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REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA**

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Undoubtedly there are all sorts of languages in the world, yet none of them is without meaning. If then I do not grasp the meaning of what someone is saying, I am a foreigner to the speaker, and he is a foreigner to me (1 Corinthians, 14: 10-11).

JOURNAL TOPICS

- **Overview of signs, speech and communication:** overview of sign; overview of speech; speech aspects; overview of communication and speech act; sense and signification in communication; intention in communication; speech intelligibility
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- **Language, context, translation:** role of context in translation; types of translation
- **Languages and literatures teaching and learning**

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**TYPES OF SIGN, SPEECH AND INTERACTIONAL
MECHANISMS IN COMMUNICATION**

**COURTE ANALYSE TERMINOLOGIQUE DES UNITÉS CLÉ
« REȚINERE », « INFRACTOR » ET « REȚINEREA INFRACTORULUI »
DE L'ARTICLE 37 « REȚINEREA INFRACTORULUI »
DU CODE PÉNAL DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE DE MOLDOVA
ET L'APPLICABILITÉ DES PRESCRIPTIONS LÉGALES /**

**SHORT TERMINOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE KEY UNITS "REȚI-
NERE", "INFRACTOR" AND "REȚINEREA INFRACTORULUI" OF AR-
TICLE 37 "REȚINEREA INFRACTORULUI"
OF THE CRIMINAL CODE OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA
AND THE APPLICABILITY OF LEGAL REQUIREMENTS**

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Abstract

In Moldavian specialized literature, the terms "reținere" (detention) and "infractor" (criminal) are assimilated in the context of its use. In other words, they manifest their meaning depending on the context. From the point of view of the actual legislation of Republic of Moldova, this fact leads to confusion, because the mentioned terms can be taken both in the "stricto sensu" and in the "largo sensu".

Keywords: *restraint, criminal, criminal character of the deed, cause that removes the criminal nature of the act*

Rezumat

În literatura basarabească de specialitate, termenii „reținere” și „infractor” sunt asimilați în contextul utilizării lor. Cu alte cuvinte, ei își manifestă sensul în dependență de context. Din punctul de vedere al legislației în vigoare a Republicii Moldova, acest fapt duce la confuzie, deoarece termenii menționați pot fi luați atât în „stricto sensu”, cât și în „largo sensu”.

Cuvinte-cheie: *reținere, infractor, caracter penal al faptei, cauză care înlătură caracterul penal al faptei*

1. Préliminaires

Les principales unités qui figurent tout au long de l'Article 37 « Reținerea infractorului » (en fr : « Arrestation du délinquant ») du Code Pénal de la République de Moldova sont « reținere » et « infractor ».

Reținerea est une unité lexicale à plusieurs semnifications en roumain. Elle se rencontre en langue commune et en langue sur objectifs spécifiques, désignant souvent des choses différentes à chacun de ses emplois. Ainsi, en roumain commun elle désigne :

- « l'action de se retenir et son résultat » ;

- « la maîtrise de soi » ;
- « la réticence » ;
- « la froideur »¹.

Mais comme l'atteste le « Dictionnaire en ligne des termes juridiques » du roumain, cette unité a, le plus souvent, la signification de :

- « mesure prise par la police judiciaire, dans les conditions prévues par la loi, visant à priver une personne de sa liberté pour une durée maximale de 24 heures avant de la mettre en examen » ;
- « mesure de détention préventive que la police judiciaire ou le procureur peut prendre à l'encontre de l'accusé s'il existe des données ou des indices solides indiquant qu'il a commis un acte prévu par la loi pénale »².

Dans l'Article 37 du Code Pénal de la République de Moldova, on trouve pour cette unité les significations suivantes :

- « retenue » ;
- « immobilisation afin d'être déféré à la justice » ;
- « détention » ;
- « emprisonnement » ;
- « incarcération ».

Toutes ces significations paraissent dans l'extrait ci-dessous de l'article en question :

« L'acte prévu par le droit pénal commis dans le but de détenir l'auteur d'une infraction et de le remettre aux forces de l'ordre public ne constitue pas un délit » (*Codul Penal...*).

