitatea superlativă*, la care se adaugă, ca termen neutru, *pozitivul*.

[7] Robu vorbeşte aici despre *gradul intensității* mobile, pentru intensitatea *progresivă: din ce în ce mai* trist, şi *regresivă: din ce în ce mai puțin* optimist. „Asemenea structuri – comentează D. Irimia – nu rămân însă în afara comparației, ci se pot doar caracteriza prin întrebuințare absolută: El este *din ce în ce mai sceptic / decât* mine)" – „El este *din ce în ce mai* sceptic (**decât el** însuşi în momente anterioare" (p. 362).

În cazul *intensității relative*, „subiectul vorbitor aproximează manifestarea unui caracter relativ scăzut sau relativ ridicat de intensitate a însuşirii”.

*L-am găsit **cam** trist.*

Sau că gradul de intensitate a însuşirii „corespunde unor parametri” pe care subiectul vorbitor îi are în vedere (*Ibidem*).

Intensitatea superlativă vizează situarea însuşirii la un grad maxim sau minim de intensitate, ceea ce produce două variante:

● superlativul **pozitiv**, indicând însuşirea la un grad maxim:

Fata e *foarte inteligentă*.

● superlativul **negativ**, prezentând însuşiri la un grad minim:

Fata este *foarte puțin inteligentă*[8].

O a treia variantă a superlativului, anume *superlativul excesiv*, apare atunci când „subiectul vorbitor apreciază că gradul de intensitate atins de însuşirea unui obiect depăşeşte anumite limite” (p. 102):

„[…] Ca să mediteze pune / Urechile ce-s *prea lunge* şi coarnele de la cerb” (M. Eminescu).

La superlativul excesiv, D. Irimia mai adaugă, fără o definiție anume, *superlativul absolut*:

„Tu vei deveni ca mine / etern, *atotştiutor* şi cu ajutorul cărții *atotputernic*” (M. Eminescu) (*Ibidem*)[9].

Referindu-se la partea *formală* a categoriei intensității, adică la *exprimarea* gradelor de comparație, D. Irimia distinge între mijloacele *analitice*, care sunt morfeme *libere*, şi cele *sintactice*, mai rare, constituite din morfeme *conjuncte*.

Exprimarea gradelor de intensitate se realizează prin mijloace *analitice*, care sunt fie morfeme *libere*, fie morfeme *conjuncte*.

Echivalența prezintă morfemele *la fel de, tot aşa de, tot atât de,* toate la origine locuțiuni adverbiale:

Am avut o vreme *la fel de frumoasă*.

Superioritatea se exprimă prin „adverbul-morfem” **mai**:

Ziua de ieri a fost **mai** frumoasă.

Inferioritatea este redată prin „morfemul complex” **mai puțin**:

Noaptea a fost **mai puțin***frumoasă* ca altădată.

În cazul *superiorității* şi al *inferiorității progresive*, morfemul **mai** este dublat de morfemele: *tot, mereu, din ce în ce:*

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[8] La Robu se vorbeşte, pentru sintagme de tipul *destul de (suficient de)* trist, despre *gradul intensității* suficiente, pe care D. Irimia nu-l are în vedere.

[9] Arătând că la Robu aceste structuri sunt considerate manifestări ale *gradului intensității depăşeşte (excesive),* D. Irimia crede că „Aceste distincții (intensitate *suficientă, insuficientă,* depăşită etc.) sunt mai degrabă variante semantic-lexicale ale gradelor de intensitate la care apar” (p. 362).

Nopțile sunt **din ce în ce***mai frumoase.*

Nopțile sunt **tot mai puțin***frumoase*.

La *superlativul pozitiv* se întrebuințează morfemul complex **cel mai**, în care primul element se acordă în gen, număr şi caz cu substantivul nuclear al „sintagmei nominale":

Ți-am adus **cea *mai frumoasă* floare.**

Ca negativ se foloseşte morfemul **cel mai puțin**, cu aceeaşi obligativitate a acordului:

Acesta este **cea *mai puțin frumoasă* floare**.

În cazul *intensității obiective*, elementul al doilea din sintagma adjectivului realizează sintactic funcția de *complement comparativ*, în interiorul propoziției sau propozițional, relația de dependență exprimându-se prin prepozițiile **ca(şi), decât, dintre, între**, la nivelul propoziției, ori prin conjuncția **decât** sau adverbul **cum** precedat de prepoziția **de**:

Pe-a mele ceruri să răsai / *Mai mândră **decât** ele* (M. Eminescu).

Situația e *mai gravă **de cum** mi-am închipuit.*

Gradul de *intensitate relativă* se exprimă prin adverbul-morfem **cam** şi prin locuțiunile adverbiale morfematizate: *destul de, de-ajuns de (îndeajuns de), suficient de*:

Are o viață **destul de***chinuită*.

Redarea *superlativului* se produce prin mai multe mijloace:

● **sufixe** (rar): **-*isim*,rarisim**.

● **prefixe**, care marchează:

– superlativul*excesiv:* **arhi-, răs-, supra-, ultra-**;

– superlativul*de superioritate*: **stră-:** basm *străvechi*;

– superlativul*absolut*: **atot-:***atotştiutoare*

● **adverbe**/locuțiuni adverbiale cu valoare de morfem, indicând:

– superlativul *de inferioritate*: **foarte puțin** *amabil*;

– superlativul *excesiv:* Nopțile-s de la o vreme **prea***lungi*;

– superlativul *absolut*: o **prea***frumoasă fată.* Aici mai pot figura*: aşa de, atât de, nemaipomenit de, nespus de, extraordinar de* etc.: „Un zâmbet fin şi cu toate astea **atât de** inocent trece peste fața lui". (M. Eminescu).

D. Irimia atrage atenția că *gradele de intensitate subiectivă*, având natură deictică, cunosc în limbajul poetic, cult sau popular, procedee deosebit de diverse de exprimare: „fonetic-prozodice, morfologice, sintactice, metaforice": *frumoasa-frumoaselor, l-a făcut bucăți-bucățele; frumoasă (urâtă, deştept) foc; era frumoasă de mama focului* etc.

Există o clasă de adjective incompatibile cu categoria intensității:

a) adjective*categoriale: dreptunghi, românesc, alpin* etc.

b) adjective*calificative* care nu suportă gradualizarea însuşirii: *etern, veşnic, mort, perfect, esențial, principal, desăvârşit* etc.

c) adjective care absolutizează un sens categorical prin conținutul lor semantic. Este vorba de termeni neologici care-şi conservă statutul comparativ din latină: *interior, posterior, interior, major, minor* etc.

O clarificare a relației, intensitate-comparație intervine în GBLR[10]. Descrierea *Categoriei gradelor de intensitate* are în vedere trei aspecte: *conținutul semantic*, *relația gradare-sintaxă* şi *marcarea categoriei gradelor de intensitate*.

Descrierea conținutului semantic nu diferă, evident, prin însăşi datele lui matriciale, de cea din gramatica tradițională: „Categoria *gradelor de intensitate* exprimă variația de intensitate a proprietăților obiectelor sau, altfel spus, gradul în care este posedată o proprietate / o însuşire de către obiecte diferite sau de acelaşi obiect în momente diferite" (p. 215).

Important devine modul în care poate fi percepută *gradarea*: în mod „absolut": *Filmul este* ***foarte interesant***, sau prin „comparație", comparându-se:

– gradul în care este posedată o însuşire / o proprietate de către obiecte diferite: *Filmul este* ***mai interesant*** *decât cartea*;

– gradul în care este posedată o însuşire de acelaşi obiect în împrejurări diferite: *Oscarul de anul acesta a fost* ***mai interesant / mai puțin interesant*** *decât cel de anul trecut.*

Ca atare gradele de intensitate posedă două trăsături semantice intrinseci: [Intensitate], [Comparație]. În funcție de acestea se face deosebirea gradelor de intensitate, care nu sunt altele, ca denumire şi conținut, decât cele tradiționale de comparație, dar apar definite, judicios, prin „raportarea" la ele însele, la semantica lor matricială, intrinsecă:

Pozitivul se caracterizează prin [– Intensitate], [– Comparație]: *corect, frumos.*

Comparativul, cu trăsăturile [+ Intensitate], [+ Comparație]: *mai corect, mai frumos.*

Pe baza trăsăturii [+/– Egalitate], în cadrul lui se disting:

● *comparativul de egalitate*, cu trăsăturile [+ Intensitate], [+ Comparație], [+ Egalitate cu un punct de reper]: *la fel de corect, tot aşa de corect;*

● *comparativul de inegalitate*, caracterizat prin [+ Intensitate], [+ Comparație],

[– Egalitate față de un punct de reper]. Această proprietate poate apărea:

[10] Academia Română. Institutul de Lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti", *Gramatica de bază a limbii române*, (Gabriela Pană Dindelegan coord.), Editura Univers Enciclopedic, Bucureşti, 2010.