À ce que nous laissent entendre les sémantisations ci-dessus, le terme *reținerea* n'a pas encore une signification unique dans le langage juridique de la République de Moldova.

L'unité *infractor* se rencontre aussi en roumain commun et en roumain juridique. En roumain commun, elle a la signification de base de « personne qui a commis une infraction »³. Le « Dicționar explicativ online al limbii române » (en fr. « Dictionnaire explicatif et en ligne de la langue roumaine ») atteste pour cette unité les synonymes suivants :

- *delincvent* (en fr. « délinquant ») - « personne qui a commis un délit » ;
- *făptaș* (en fr. « auteur », « fauteur ») - « personne qui a commis un délit » ;
- *făptuitor* (en fr. « délinquant ») - « personne qui a commis un délit », « personne qui fait, réalise, produit qqch. » ;

¹À consulter « Dicționar explicativ online al limbii române » (en fr. « Dictionnaire explicatif et en ligne de la langue roumaine ») - <https://dexonline.ro/definitie/re%C8%9Binere>.

²À consulter « Dicționar online de termeni juridici » (en fr. « Dictionnaire en ligne des termes juridiques ») - <https://legeaz.net/dictionar-juridic/reținere>.

³À consulter « Dicționar online de termeni juridici » (en fr. « Dictionnaire en ligne des termes juridiques ») - <https://dexonline.ro/definitie/infractor>.

- *răufăcător* (en fr. « malfaiteur ») - « personne qui fait du mal aux autres », « personne qui fait des actions en désaccord avec les lois morales et sociales ».

Comme l'atteste le « Dictionnaire en ligne des termes juridiques » du roumain, cette unité a la signification de base de « personne qui a commis un crime en tant qu'auteur, instigateur ou complice » (à voir la note 3 en bas de cette page). Cette unité est aussi applicable pour nommer :

- le « criminel qui n'a pas subi de condamnation dans le passé, ce qui attirerait, selon la loi, l'état de récidive » ;
- le *récidiviste* - « criminel qui est en état de récidive, ce qui constitue une circonstance aggravante personnelle » ;
- le « criminel ayant atteint l'âge d'au moins 18 ans » ;
- le « criminel entre 16 et 18 ans ou même celui entre 14 et 16 ans, s'il s'avère qu'il a agi avec discernement en commettant un acte prévu par la loi pénale ».

Par conséquent, l'application du terme « infractor » par rapport à une personne est illégale⁴ autant que la sentence irrévocable sur sa culpabilité ne soit pas annoncée dans les assises. Mais l'annonce de la sentence en question est précédée, d'habitude, d'une enquête initiée par rapport à l'infraction et à son présumé auteur. Celui-ci peut être souvent retenu pour que l'enquête évolue⁵. Mais le terme « infractor » ne peut aucunement être appliqué par rapport au présumé auteur de l'infraction. Donc, la distinction de deux syntagmes s'impose en roumain juridique. Il s'agit de *reținerea bănuțitului* (en fr. « la retenue du soupçonné ») et *reținerea infractorului* (en fr. « l'arrestation du délinquant »).

L'arrestation du délinquant est un des instruments du combat contre les infractions et de l'assurance de l'ordre public. Car selon la législation de la République de Moldova et de celle internationale, tout citoyen a droit à la défense de sa vie, de sa santé et de ses intérêts contre les attentats criminels (Guculjak et Bužor, 2005, p. 6). C'est pourquoi l'Article 37 et la Partie Spéciale du Code Pénal de la République de Moldova encouragent tout citoyen du pays à contribuer par ses actions à la mise en état d'arrestation légale, par les organes de la justice, d'un délinquant, c'est-à-dire d'une personne le délit ou le crime de qui est connu (*ibidem*). Cela est fait pour diminuer la criminalité et protéger ainsi les intérêts des citoyens et l'ordre public (Țurcan-Zabulica, 2017, pp. 29-33).

⁴Tout ça dans les termes de la présomption de l'innocence.

⁵Cette retenue est une mesure préventive par rapport à une personne soupçonnée d'être l'auteur d'une infraction. Elle est opérée pour que le présumé délinquant ne puisse pas dérouter l'enquête, détruire les preuves, intimider les témoins de sa culpabilité ou commettre d'autres infractions (Calineac, 2020). Une fois ces soupçons rejetés, la personne est mise en liberté.

Pour Xenofon Ulyanovschi et Anatolie Faigher, l'arrestation d'un délinquant la justice est presque toujours forcée (Ulyanovschi, 2015, pp. 10-14), (Faigher, 2012, p. 56), tout ça sur les prescriptions strictes de la loi. Ces prescriptions sont faites dans des termes juridiques importants, décrits minutieusement par les dictionnaires de spécialité. Ces termes sont souvent polyvalents et polyfonctionnels, comme les termes roumains *reținere* et *infractor*, analysés ci-dessus. Leur application dans des cas concrets demandent souvent des explications supplémentaires qui prennent plutôt la forme des détails apportés que nous nous permettons de présenter ci-dessous.

2. Détails sur l'arrestation du délinquant

L'Article 37 du Code Pénal de la République de Moldova annonce que « l'acte prévu par le droit pénal et réalisé dans le but de retenir l'auteur d'une infraction pour le remettre à la justice ne constitue pas un délit ». Cette phrase fait penser, en même temps, à deux termes – celui d'*infraction* que nous avons déjà analysé dans les alinéas précédents et celui du *motif de l'arrestation de son auteur*. La loi du pays postule que l'arrestation est possible si :

- une infraction grave a vraiment été commise ;
- son auteur s'avère dangereux pour la société et/ou il tâche de s'évader pour ne pas être traduit en justice (Botnaru et al., 2005, p. 309).

À notre sens, la typologisation actuelle des infractions pour lesquelles l'auteur est ou non arrêté vient en désaccord avec la nature systémique des normes du droit pénal qui reposent sur la notion générale d'infraction : si une infraction a été commise, son auteur doit être arrêté et traduit devant les juges. Mais un acte est qualifié d'infraction, si son contenu, c'est-à-dire ses éléments objectifs et évidents, sont ceux d'une infraction. Les éléments subjectifs, non-évidents, sont difficiles à répertorier et à qualifier d'infraction. Par exemple, l'élément « responsabilité » ou « âge » (Botnaru et al., 2005, pp. 309-315). Ainsi, une personne est reconnue responsable pour une infraction seulement à travers un test sérieux effectué par un psychiatre expérimenté, tout ça car la bonne majorité des maladies psychiques sont difficiles à diagnostiquer et à mettre en relation avec une infraction au moment opportun. L'âge très jeune de l'auteur de l'infraction peut lui aussi servir d'excuse. Toutes ces nuances nous aident à comprendre qu'il est mieux de parler d'un « fait pénal » que d'une infraction, car le fait pénal n'est que la partie objective, évidente de l'infraction.

Un autre problème lié à l'infraction et à l'arrestation du délinquant est celui de la loi qui est mise à la base de l'enquête. Cette loi peut être partie du Code Pénal ou de celui Contraventionnel. Le Code Contraventionnel ne présuppose pas l'incarcération de l'auteur de l'infraction. Par conséquent, il faut distinguer entre l'infraction punie par les tribunaux de la simple police et les délits (en roum. *delicte*) et les crimes (en roum. *crime*) qui sont de gra-

ves infractions examinées dans les assises. Ce qui présente une vraie difficulté dans ce cas c'est le bon terme pour nommer tous ces types d'infractions et les indices qui permettent de qualifier d'infraction l'acte de qqn. À ce que le démontrent les alinéas précédents, le critère de base dans la qualification des actes est celui du préjudice apporté. Si le préjudice est insignifiant, on qualifie de contravention l'acte de qqn. Mais si le préjudice est grand ou énorme, on parle d'un délit ou même d'un crime.