– într-un**grad superior**: *mai corect, mai frumos*;

– într-un**grad inferior**: *mai puțin corect, mai puțin frumos*.

Superlativul, cu două „subtipuri”:

● **Superlativul relativ**, care posedă trăsăturile comparativului [+ Intensitate],

[+ Comparație] „dar se deosebeşte prin extinderea domeniului de comparație la o clasă de obiecte identice, în raport cu care intensitatea obiectului examinat este **maximă**:

– într-un**grad superior**: *cel mai frumos dintre copii/ din clasă*;

– într-un**grad inferior**: *cel mai puțin frumos dintre copii/ din clasă.*

● **Superlativul absolut** care posedă trăsăturile [+ Intensitate maximă], [– Comparație]: *foarte corect, foarte amabil*.

Intensitatea **maximă** poate fi:

– într-un **grad superior**: *foarte amabil;*

– într-un **grad inferior**: *foarte puțin amabil*.

Pornind de la existența trăsăturii [+ Comparație] se constată că gradele de intensitate care o posedă comparativul de egalitate, de inegalitate şi superlativul relativ, dezvoltă, prin semantica şi sintaxa lor matricială, un **complement al comparației**, „component care exprimă entitatea cu care se face comparația” (*Ibidem*), introdus prin **decât, ca(şi), din/dintre**:

– mai frumos/ mai puțin frumos **decât**…;

– la fel de/ tot aşa de frumos **ca(şi)**…;

– cel mai frumos/ cel mai puțin frumos **dintre/din**…

În situațiile în care complementul comparativ nu este exprimat, el rămase implicat, semantic și sintactic, în enunț, putând fi astfel dedus contextual.

În raport cu realizarea sintactică a gradării comparative, se precizează că complementul rezultat, denumit **complement comparativ**, nu mai este încadrat la **circumstanțiale**, ci la complementele „propriu-zise”, „pe baza trăsăturii comune cu cea a complementului de a fi „cerut” de o anumită patricularitate a centrului de grup, în cazul de față de asocierea centrului adjectival cu mărcile de gradare (*mai… decât, mai puțin… decât, la fel de… ca(şi), cel mai… din/dintre)*” (p. 216)[11].

Marcarea categoriei gradelor de intensitate se exprimă **analitic**, prin formanți proveniți, cu excepția mărcii **cel**, din adverbe/grupuri adverbiale:

● pozitivul este nemarcat: øbun, øfrumos;

● comparativul de inegalitate:

[11] O discuție din perspectiva sintactică există şi în GALR II, p. 198–205, într-o secțiune aparte intitulată *Construcții comparative*. În GBLR, problema este reluată în capitolul *Funcții sintactice specifice grupului adjectival şi grupului adverbial*.

– de superioritate: ***mai*** *bun**, mai** frumos;*

– de inferioritate: ***mai*** *puțin bun*, ***mai*** *puțin frumos;*

● comparativul de egalitate: ***la fel de*** *bun*, ***tot aşa de*** *bun;*

● superlativul relativ:

– de superioritate: ***cel mai*** *bun*, ***cel mai*** *frumos;*

– de inferioritate: ***cel mai puțin*** *bun*, ***cel mai puțin*** *frumos;*

● superlativul absolut: ***foarte*** *bun*, ***foarte*** *frumos*; (popular) ***tare*** *bun*.

Aprecierea gradelor de intensitate prezintă un nivel mai mare sau mai mic de subiectivitate. De aici şi numeroasele **mărci expresive ale gradării**, dintre care unele s-au gramaticalizat, iar altele au rămas la stadiul lexico-stilistic.

În GBLR s Arătând că la Robu aceste structuri sunt considerate manifestări ale *gradului intensității depăşeşte (excesive)*, D. Irimia crede că „Aceste distincții (intensitate *suficientă*, *insuficientă*, depăşită etc.) sunt mai degrabă variante semantic-lexicale ale gradelor de intensitate la care apar” (p. 362).e dă şi o „tipologie a mărcilor expresive”, în care elementul diferențiator față de alte gramatici constă în identificarea „mărcilor semigramaticalizate”, adică acelea „aflate la limita dintre gramatical şi lexical” (*Ibidem*).

a) adjective propriu-zise adverbializate: *idiot de sentimentală*, *inuman de dureros*, *penibil de greu*, *ridicol de modestă*, *sângeros de violentă*;

b) adjective adverbializate derivate din verbe: *chinuitor de dulce*, *derutant de plăcut*, *enervant de delicat*, *exasperant de amănunțit*, *impresionant de vrednică*, *înfricoşător de violentă*, *uimitor de amabilă; admirabil de clar*, *incredibil de neatent*, *insuportabil de dureroasă*, *interminabil de lung*, *lăudabil de tenace*;

c) supine inversate şi adverbializate: *negrăit de dulce*, *neînchipuit de limpede*, *nepermis de lăsătoare*, *nesperat de avantajos*, *nespus de frumos* etc. (p. 217).

Celelate mijloace negramaticalizate de gradare sunt identice cu cele prezentate, aproape invariabil, în toate gramaticile descriptive. Vom menționa totuşi faptul că, între ele, figurează şi prefixele superlative. Vom evidenția şi „structurile consecutive”, unde aprecierea „superlativă” se obține din „interpretarea” consecințelor posedării într-un anume grad a proprietății:

a) [câine] agresiv de nu te puteai să te apropii de el, [copil] prost de dădea în gropi;

b) [fată] curajoasă de speriat, aprigă de temut” (*Ibidem*).

Fără a intra în analiza perspectivei teoretice care a stat la baza colaborării GBLR, vom observa că, drept consecință a modului de interpretare a relațiilor din interiorul grupului adjectival, comparația nu mai este concepută ca o categorie gramaticală, ci ca o funcție sintactică actualizată printr-un complement comparativ.

Informațiile, sub formă de sinteză, incluse în acest articol au avut menirea de a se constitui ca premise ale unei discuții mai ample în ceea ce ar putea fi categoria gramaticală a intensității, pe de o parte, şi categoria gramaticală a comparației, pe de altă parte, şi a raporturilor dintre ele.

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SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

Multiculturalism and the European Cultural Diversity

Flavius Ghender*

Abstract:
Multiculturalism is a normative theory focused on the managing of cultural diversity in a democratic framework. The concept of collective rights lies in the centre of theory, demanding policies of recognition for minority groups, in societies reshaped for accepting ‘multicultural citizenship'. Multiculturalism asks for widening of liberal democracies, ready to face new demands of cultural groups. For multiculturalists, in the absence of recognition, a person may experience losses or distortions, or may be the victim of a form of repression. Multiculturalism demands an equal status for the different cultures. The critics consider that multiculturalism will undermine the basic principles of liberal democracy, based on individual rights and liberties and instead of promoting intercultural dialogue, will end up in policies of isolation.

Keywords: multiculturalism, cultural diversity, liberal democracy, interethnic conflict, intercultural communications, human rights, minorities

Ever since the twentieth century – a century of extremes and nationalism – humankind has continued its search for solutions to the problem of ethnic and cultural diversity. Globalization is far from having imposed unitary political standards worldwide. Quite the contrary actually: there has been a rebirth of old regional and local identities which threaten the national states’ demands for unity. If the interethnic conflicts in the Balkans after 1990 were regarded as an accident at the edge of Europe, numerous other events show that there is still potential for interethnic conflicts, and not only at the edge of Europe, where Ukraine’s efforts of European integration have generated armed conflicts between Ukrainians and the Russian population. Western Europe itself is put in difficulty by the issue of the wave of immigrants from the Syrian area to such an extent that the European Union’s existence is threatened. The European political leaders still look for solutions to the refugees’ crisis under the pressure of the adverse wave of public opinion and under the threat of an increasing wave of

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Euro-scepticalpopulist political movements. In this context, we question the way in which one can manage the problem of ethnical and cultural diversity in a democratic framework. One of the solutions proposed is multiculturalism.