Toute arrestation est la contrainte du délinquant à être déféré à la justice. Le plus souvent, l'arrestation est traitée comme un préjudice apporté à la liberté du délinquant (Rusu et Zabolica, s. électr.). Si celui-ci s'oppose physiquement à l'arrestation, le préjudice augmente et il vient de la part des personnes qui veulent l'arrêter et qui doivent le faire par tout moyen (Faigher, 2012). Dommage que cette situation ne soit pas pleinement reflétée dans L'Article 37 du Code Pénal de la République de Moldova. Si cela se passe, beaucoup de problèmes liés à l'arrestation en question seraient enlevés. Par exemple, le problème des obligations et des droits des personnes qui opèrent l'arrestation forcée du délinquant, surtout de celui armé (Faigher, 2012) ; le problème des proportions des préjudices qui peuvent être apportés à la personne lors de son arrestation forcée ; le problème des délais de l'arrestation⁶ etc. Le Code Pénal de la République de Moldova ne se prononce aucunement sur tous ces problèmes qui restent extrêmement cuisants. Il annonce seulement le fait que « la personne qui a commis ou qui est soupçonnée d'avoir commis un délit ou un crime doit être arrêtée et déferée à la justice » (*Codul Penal...*) et que « les préjudices peuvent être causés seulement à la personne arrêtée » (Botnaru et al., 2005).

Sur les pages de cette contribution, nous nous sommes proposé de mettre en relief tout le contour sémantique que les termes juridiques « reținere », « infractor » et « reținerea infractorului » peuvent porter en roumain. Pour le faire, nous avons fait appel aux prescriptions de l'Article 37 du Code Pénal de la République de Moldova que nous nous sommes permis d'analyser, de commenter et même de critiquer en juriste, partant de leurs imperfections qui affectent le processus de l'enquête de l'infraction et l'annonce de la sentence. Nous espérons fort que la méthode que nous avons employée dans la sémantisation des termes mentionnés s'avère efficace et aide à la conceptualisation correcte de ces unités.

3. Conclusions

L'arrestation du délinquant est une action importante qui fait intégrer la société aux processus judiciaires qui ont comme but le maintien de l'ordre

⁶L'arrestation idéale se fait au moment de la réalisation de l'infraction (Rusu et Zabolica, s. électr.), car elle empêche le délinquant de s'évader ou de détruire les preuves de son délit ou crime. Mais si l'arrestation immédiate n'est pas possible, elle doit être faite le plus vite possible.

public. Mais il est plus important de donner une seule signification à ce syntagme pour qu'il soit univoque et permette aux législateurs de mettre en application des codes qui aident à résoudre les problèmes du maintien de l'ordre public. Sur les pages de cette courte recherche nous nous sommes proposé de mettre en valeur les principaux contextes dans lesquels figurent les unités clé de l'Article 37 du Code Pénal de la République de Moldova, tels que « reținere », « infractor » et « reținerea infractorului ».

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(LITERARY) LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL CONDITIONING

**THE IMAGE OF DRACULA IN THE LIGHT
OF THE IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES OF
"THE TALE OF DRACULA THE VOIEVODE"**

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Abstract

"The Tale of Dracula the Voievode" is presumed to have been written by a Duma deacon Fedor Vasil'evič Kuricyn around 1484 in Akkerman (Principality of Moldova). Fedor Kuricyn met with Stephen the Great on a diplomatic visit in Suceava and with Matthias Corvinus in Buda. In Moscow, where a significant Moldavian diaspora existed at the time, he was one of the supporters of Stephen's daughter, Elena Voloshanka, and her son Dmitrij, in their struggle for the Moscow throne. Despite being authored less than ten years after Dracula's death, the "Tale" does not assume a biographical character. Instead, it represents a utopia (or dystopia, depending on one's perspective) with elements of anti-conduct, addressing the image of an ideal ruler.

This article analyzes the work from the perspective of the peculiarities of medieval consciousness and worldview, primarily focusing on religious beliefs and attitudes toward cruelty and explores the poetics of "The Tale".

The uniqueness of the work lies in the fact that "The Tale" is the first known record of original Russian fiction, a narrative that did not enter into chronicle compilations and was dedicated to a hero who lacked significance as a historical figure. The author was well-informed about the circumstances of the real Vlad Dracula's life, but not only did he not strive to describe well-known events consciously, but deliberately avoided such an opportunity. The author clearly saw the distinction between the negative portrayal of Vlad Dracula from the "German pamphlets", the real voievode Vlad III Basarab, and his own fictional character. The author did not adhere to medieval biographical templates; he did not mention the hero's name, did not recount his origin and childhood years, and avoided describing details of the prototype's life. The character of the hero was contradictory and ambiguous, not conforming to any of the conventional archetypes in medieval Russian literature – be it the ideal prince, the clergyman, the boyar, the warrior, the saint, or the holy fool. The author refrained from moralizing and expressing an explicit stance toward the hero, a departure uncommon for the late 15th century. "The Tale of Dracula the Voievode" represents a utopia, and the land of "Muntenia" serves as an anti-world, a fantastical realm where the impossible becomes possible in the conventional world. The narrative did not belong to the genre of contemporary church-moralistic literature and did not align with any of the recognized genres and styles of Old Russian literature.

The parable of the two monks constitutes the central episode in "The Tale of Dracula the Voievode" The monks' judgments anticipatorily echo the polemics between Ivan the Terrible and Andrej Kurbskij, as well as the discussion on the role of the Orthodox Sovereign that unfolded in the second half of the 16th century in the works of Russian scribes. The reader is

invited to choose the side of one of the monks, and the key to the parable lies within the framework of Russian providential doctrines.

Keywords: *Dracula, Fedor Kuricyn, the parable of the two monks, cruelty, the image of the ideal ruler, martyrdom and tyranny, the Third Rome, the Middle Ages, Russian literature, utopia*

Rezumat

„Povestirea despre Dracula Voievodul” se presupune că a fost scrisă de un diacon al Dumei Cnezatului Moscovei, Fiodor Vasilevici Kurițîn, în jurul anului 1484 la Cetatea Albă (Țara Moldovei). Fiodor Kurițîn s-a întâlnit cu Ștefan cel Mare într-o vizită diplomatică la Suceava și cu Matei Corvin la Buda. La Moscova, unde exista o diasporă moldovenească însemnată la acea vreme, el a sprijinit facțiunea formată în jurul fiicei lui Ștefan, Elena Voloșanka și a fiului ei Dmitri, în lupta facțiunii pentru scaunul Moscovei. În ciuda faptului că a fost scrisă la mai puțin de zece ani de la moartea lui Dracula, „Povestirea” nu își asumă un caracter biografic. În schimb, ea reprezintă o utopie (sau distopie, în funcție de perspectiva aplicată) cu elemente de anti-conduită, abordând imaginea unui conducător ideal.

Articolul analizează lucrarea din perspectiva particularităților conștiinței medievale și a viziunii asupra lumii, concentrându-se în primul rând pe credințele religioase și atitudinile față de cruzime și explorează poetica „Povestirii”.

Unicitatea operei constă în faptul că „Povestirea” este primul text cunoscut al ficțiunii originale rusești, o narațiune care nu a intrat în compilații de cronici și a fost dedicată unui erou care nu prezenta interes ca personaj istoric. Autorul a fost bine informat despre împrejurările vieții adevăratului Vlad Dracula, dar nu numai că nu s-a străduit să descrie în mod conștient evenimente cunoscute, dar a evitat în mod deliberat o astfel de ocazie. Autorul a văzut clar distincția dintre portretizarea negativă a lui Vlad Dracula din „pamfletele germane”, adevăratul voievod Vlad al III-lea Basarab și propriul său personaj. Autorul nu a aderat la modelele biografice medievale; nu a menționat numele eroului, nu a povestit despre originea și anii copilăriei acestuia și a evitat să descrie detaliile vieții prototipului. Caracterul eroului era contradictoriu și ambiguu, neconform cu niciunul dintre arhetipurile convenționale din literatura rusă medievală – fie că este vorba despre prinț, duhovnic, boier, războinic, sfânt sau nebun întru Hristos. Autorul s-a abținut să moralizeze și să exprime o poziție explicită față de erou, o abatere neobișnuită pentru sfârșitul secolului al XV-lea.