The term of ‘multiculturalism’ was used in Canada in a 1965 report of the Canadian Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and as of 1970, it has featured the federal policy in the field. Interculturalism was francophone Canada’s reaction to federal multiculturalism.

Levente Salat (Salat, 2001) has shown that the theoreticians of multiculturalism do not consider the common democratic mechanisms as sufficient to properly solve the problem of multicultural societies. Thus, a new paradigm is needed. The concept of collective rights lies in the centre of this model, but not opposed to individual freedom, but as a prerequisite for it. Authors like Charles Taylor or Will Kimlicka have proposed thinking frameworks and institutional arrangements which can permit policies of recognition for minority groups, as well as articulating theories of ‘multicultural citizenship’. These theoreticians consider that multiculturalism is an adaptation and a widening of liberal democracies, ready to face new demands. Critics of these theories, on the other hand, are afraid that multiculturalism will eventually undermine the basic principles of liberal democracy, based on individual rights and liberties (at best it should stop at the borderline of these rights) or that it promotes policies of isolation.

The philosopher Charles Taylor is one of those who have offered a theoretical and moral basis to multiculturalism, generating an exciting and fruitful debate[1]. Charles Taylor noticed that within the political life one has sometimes stringently felt the need of recognition. The need lies behind the nationalist movements and behind other forms of gaining the right to representation by what is regarded as ‘subordinate’ groups.

The theoreticians of multiculturalism base their demand for equal recognition for all cultural groups on the connection between recognition and identity. Through identity, Taylor defines the way in which a person understands him/herself, the defining fundamental features that a human being possesses. Taylor states that identity is partly made up of its recognition and its absence, and oftentimes by the lack of recognition or the distorted recognition of others. In the absence of recognition, a person may experience losses or distortions, or may be

[1]The volume edited by Amy Guttman, Examining the Politics of Recognition, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1994, which brings together the central article of Charles Taylor, The Politics of Recognition and comments upon it by philosophers such as JurgenHabermas, Michael Waltzer, Steven Rockefeller or Susan Wolf.

the victim of a form of repression which could restrict a person within a false or distorted experience (Taylor, 1994: 25).

Charles Taylor considers that people are defined by the notion of dignity, which has replaced the older medieval concept of honour in the social relationships which lead to the formation of a person's identity. Democracy is built on the idea of mutual recognition, which has various shapes. Starting from this principle, multiculturalism demands an equal status for the different cultures. The characteristic of human life, says Taylor, is fundamentally dialogic. The accomplishment and the definition of identity rely on forms of expression, largely speaking, and include all forms of communication and artistic manifestation. Identity is negotiated through dialogue, partly through introspection, and partly through the process of communicating with others. This leads to the fact that identity is not recognized a priori; it must be earned. Since identity is formed by means of dialogue with others, equal recognition becomes important.

The novelty in the modern period is not given by the need for recognition, states Taylor, but by the conditions in which recognition can fail. Today, the importance of recognition is universally acknowledged, but the differential policies which operate in practice rely precisely on the principle of universally recognized dignity (Taylor, 1994: 39). This principle does not have any interest in the notion of cultural differences but focuses on what is identical and human in every individual. The liberal philosophical tradition has considered individual rights to be above collective ones. The democrats rely on what Ronald Dworkin and others call 'procedural democracy', an agreement upon the framework in which the purposes defined as individual are pursued. From this perspective, human dignity is perceived as an autonomy, while a liberal society states that it remains neutral regarding the concept of 'a good life'.

For Charles Taylor, a society which has collective purposes may be liberal, capable of respecting diversity and defending fundamental human rights. In his opinion, the reconciliation between collective purposes and individual ones is difficult, but not impossible. He believes that, although the classical liberal conception does not involve the suppression of cultural differences, it is in a certain way derogatory to the keeping and acceptance of differences, to the extent in which it cannot adapt to the ambition of survival of the members of a distinct society (Taylor, 1994: 60–62). Thus, he contests the demand of neutrality stated by classical liberalism. Liberalism, he believes, is not a meeting ground for all cultures, but the expression of cultures which are incompatible with others. Liberalism can therefore not assure and demand total cultural neutrality.

In her discussion of Charles Taylor's ideas, Susan Wolf appreciates that the lack of recognition is actually the denial of a minority's cultural identity, which has a distinct set of traditions and practices, as well as the denial of the fact that cultural identity is a value. The members of the group which lacks recognition will feel uprooted, without resources for feelings such as those of belonging to a community or self-esteem; they will face the risk of cultural assimilation. The most obvious remedy is the promotion of culture and the explicit presentation of cultural traditions and of the accomplishments of these groups (Wolf, 1994: 75–76).

Susan Wolf agrees that the issue of recognizing a value which is equal to all colours is delicate and impossible to satisfy because it does not permit the application of evaluation standards. However, she believes that it is not important whether a certain culture has something to say to humankind as a whole. The need of recognition does not depend on the value of a culture for the people outside it. We need the recognition of our cultural diversity, which is a rightful need. The policies of recognition, says Susan Wolf, impose not only the obligation of recognizing other cultures but also of analysing them more closely and getting to know them (Wolf, 1994: 85).

In his analysis of a theme approached by Taylor, Steven Rockefeller appreciates that the liberal democratic tradition relies on the ideal of universal liberty and equality, only partially accomplished and for which a full accomplishment cannot be foreseen in the future. The policies and the ethical conception regarding the respect of human dignity must be deepened and extended. The respect for individuals should involve not only the respect for the general human potential of every person but also respect for the cultural values and forms by which people express their unique personality (Rockefeller, 1994: 87).

However, Steven Rockefeller considers that the recognition of cultural rights cannot prevail over individual rights. In multicultural democratic societies, ethnic identity is neither the base of equal recognition nor connected to the idea of rights. All people, as bearers of certain universal values, are equal from the democratic perspective. They all deserve respect and equal opportunities of attaining their ambitions. For Rockefeller, our identity as human beings is a primary identity, more important than any other form of identity – based on citizenship, gender, race or ethnic origin. "To elevate ethnic identity, which is secondary, to a position equal in significance to, or above, a person's universal identity is to weaken the foundations of liberalism and to open the door to intolerance", he states (Rockefeller, 1994: 88).

The objective of the democratic liberal culture is to respect and not to repress ethnic identities, to encourage different cultural traditions. Rockefeller is worried by the danger of the erosion of the human rights which may appear as a cause of separatist mentalities, which lift the ethnic identity above the universal human identity. Regarding the multiculturalist critiques, which contest the fact that liberalism may be culturally neutral regarding a conception of "good life" and towards the fact that it may actually impose the Anglo-American model, Rockefeller states that by means of liberal political culture one promotes tolerance, the protection of the liberty of conscience, religion and expression in a way untypical of other cultures. Just as Charles Taylor states as well, it is a fighting creed, it cannot demand full cultural neutrality (Rockefeller, 1994: 90).

For JurgenHabermas, rights derive from the need of protecting the subjects which are always the individuals. The question is whether a theory of rights built so individualistic in liberal democracies can manage the fight for recognition formulated in terms of collective identities. On the political stage, says Habermas, collective actors are confronted, who have collective purposes and who distribute collective goods. These are only expressed and based on individual rights in judicial terms.

According to Habermas, the liberal state is not disinterested concerning cultural differences. In rule of law, the individuals get along as authors of the law which they all comply with as private persons. Thus, the system of the rule of law is not disinterested regarding social and cultural inequalities. A correct understanding of the theory of rights involves policies of recognition which protect the integrity of individuals in the context of the life in which their identity is shaped. There is no need, in his opinion, for an alternative model which can correct the model based on human rights (Habermas, 1994: 113).