„Povestirea despre Dracula Voievodul” reprezintă o utopie, iar Muntenia servește drept anti-lume, un tărâm fantastic în care imposibilul devine posibil în lumea convențională. Narațiunea nu aparține genului literaturii bisericești-moraliste a timpului și nu se alinia la niciunul dintre genurile și stilurile recunoscute ale literaturii ruse vechi.

Pilda celor doi călugări constituie episodul central din „Povestirea despre Dracula Voievodul”, judecățile călugărilor fac ecou anticipator la polemicele dintre Ioan cel Groaznic și Andrei Kurbsky, precum și la discuția despre rolul Suveranului Ortodox care s-a desfășurat în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea în lucrările scribilor ruși. Cititorul este invitat să ia partea unuia dintre călugări, iar cheia pildei se află în cadrul doctrinelor providențiale rusești.

Cuvinte-cheie: *Dracula, Kurițîn, pilda celor doi călugări, cruzime, imaginea domnitorului ideal, martiriu și tiranie, a treia Roma, Evul Mediu, literatura rusă, utopie*

1. The Image of an Ideal Ruler and Ideas about the Role of the Sovereign in a Christian State

Researchers of medieval texts do not always take into account the peculiarities of the consciousness of individuals in the past – the intensity of eschatological experiences, a more relaxed attitude towards cruelty and violence, the belief in magical rituals, a propensity for mysticism and superstitions, the attention to omens and prophecies, the heightened emotionalism, the coarseness of manners, and so forth. It is important to delve into the intricacies of medieval thought, to understand the theology (soteriology, eschatology) of that time, particularly the notions of the special role of the divinely appointed ruler for collective salvation in a pious state.

Concepts regarding the special role of the divinely appointed ruler for collective salvation in a pious state significantly predate the "Moscow - Third Rome" concept and the legends of the Rurikids' descent from the Emperor Augustus. In the "Primary Chronicle" (*Повесть/ Povest'*, p. 182), we find: "So he thought in his pride, not knowing that 'God gives power to whom He wants, for the Most High appoints the emperor and prince as He pleases'. But if any country becomes pleasing to God, then He appoints for it a righteous emperor or prince who loves justice and law, and grants a ruler and judge to govern. For if the princes are just in the land, many sins are forgiven that land; but if they are wicked and deceitful, then even greater calamity does God send upon that land because the prince is the head of the land" (possibly a reminiscence of the Book of the Prophet Daniel, warning King Belshazzar about the inevitable retribution).

The Chosen Sovereign cares about the purity of faith, becoming a defender of justice and an executor of God's punishments, as the world lies in evil, and human nature is defiled by sin. His ultimate goal is to guide his subjects towards obtaining eternal life, and by punishing the guilty, the lord saves them not from earthly fire but from the fire of the afterlife. By punishing his subjects, the king, willingly or unwillingly, may harm his own soul and perhaps even sacrifice personal salvation. However, the Sovereign is more likely to save others – rather than himself, and only his trust in God's mercy can strengthen him spiritually.

The impending retribution for the king's own sins does not exempt subjects from the obligation to obey him, nor does it diminish his charisma. Another characteristic of medieval thinking is worth noting here: a sinner, whether ruler or priest, does not save his soul, but this does not diminish the effectiveness of the sacramental acts he performs. The king is not subject to human judgment and is not obliged to be accountable to his subjects, let alone share power with them. Attempts to hold the king accountable were dismissed as manifestations of wickedness and even blasphemy. The Sovereign is subordinate only to God and serves only Him; subjects receive the law from the sovereign and are obligated to obey him entirely as a person anointed by God.