For Habermas, any legal system is the expression of a particular way of regarding life, and not only the reflection of the universal rights of man. The citizens are part of a process which update legislature, are part of legislature and can express their views of society or the traditions which they wish to perpetuate or abandon. The shape of a state is the result of historic circumstances and it involves the implicit agreement of successive generations in order to keep a constitutional framework. By means of socializing, the people who make up a state embody certain forms of cultural life in which they have developed their identities.

The perspective of a state which permits the reproduction of forms of community is possible, but the state cannot offer guarantees in this regard. According to Habermans, the guarantee of cultural survivor means, stealing the members' freedom of saying yes or no, which are essential for the preservation of their cultural inheritance.

In multicultural societies, the coexistence of different forms of life means ensuring the citizens' opportunity of growing up in a world of cultural inheritance, of raising their children in such a world, of modifying and transforming it. JurgenHabermas shows that in multicultural societies the constitutional framework can tolerate only non-fundamentalist forms of life because the coexistence of certain communities with equal rights needs mutual recognition: all people are recognized as members of an ethnic community, with different conceptions of what good represents.

Habermas proposes a constitutional patriotism, which should promote an increased sensibility regarding diversity and the integration of different forms of life of a multicultural society. In a society, the citizens can no longer find a consensus upon values, but they can identify a consensus upon the procedures of constituting the legal framework. For JurgenHabermas, unrestricted communication within the political environment, the democratic procedures of solving problems, and the channelling of the political power within the constitutional framework will supply a solid basis for monitoring political power, and will offer assurance that the administrative power is used for everyone. The universalism of legal principles is reflected in the consensus upon procedures, which can be framed in the context of political power by means of a form of constitutional patriotism. The ethos of the state as a nation cannot enter into conflict with civil rights as long as the legislature is oriented towards constitutional principles (Habermas, 1994: 137). The ethical substance of political integration which unites all citizens must remain neutral and it must respect the differences between the cultural and ethical communities within a nation.

As for the immigrants, Habermas appreciates that they must prove their willingness to enter the political culture of the new nations, without turning their backs on the cultural forms of life of the communities they come from. The democratic right to self-determination includes the right of the citizens from a host community to insist upon the character of their political culture, thus avoiding the danger of segregation. Fundamentalist cultures must, therefore, be excluded and this aspect should not justify forced assimilation.

Another important theoretician of multiculturalism is Will Kymlicka. He considers that one of the most pressing problems faced by liberal democracies is the politicization of ethnical and cultural differences. Social minorities demand more public recognition of their distinct identities, as well as more freedom and opportunities of keeping and developing their specific cultural practices. In response to these solicitations, new mechanisms have been adopted. Liberal democracies have hoped that the protection of individual rights will be sufficient in order to manage the problems of ethnical and cultural minorities. It is now widely accepted that these common rights of the citizens are not sufficient. Certain differentiated group rights are needed and there is a tendency within liberal democracies to recognize such rights (Kymlicka, Cohen-Almagor, 2000: 89–90).

Kymlicka and Cohen-Almagor make a distinction between national states and multi-ethnic states. Modern states are described as nation-states, but most of them are actually multinational. By nation, the authors understand historic communities more or less institutionally accomplished, which occupy a territory or a country and which share a culture or a language. The nation is described in a sociological regard close to the idea of people or culture. If the country of a nation is incorporated within a larger state it becomes a national minority. At the same time, the authors make a distinction between formal citizenship and full citizenship. The notion of citizenship is perceived as an institutional status, but in practice there are differences and discriminations and the citizenship is thus formal (Kymlicka, Cohen-Almagor, 2000: 90–91).

Kymlicka and Cohen-Almagor appreciate that no matter how they were incorporated, national minorities wish to obtain, keep and enhance their political autonomy by means of secession or other forms of regional autonomy. Minorities mobilize their members by making an appeal to the idea of nation. If national minorities see indifference as normal, the geographical, economic and political conditions will make it difficult to understand. They appreciate that the historic ideal of fully sovereign states is increasingly out-dated in a globalized world. There is an increased interest to explore certain forms of self-government or federalist formula.

The polyethnic states originate in a totally different diversity: immigration. Starting with the 1970s, one has noticed the increased acceptance of the idea that the assimilation of immigrants is unrealistic and unjust. Most of the countries have assimilated more tolerant and multicultural approaches, which have encouraged immigrants to keep their ethnical and cultural inheritance. These groups have neither separate institutions, not a country, so they are not perceived as 'nations' and do not demand the right to self-government. For the immigrants, multiculturalism is not understood as a denial of institutional and linguistic integration, but as a change in terms of integration. The immigrants wish to learn the language of the state, but they do not wish this acquisition to be accompanied by cultural assimilation.

Both the immigrants and the national minorities look for different ways of legal recognition of their distinct ethno-cultural practices and identities. Those who support these rights of the groups regard them as complementary and as a supplement to individual rights. They enrich and extend the traditional liberal principles in response to the new challenges. Critics say that the rights of the groups tend to involve a limitation of individual rights, which threatens the principles of liberal democracy (Kymlicka, Cohen-Almagor, 2000: 98–99).

Kymlicka and Cohen-Almagor have identified two types of rights of these groups: the rights to protect themselves from the questioning of their values from within and the second category of rights which involve the rights of protecting themselves from external threats. A distinction between “internal restrictions” and “external protection” thus emerges. In the opinion of the authors, the internal restrictions are almost always unjust. Groups are free to impose conditions of belonging to their members, but it is unjust for them to use governmental power or the allocation of resources to limit the liberty of their members. The exercise of power within a democratic community must respect the civil and political rights of the members. Moreover, the members of a cultural group have the right to leave the group and its traditions if they no longer wish to be part of it. “Democracy cannot endure norms that deny respect to people and that are designed to harm others, although they might be dictated by some cultures” (Kymlicka, Cohen-Almagor, 2000: 99).

The second type of collective rights, the external protection, is compatible with democracy when the group seeks to protect its identity from the wider society. The guarantee of the rights of political representation and the adoption of solutions based on devolution are compatible with liberal democracy and may be considered necessary for an equitable society. As a rule, the minority tries to make sure, in a legitimate way, that the majority will not use the numeric criterion to deprive it of the resources and the institutions which are necessary for its survival (Kymlicka, Cohen-Almagor, 2000: 100). The more dangerous cases are those when a minority with non-liberal practices tries to impose internal restrictions on its members. The insistence on imposing rules may be a new form of ethno-centrism. In the case of the immigrants, the situation is simpler: they are familiar with the conditions of the country which adopts them and these may be considered conditions of acceptance. The situation is more complicated when a national minority is involuntarily incorporated within a state and it has political institutions and mechanisms which adjust their differences. In such situations, the intervention is equal to the establishment of democracy in a foreign state. According to Kymlicka and Cohen-Almagor, the liberal institutions will function efficiently only where the liberal values are internalized, not imposed. This does not mean that there is nothing to be done: there is need of an attitude in favour of respecting democratic rights and of support given to the liberalization of the given community. The coercive intervention is however justified when massive and systematic violations of people's rights take place (Kymlicka, Cohen-Almagor, 2000: 107–108).

In numerous articles, Will Kymlicka[2] showed interest in the global evaluation of multicultural practices in order to demonstrate that the trenchant statements regarding the failure of multiculturalism[3] are not founded. Obviously, the multicultural practices were not equally applied everywhere. According to Kymlicka, the acceptance of multicultural practices depends on factors such as the desecration of ethnic relationships (multiculturalism functions better when the relations between the state and the minorities are perceived as issues of social policies, not as security issues), human rights (the support of multiculturalism lies in the assumption that there is an attachment to human rights beyond the ethnic and religious lines), border control (multiculturalism is regarded with suspicion when the citizen fear for the safety of the borders), the diversity of the groups of immigrants (multiculturalism functions better when it is truly multicultural, when the immigrants come from numerous countries), economic contributions (the support for multiculturalism depends on the perception of the immigrants' contribution to the existence of a society). When these conditions are met, multiculturalism is seen as an acceptable option (Kymlicka, 2012: 9–10). Kymlicka believes that the multicultural experiments were not properly understood and that there has been an exaggeration of the extent to which they have been abandoned. Between the 1970s and the mid-1990s, Western democracies had an increased tendency to recognize diversity and to apply multicultural policies. These policies were promoted at the level of international institutions and that of the states and they involved the dismissal of the previous ideas regarding the homogeneity of nationalities. However, in the mid-1990s,

[2]Kymlicka Will, Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future, Queen's University, February 2012, available at www.migrationpolicy.org.; Will Kymlicka, Wayne Norman, Return of the Citizen: A survey of recent work on citizenship theory, Ethics 104 (January 1994), p. 352–381.

[3] The German chancellor Angela Merkel made this trenchant statement in October 2010, at a meeting of the party she leads, CDU.

the "return to assimilation" has generated the fear that the opening to diversity has gone too far.

Multiculturalism, says Kymlicka, is part of a wider revolution in human rights, which involves ethnic and racial diversity. Before the Second World War, ethno-cultural diversity was dominated by undemocratic hierarchies and relations. What followed was the establishment of an ideology of human equality which replaced these hierarchies: the fight against colonialism; the fight against racial segregation; the fight for multiculturalism and the rights of the minorities (after 1960). The establishment of a single model of citizenship to all individuals was dismissed by multiculturalism. For multiculturalists, the key is not the suppression of differences, but including them within the language of human rights, of civil liberties and of democratic responsibilities. For the national groups, the multicultural models include politics such as federalization, autonomy, recognized linguistic status or guarantees of representation at a political level.

To introduce morerigour into the discussion of the degree of imposing certain multicultural policies, Kymlicka has developed an index of multicultural policies which include criteria such as constitutional recognition, the adoption of multicultural curricula in schools, double citizenship, support for the cultural activities of the minorities, education in the maternal language etc. He thus tried to prove many countries such as Canada have made significant steps in the direction of multicultural policies, as opposed to others such as Germany, which have never applied multicultural policies (and should therefore not pronounce themselves regarding the failure of such policies). He remarked that many politicians have preferred terms like diversity, pluralism, intercultural dialogue or community cohesion. The terms did not however alter the policies and the programs. Thus, he states, the rhetoric against multiculturalism does not also mean renouncing on multicultural policies (Kymlicka, 2012: 15).

Far from having imposed itself as a solution for solving the issue of cultural and ethnic diversity, multiculturalism has generated numerous critiques. The political scientist Giovanni Sartori described it as "a policy ready to promote cultural and ethnic differences" (Sartori, 2007: 53). In his opinion, multiculturalism – which proclaims differences as identities and which ignores the connection of resemblance – leads to atomization, to a ghetto society. From this perspective, he prefers the term of *pluralism*, which focuses on the opening of communities, on the acceptance of differences, on the communication between different communities. For Giovanni Sartori, the principle on which pluralism relies is "*one of many*", while the principle of multiculturalism is "*more* *dismembered*". Multiculturalism, as it presents itself, does not permit an open society. In the words of Sartori, "the extent to which multiculturalism today is aggressive, secessionist, intolerant, is the extent to which the given multiculturalism is the negation itself of pluralism" (Sartori, 2007: 54).

Multiculturalism, regarded by its supporters as a widening of democratic rights, has not succeeded in properly demonstrating that it is compatible with the guarantee of individual rights and liberties. The ideas of multiculturalism appear as acceptable and correct, to the extent to which they are grounded on individual rights and liberties and are unacceptable when it tries to subsume them. If the demands regarding the participation of ethno-national communities to the political life by special norms of representation are widely accepted outside nationalistic circles, like the acquisition of special rights of self-governing, the solicitation of certain guarantees regarding the keeping and preservation of the survival of these groups by special measures which may constrain and limit the liberty of its own members is regarded with suspicion.

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La passion de la connaissance et l'esthétique des proportions chez Matyla Ghyka

Radu Ciobotea*

The Passion for Knowledge and the Estethics of Proportions at Matyla Ghyka

Abstract:
Matyla Ghyka can be included in the series of writers saved by exile, a series including, among others, Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran and Eugène Ionesco. Lesser-known in Romania, in comparison to the aforementioned writers, he lived a life extremely rich in events, and created work that sprung from his passion for the philosophy of numbers, for harmony in nature and arts. His books, written in exile, either in France or the United States, harmoniously complement the philosophical thinking of Mircea Eliade and Emil Cioran, without having the same impact or access to media coverage as his fellow countrymen. As a result, reading and interpreting Ghyka, a forbidden writer in communist Romania, appreciated by the interwar and postwar literary elites of Paris and New York, but still largely unknown to the public of the old and new worlds, is all the more necessary.
Keywords: ride, adventure, aesthetics, Golden section

Pour la société française de l'entre-deux-guerres, Matila Ghyka était un personnage très connu, célèbre dans certains milieux, mélange d'officier, mathématicien, romancier, philosophe, esthète. Le fait d'être Roumain ne faisait qu'augmenter son aura légèrement mystérieuse. Paul Morand annulait même son appartenance nationale, car cela ne lui paraissait pas revêtir une importance quelle qu'elle soit. « De nationalité roumaine, M. Costiescu Ghyka est à la fois français par le souci d'ordonner sa pensée d'une manière architectonique, anglais par son humour, autrichien par sa passion aristocratique, allemand par sa méthode ; sa prodigieuse curiosité est celle d'un américain, le goût pour les voyages à l'étranger est slave [...]. Si Matila Ghyka est un vrai cosmopolite », ajoute Paul Morand, « alors, il doit appartenir au moins à deux cultures, roumaine et française, qui peuvent le revendiquer en égale mesure ». L'un des (peu nombreuses) études sur Matila Ghyka

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met la biographie de cet écrivain sous le signe d'une quête de l'identité. C'est une démarche apparemment justifiée si l'on prend en compte les tribulations de Matila Ghyka à travers les métiers, les passions, les voyages. Et surtout si l'on pense à sa séparation définitive d'avec la Roumanie après la deuxième guerre mondiale. Par cela même, il peut être intégré dans la série des écrivains sauvés par l'exil, tels que Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran ou Eugène Ionesco. Des écrivains qui ont éprouvé, sans doute, une vraie et profonde crise d'identité. Échapper à la nationalité roumaine, trop restrictive, prendre le large en Europe ou ailleurs dans le monde, pouvoir s'exprimer librement et être entendu par une foule d'enthousiastes, c'était vraiment leur rêve, hautement déclaré. Mais ce n'est pas le cas de Matila Ghyka. À y regarder de plus près, l'on découvre une toute autre quête, et le terme d'identité doit être compris, lui aussi, autrement, à partir de ses voyages, de sa carrière de diplomate et de ses aspirations esthétiques.

Matila Ghyka Costiesco (1881–1965) vient d'une famille princière et fait partie de la haute société roumaine qui, à l'époque, était liée très fortement à la France. Études, politique, presse, affaires étrangères, littérature, arts, ou bien voyages et vacances, tout passa pour lui par la France. Être étudiant à Paris, à l'École Sainte-Anne, ensuite à l'École Navale et à l'École Supérieure d'Electricité, n'était qu'un parcours très normal pour un fils de grande famille, qu'il ait été adopté, suite au divorce de ses parents, par son oncle Grigore Ghyka. Aucun mauvais sentiment familial, aucune trame de l'enfance ne paraît dans ses mémoires ou dans son roman autobiographique, *Couleur du monde*. Bien au contraire, l'enthousiasme de l'enfant, puis de l'adolescent envers la grande famille dont il faisait partie resta inébranlable. Neveu du futur Monseigneur Vladimir Ghica, cousin de la princesse Marthe Bibesco (une écrivaine très connue dans la France de l'entre-deux-guerres), cousin aussi du diplomate Démètre Ghica, ami de toute l'aristocratie roumaine et, plus tard, de plusieurs grands écrivains français, descendant du dernier prince régnant de Moldavie, Alexandru Ghika. Bref, Matila Ghyka est autant chez lui en Roumanie qu'en France.

Il est chez lui aussi sur les océans et sur les fleuves sur lesquelles il a navigué pendant sa vie d'officier de marine. Ses mémoires surprennent, à ce sujet, par leur caractère à la fois journalistique et littéraire. Il y a des pages de vrais reportages, des reconstitutions exactes et émouvantes des moments-clé des traversées océaniques et, surtout, des scènes de guerre navale. De ce point de vue, Matyla Ghyka peut être étudié à partir d'une perspective journalistique, (le genre de reportage de reconstitution, en interférence perpétuelle avec les mémoires). En ce qui nous concerne, nous devons retenir l'attrait qu'il manifeste pour la littérature de l'authenticité, pour l'aventure qui implique à la fois danger et connaissance, en des pages autobiographiques comparables à celles de Malraux, Kessel, Cendrars, Saint-Exupéry.

Grâce à son esprit d'aventure et à sa soif de connaissances, Matila Ghyka éprouve le sentiment d'appartenir à plusieurs lieux, cultures et civilisations à la fois. Les voyages lui révèlent une planète qu'il aime et qu'il découvre avec délices. Après une mission diplomatique à Berlin, où il se sentait vraiment très bien, il arriva à la Légation roumaine de Londres où ses impressions sont encore plus favorables. Il note dans Couleur du monde : « Je me sentais à Londres parfaitement chez moi, […] j'avais l'impression que la vie de cette métropole, de l'Angleterre en bloc, était organisée sur le rythme de la discipline à la fois élastique et précise du service à bord d'un navire de guerre.

Le rythme des villes est une des passions de Matila Ghyka, et il va découvrir que le monde est gouverné, dans ses tréfonds, par certains agencements de proportions, par un équilibre dynamique dans lequel le rythme joue un rôle considérable ; il peut transformer toute expérience vécue en révélation, car il sait regarder.

Pendant le tour du monde qu'il accomplit en 1911, il vit (aux États-Unis) l'expérience d-un « changement d'identité ». Ce n'est pas l'indice d'une crise identitaire qui a été évoquée par certains critiques. Il s'amuse à changer son identité, en ressentant « la grande joie d'être seul, sans attaches. Tout me plaisait, surtout le fait que j'étais seul, inconnu, absolument indépendant, sans coups de téléphone ni lettres pour me rattacher au passé dont un océan me séparait. C'était comme si je m'étais dépouillé une personnalité pour en revêtir une nouvelle, et pour compléter cette impression, j'avais pris le nom d'une marionnette vue jadis à Munich dans une pièce fantastique... ».

Le cosmopolitisme, les vues des grands ensembles, le désir d'ubiquité même, voilà ce qui le définit. Mais il y a une différence entre son désir de connaître le monde, de vivre partout, et son appartenance disputée entre quelques lieux choisis entre tous. Paris, tout d'abord : « … enfin j'avais une nostalgie précise et grandissante pour Paris […] la sensation de retour au bercail ». Il s'y installe, d'ailleurs, après 1924, et il y vit la période la plus… « littéraire » de sa vie. Lié d'amitié avec Paul Valéry, Lucien Fabre (dont il préface le livre Connaissance de la Déesse), Léon-Paul Fargue, Paul Morand, il pratique, avec sa bande « la chasse à Fargue », ce qui consistait à rechercher le poète dans ses bistrots préférés et à y rester le soir. À part les écrivains déjà nommés, participaient aussi à cette « chasse littéraire » Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, André Beucler, Laurent de Sercey.

Le goût de la vie, la passion du voyage et la quête de la vérité, la grande Quête, s'entremêlent très étroitement chez Matyla Ghyka. Sa propre identité ne lui paraît être qu'une forme inachevée d'existence. La recherche de la véritable identité doit parcourir d'autres trajets dans son monde intérieur. « Ma pseudo-âme apparente était émue jusqu'à l'extase par certains spectacles, certaines œuvres d'art, la beauté de certaines femmes , commente-t-il lui-même. Entre sa « pseudo-âme apparente » et son âme véritable, il y a le grand espace d'une quête des vérités cachées dans le monde de la science et du symbolisme. Pour y arriver, la réalité ne lui suffit pas. Il ressent le besoin « d'échapper au matérialisme intégral et de retrouver un système de valeurs autre que la triste soumission aux équations de Lagrange. Peut-être, après tout, y aurait-il un moyen scientifique pour prouver la transcendance de la Vie par rapport à la pseudo-matière ». En recherchant un autre système de valeurs, il ne se départ pas de la littérature mais la perçoit comme une partie d'un ensemble beaucoup plus vaste, qui comprend plusieurs disciplines. En effet, il s'agit de la transdisciplinarité, défendue aujourd'hui par le courant philosophique représenté, parmi d'autres, par Edgar Morin et par Basarab Nicolescu. Mais, pour développer ce sujet, il nous faudrait nous écarter beaucoup de notre thème. Le seul aspect que nous pouvons retenir dans ce registre de l'œuvre de Matila Ghyka, c'est la recherche d'une autre identité que celle qui ne serait que matérielle, individuelle ou nationale, une identité humaine. Le nombre d'or, la section dorée (prouvées comme essentielles en art et nature par des calculs mathématiques d'une étendue et d'une méticulosité hors du commun), le triangle sacré de Pythagore, le Tetraktys, le pentagramme, la série de Fibonacci, les nombres irrationnels, les nombres transfinis, tout ce réseau de connaissance ancienne et moderne peut être transformé en art et en expérience vécue ». Car ces choses immatérielles, éternelles, constituent la vraie réalité. Mais ce qui est sujet à la formation et à la destruction (la matière, le corps) n'est pas actuellement réel par essence ».

L'on peut regarder ses œuvres littéraires dans cette perspective. Ses voyages, dans lesquels il perçoit « la précision presque hallucinante des plans, des temples et des tombeaux égyptiens » en même temps que « le développement des mathématiques chaldéenne et égyptienne » sont des vérités et des expériences réservées, d'après un vieux préjugé, à l'ésotérisme. Mais, pour citer encore Paul Valéry, il s'agit des « problèmes magiques de l'art », dont l'étude consiste en « trouver dans le domaine de la sensibilité fine, des méthodes de même puissance que celles qui se sont montrées si fécondes dans l'analyse de l'Univers de l'Étendue… ». Tel est le monde imaginé par Matila Ghyka : l'Univers de l'Étendue et des « ondes de connaissance » qui transforment, mystérieusement et immanquablement, les structures potentielles en systèmes de vie, en la force des mots qui enchantent le monde, qui le rendent à nouveau poétique, qui lui confèrent un rythme et une harmonie, un univers sur lequel règnent les lois pythagoriciennes de l'amour. C'est là qu'il faut chercher la véritable identité de Matila Ghyka, un illustre presque inconnu, un écrivain et un savant, qui appartient à la fois à la culture roumaine et à la culture française, mais qui reste oublié par les deux, ou presque…

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REVIEW ARTICLES

Loredana Cuzmici, *Generația Albatros – o nouă avangardă*

Loredana Cuzmici, *The Albatross Generation – A New Avantgarde*

Emanuela Ilie*

Debutul în critică şi istorie literară al Loredanei Cuzmici, *Generația Albatros – o nouă avangardă* (Editura Universității „Al. I. Cuza”, Iaşi, 2015), re-constituie, printr-o exegeză subtilă şi temerară, profilul generației coagulate în jurul revistei „Albatros”, în cel de-al cincilea deceniu al secolului trecut. Şi mai exact: profilul „primului cerc albatrosist, considerat astfel chiar în sens soljenițânian”, alcătuit din autorii care se regăseau în caseta redacțională a publicației din 1941 (Geo Dumitrescu, Virgil Ierunca, Dinu Pillat, Ben. Corlaciu, Marin Sârbulescu), acompaniați, din rațiuni „administrative şi deopotrivă simbolice”, de alți doi scriitori care, pe lângă faptul că au facilitat apariția revistei, i s-au raliat, pe direcție estetică şi, desigur, est-etică (Sergiu Filerot şi Mircea Streinul). În cadrul mai larg al generației războiului, această grupare formată, în jurul revistei bucureştene, într-o epocă deosebit de tulbure socio-politic, ideologic etc. se individualizează, cum bine observă dintru început cercetătoarea, prin câteva trăsături specifice şi o formulă generală protestatară, care o fixează decis în siajul avangardei interbelice. Aşa încât, cu toate că „scriitorii primului cerc sunt... reprezentativi inclusiv biografic, nu doar estetic, pentru destinul întregii generații: pornesc pe drumuri diferite ideologic şi cultural, opțiunile spre stânga sau spre dreapta fiind însoțite şi de experiențe specifice vremurilor, precum exilul sau închisoarea, exilul sau tăcerea”, ei sunt particularizați prin *demitizarea literaturii şi a culturii*, prin *aşa-numita antiliteratură,*opusă religiei culturii, detectabilă şi declarată în canoanele oficiale, apoi prin *reconvertirea artei la realitate şi poezia ca soluție ontologică (inclusiv armă de luptă ideologică)*. Dacă le adăugăm cele câteva trăsături specifice oricărei generații ce apare într-o perioadă de criză istorică majoră (ideologizarea literaturii, infiltrațiile extra- sau antiliterare, *eclectismul*), obținem, într-adevăr, imaginea unei „avangarde temperate” sau a unei „avangarde în

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convalescență, în sensul vindecării parțiale de suspiciunea față de tradiție şi de teribilisme fără finalitate estetică, o avangardă în care se întrezăresc bine germenii postmodernismului ca vârstă culturală recuperatoare”.

Desigur, „detectorul de avangardă” cu care se înarmează autoarea, după cartografierea teritoriului investigat (în capitolul de debut, intitulat, cu aplomb intertextual/ intercritic, *Viața şi opiniile unei efemeride literare*), este apropiat îndeosebi de creațiile celor şapte curajoşi din avangarda (*sic*!) grupării albatrosiste. Fiecare dintre secțiunile analitice ale cărții oferă prilejul unei binevenite confruntări (din nou, deopotrivă estetice şi est-etice) sau al unei verificări întru convergență: *Revoluționarul şi reacționarul* Sergiu Filerot; *Cazul Ben. Corlaciu*; *Geo Dumitrescu la cumpăna vremurilor*; *Virgil Ierunca, de la „Albatros” şi „Agora”, la „Caiete de dor” şi Europa liberă*; *Proza lui Dinu Pillat: romane ale de-formării*; *Literatura română postbelică într-un volum de Marin Sârbulescu*. Rezultatele investigației, atent instrumentate şi cumpănit expuse judecății publice, scot la iveală abilități de diagnostician literar competent. Acolo unde este cazul, Loredana Cuzmici sancționează, lucid, derapajele ideologice ale autorilor sau nevralgiile stilistice ale textelor cercetate: „*Moartea lângă cer* [de Ben. Corlaciu, n. mea, E.I.] este, astfel, un roman de aventuri suferind de escapism ieftin, de teribilisme culturale şi luciferite diverse, de reflexivitate pe alocuri penibilă şi de metaforisme facile care paralizează narația, precum delirurile suprarealiste provocate de aerul Himalayei. În schimb începe să se audă vocea opoziției față de regimul politic al vremii, în secvențe într-un mod ciudat rereperate de cenzură”. La celălalt capăt al eşichierului critic, ne întâmpină altfel de frazări memorabile, care oferă practic mici portrete (în) efigie ale unor scriitori aproape uitați, ce beneficiază în sfârşit de o lectură valorizatoare: „În acest sens, toată proza scurtă a lui Marin Sârbulescu stă sub semnul unei rafinate teatralități, cu naratori-personaje sau naratori-martori purtând ceremonios o mască de după care se ițesc din când în când, ca să asigure spectatorul atent de toată regia. Un discurs dedublat, specific vremurilor alienate, o carte despre creația de-a gata şi viața de-a gata, în fața cărora revoltele sucombă în neputință şi, în ultimă instanță, un epitaf autentic al scriitorului *supt vremi*”.

La capătul pledoariei conclusive pentru *Înțelepciunea nedesăvârşirii*, exercițiile hermeneutice anterioare sunt contrase într-un desen sigur al grupului debutat sub aripa *Albatrosului*: „Avangardismul grupării *Albatros*, reperabil prin racordarea ostentativă la real, prin atitudinea antiliterară frecventă, prin polemica fățişă sau camuflată stilistic la adresa establishmentului, îi asigură o dimensiune valorică certă. Autori ca Streinul, Corlaciu, Sârbulescu merită amintiți mai des. Literatura angajată pro sau contra, credința ca remediu sigur împotriva negației şi absurdului, resuscitarea interesului pentru comunicarea dintre autori şi cititori particularizează suplimentar noua avangardă. Sintagma « Restul e literatură », stoarsă de semnificații, coboară din poetică în istorie. În fond, restul e... istorie literară."

Ideativă şi versatilă, ataşantă prin finalitatea în fond recuperatoare a numeroaselor ei pagini, *Generația Albatros – o nouă avangardă* este cu siguranță cea mai bună dintre cărțile despre albatrosiştii care, survolând peisajul accidentat al unei *istorii în delir*, au putut să atingă, cel puțin uneori, zenitul istoriei literare. În plus, consacră un critic deja matur, care ştie să îşi pună în valoare şi inteligența reflexivă, şi verva stilistică.

Semantică şi stil: *Noutăți stilistice* de Dorin N. Uritescu

Alina-Iuliana Popescu*

Semantics and Style: *Stylistic News* by Dorin N. Uritescu

Oferind un tablou original de întrepătrundere a unor domenii precum morfologia, sintaxa, lexicografia, semantica şi stilistica, într-o lucrare care, în sensul cel mai larg al cuvântului, analizează probleme de cultivare şi de studiere a limbii române, surprinse în plină procesualitate, volumul *Noutăți stilistice*, apărut la Editura Rawex Coms din Bucureşti, în anul 2015, se alătură cu câştig celorlalte studii în domeniu, venind să prezinte, într-o lumină nouă, dinamica lingvistică, surprinsă în momentul cel mai actual al ei. Se observă, în postmodernitate, tendința tot mai acută de îmbinare a stilurilor discursive şi a modurilor literare, autorii de texte optând pentru o varietate nu doar structurală, cât şi de conținut, prin extrapolarea unor aspecte semantico-textuale şi discursive ale limbii. În consecință, noul text, ca proces, capătă înțeles de sine stătător în afara operei, fiindu-şi suficient sieşi şi pierzându-şi vechea necesitate de a tinde către un nivel superior pentru a deveni operă.

În contextul actual al fragmentării operei în texte de sine stătătoare, cu identitate stilistică distinctă, volumul de față, dispus într-un ansamblu de articole, vine să soluționeze câteva probleme de limbă şi de stil care ar apărea în investigarea unei suite de texte literare şi nonliterare. Diversitatea şi utilitatea *Noutăților stilistice* se datorează unei abordări mai ales aplicative pe care o realizează autorul, invitând la reflecție, prin prisma unei selecții consistente şi variate de texte.

Debutând editorial cu lucrarea publicată la Editura Ştiințifică şi Enciclopedică, *Aspecte ortografice controversate*, în anul 1986, aceasta constituind, de altfel, teza sa de doctorat, susținută cu cinci ani mai devreme, profesorul Dorin Uritescu va deveni cunoscut prin repetatele încercări de fundamentare ştiințifică şi de reconsiderare a omofoniilor în ortografia limbii române, introducând concepte noi din perspectivă

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ortografică, precum: *pleonasmul*, *contradicția în adaos*, *pedantismul*, *hipercorectitudinea*, *contaminarea*, *analogia improprie* ş.a., fiind, totodată, şi primul teoretician al unor figuri de stil, precum: *arhaismul ortografic* şi *echivocul ortografic*, prin intermediul lucrării *Noutăți în ortografie*, apărută în anul 1995, dar şi primul cercetător în domeniu, care abordează teme noi, precum: *importanța epistemologică a ortografiei* şi *valoarea ei stilistică*, în *Cuvinte cu dificultate de scriere în limba română*, vol. I, II, 1992, sau analist al *inovațiilor lexicale* (*De la chişcari la vesternizare. Mic dicționar de termeni actuali*, 1993). Rămâne însă consacrat prin importantele contribuții pe care le aduce în *domeniul cultivării limbii române* (*Greşeli de exprimare*, vol. I, 1999; *Greşeli de exprimare*, vol. II, 2000), ca *autor de monografii lingvistice* (*Pleonasmul în limba română*, 2006; *Contradicția în adaos*, 2006; *Degradarea unităților frazeologice în limba română*, 2006; *Dicționar explicativ de pleonasme efective*, 2006; *Dicționar de contradicții în adaos efective*, 2006; *Dicționar explicativ de folosire improprie a termenilor*, 2008; *Dinamica actuală a limbii române*, 2008; *Dicționar de cuvinte şi sensuri noi*, 2009; *Dicționar explicativ de forme şi sensuri greşite ale unor expresii şi locuțiuni consacrate*, 2009; *Contradicții în exprimare*, 2009) sau ca *teoretician al literaturii* (*Fascinația numelui. Studiu al creației lexico-semantice şi stilistice*, 2009; *Pentru o lectură adevărată şi o percepere corectă a temei*, 2014; *Portretul la criticii literari români*, 2015; *Structura variată, natura expresivă şi valoarea artistică a pamfletului*, 2015, *Noutăți stilistice*, 2015).

Volumul la care facem referire, inclus de autor în sfera *cărților de stilistică*, însumează, prin urmare, o întreagă activitate de investigație a textului din perspectivă stilistică, întreprinsă pe o vastă scară temporală, de aproximativ douăzeci de ani, acesta constituind apogeul evolutiv al unei asidue munci de cercetare în domeniu. *Noutăți stilistice* oferă deci, pe parcursul a douăsprezece capitole normative, riguros întocmite, rezultatul reflecțiilor auctoriale asupra efervescenței limbii scrise şi vorbite, surprinsă într-o continuă procesualitate creatoare.

Evidențiem, succint, câteva repere esențiale ale cărții, printr-o prezentare generală a conținutului. Ne oprim, mai întâi, la primul capitol care ilustrează, pe parcursul a aproximativ souăsprezece pagini, noțiunea de *echivoc ortografic*, devenit *o nouă figură de* stil, în care *calamburul lexical* este înlocuit de *joc ortografic*, conducând la înviorarea lexicului sub aspect stilistic, rol pe care îl deține şi *pedantismul ortografic* (prezentat în capitolul următor), care, din perspectivă ortografică este, conform autorului, un mod specific de a face paradă de erudiție în privința scrierii unor secvențe lingvistice, cu intenția vădită de a da impresia de competență în domeniu.

Deosebit de interesant, al treilea capitol, intitulat *Arhaismul ortografic*, având subtitlul *o figură de stil rară*, se opreşte asupra *arhaismelor frazeologice*, adică asupra acelor expresii şi îmbinări de cuvinte cu caracter constant, care nu se mai află în uzul vorbirii, dar care, ca şi celelalte, sunt utilizate *cu intenţii stilistice*. Al patrulea capitol, *Principiul simbolic în concretizare negativă*, *iniţiala majusculă şi cea minusculă folosite cu valoare stilistică*, şi al cincilea, *Încălcarea principiului oglindirii ortografice a respectului faţă de aspecte etnice, religioase, culturale etc.* vor constitui împreună preţioase pagini de evaluare a diversităţii lingvistice şi stilistice actuale, prin aplecarea asupra unor texte din presă şi din literatura beletristică, care conţin grafii prin care autorii doresc să îşi sublinieze în scris atitudinea lor nu numai ateistă, ci şi antireligioasă. Alături de acestea, sunt altele cu observaţii subtile în domeniul ortografiei şi punctuaţiei, precum: *Funcţia expresiv artistică a repetiţiei lexicale*, *Funcţia expresiv artistică a ghilimelelor*, *Expresivitatea exclamaţiei*, capitole care vin să normeze rolul stilistic al semnelor de punctuaţie, precum şi al altor aspecte ortografice.

Deschizând o portiţă în vastul domeniu al lexicografiei, fără a se îndepărta însă de la stilistică, autorul îşi propune, în următoarele trei capitole, să urmărească câteva modalităţi care contribuie la diversitatea vocabularului limbii române, pornind de la capitolul IX, consacrat *valorii stilistice a unor termeni ai polemicii.* Tema în discuţie are la bază *violenţa verbală*, despre care tot mai mult se vorbeşte în ultimul timp, putând fi observată în textul unor comentarii, în care, dincolo de caracterul violent al unor termeni, se evidenţiază trăsătura lor injurioasă, şi mai gravă când aceasta frizează calomnia. Soluţia de remediere oferită de autor ar consta într-un *stil polemic bine strunit*, exemplificat de academicieni şi istorici consacraţi, precum Nicolae Iorga, în *Ideea naţională în decursul istoriei universale*, din volumul al doilea din memorabila suită *Sfaturi pe întuneric*.

Pendulând în permanenţă între lexicografie, semantică şi stilistică, domenii intim legate, de altfel, coexistând cu necesitate în explicarea complexă unui termen sau a unui grup de termeni, Dorin Uritescu dedică *resurselor expresive ale sinonimiei* cel de-al X-lea capitol, pornind de la permanenta bogăţie şi varietate a vocabularului limbii române, văzută ca o realitate lingvistică esenţială, în rândul căreia o contribuţie de seamă o au sinonimele, întrebuinţate deopotrivă, în domeniul creaţiei artistice propriu-zise şi în cel al unor expuneri cu caracter strict conceptual, exemplele selectate aparţinând uneia sau alteia dintre cele două categorii.

Un alt capitol interesant la care ne propunem să facem referire îl reprezintă capitolul al XI-lea, intitulat *Ipostaze ale comparaţiei cu* *valoare stilistic-artistică*, pe parcursul căruia autorul îşi propune să analizeze întrebuințarea cu valoare artistică a comparației, textele selectate fiind, de această dată, cele beletristice, fragmente ale unor cunoscute romane şi nuvele. În rândul figurilor de stil, comparația rămâne în prezent printre puținele care se bucură de o mare frecvență, deopotrivă în limba zisă comună, cât şi în cea literară, care este supusă unor norme menite să-i asigure nu numai corectitudinea, dar şi *semnificația estetică*.

Constituindu-se în circa patruzeci de pagini pe care le dedică teoretizării şi analizei aplicate a *antonomazei*, ultimul capitol al prestigioasei sale lucrări, cel mai extins, de altfel, şi intitulat *Antonomaza, creație lexico-semantică şi stilistică*, devine esențial prin singularitatea sa, între studiile de specialitate din limba română. Atonomaza, figură de stil care presupune utilizarea unui nume propriu în locul unui nume comun sau a unui nume comun ori a unei perifraze in locul unui nume propriu, este des utilizată în limbajul publicistic, evident, pentru o amplificare a forței sale de expresie. În capitolul al XII-lea al volumului său, autorul teoretizează şi analizează principalele tipuri de antonomază (*antonomaza perifrazei numelui propriu pentru numele comun*, *antonomaza perifrastică a clişeelor internaționale propriale*, *antonomaza numelui comun pentru numele propriu*, *antonomaza perifrazei comune pentru numele propriu*, *antonomaze ale numelui propriu pentru numele comun, lexicalizate şi lexicografiate* etc.) dovedind o măiestrie incontestabilă atât în selecția textelor, cât şi în analiză consistentă a elementului lingvistic şi stilistic propus.

Devenind aproape o artă, descifrarea elementelor de limbă şi stil a textelor actuale presupune un parcurs anterior bogat al cercetării în domeniu, din cauza contradicțiilor şi aparentului haos care defineşte contemporaneitatea. *Soluționarea* problematicii, aparent spinoase, care ia naştere în momentul încercării de a reflecta şi de a discuta asupra unui astfel de text, implică nu doar talent şi măiestrie din partea stilisticianului sau a criticului literar, ci şi experiență în mânuirea terminologiei de specialitate. Alături de elementele de ordin stilistic, apar cele de ordin lingvistic, ortografic şi de punctuație, aflate şi ele într-un plin dinamism creator, mai ales în discursul publicistic, adevărat izvor de creativitate.

Prin intermediul volumului său, rod al unei îndelungi experiențe de cercetare în domeniu, Dorin N. Uritescu, oferă o perspectivă singulară, în încercările inepuizabile de normatizare a limbajului, alăturându-se, astfel, prin direcția nouă de analiză, interdisciplinară, celorlalte studii în domeniu.

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