At the same time, the Church occasionally insisted on its exclusive right to determine under what circumstances a monarch ceases to be a divine appointee since only the Church proclaims the will of God. Only it alone is capable of distinguishing between "Tyrannus" and "Rex Iustus," and only the Church can release subjects from the obligation to obey a tyrant. Advocates of unlimited monarchy pointed to the contradiction with the well-known saying of the apostle Paul, asserting that one must submit to all authorities since there can be no authority that is not from God (*Epistle to the Romans*, Chapter 13). Thomas Aquinas also writes about this in the "Summa Theologiae": it cannot be excluded that the ruler's arbitrariness is an evil sent to the subjects for their sins; in any case, resistance is a sin.

Medieval writings often contain poorly reconcilable ideas: freedom of will and divine predestination; earthly and posthumous retribution; the personal responsibility of the Sovereign as a human and as a servant of God. The illogicality of these contradictions might go unnoticed or be perceived as apparent, for God is the truth, and if something is incomprehensible or seems contradictory to us mortals, it is merely a consequence of our imperfection. The word of God, as it appears in any work of Christian literature, is not only created by faith but also perceived through faith.

To a modern person, it may seem that submission to one God implied the arbitrariness of royal authority. Here is how V. Val'denberg wrote about it: "Some find that the doctrine of the afterlife responsibility of kings before God is an insufficient restraint for selfish aspirations and that earthly responsibility would appeal more to people. But this is hardly entirely true. For religiously inclined people who have a living faith, the afterlife responsibility is a very real force and can restrain where responsibility before any earthly tribunals would be powerless" (Вальденберг/Val'denberg, 2006, p. 174). The limit of royal authority lies in the truths of the Orthodox faith, and the king cannot change them; he is obliged to observe them in any case.

In Rus, the limits of princely power were discussed by scholars in several aspects: the possibility of the prince's intervention in church affairs (particularly the possibility of punishing heretics), the church's involvement in secular matters (the question of monastery property), and the role of boyars in state affairs. Both before the reign of Vasile the Dark and afterward, there were two directions – one recognizing the prince's intervention in church affairs and another denying his right to intervene; both of these directions continued to exist and had their prominent representatives (*idem*, p. 145).

2. The Concept of Russian Messianism and the Doctrine of the "New Rome"

Perceptions of the exclusive role of the ruler in an ideal state were seen as part of the doctrine of the "wandering kingdoms," stemming from the Book of the Prophet Daniel (Daniel, 2: 36-45). According to the prophecy, in the

earthly human history, there will be four kingdoms endowed with special divine grace, but the fourth kingdom will fall under the pressure of the forces of the Antichrist. Then, an eternal kingdom of God will be established: "In the days of those kings, the God of heaven will set up a kingdom that will never be destroyed, nor will it be left to another people. It will crush all those kingdoms and bring them to an end, but it will itself endure forever" (Daniel, 2: 44). The Book of the Prophet Daniel, as well as its interpretations from the 2nd to the 8th centuries, were known in Rus. In the late 15th century, as part of the Gennadij's Bible, the Third Book of Ezra was translated, which also contained prophecies about the end of the world and the four kingdoms.

The "Romean kingdom" appears with the coming of the Savior to the Earth, as Christ, according to the testimony of the evangelist Luke, "registered itself under Roman authority" - declared himself a citizen of the Roman Empire. Thus, divine grace through Christ passed on to Rome, transforming it into a mystical image of the "indestructible" Christian Kingdom.

After the fall of Byzantium (attributed by Russian theologians to the Florentine Union and the sins of the Byzantine elite), the Christian world, in the understanding of the Orthodox Church, contracted almost to the borders of Rus, and Moscow bore the greatest historical responsibility - to be the defender of Orthodoxy. The first decades after the catastrophe were marked by expectations of the miraculous liberation of Constantinople from the infidels. However, it became evident that Rus had to be the "New Rome," and this idea began to be articulated as early as the 15th century: Metropolitan Zosima the Bearded formulated the foundations of the doctrine of "Moscow as the Third Rome," and later, Elder Philotheus, a monk of the Pskov Eleazar Monastery, wrote (*Послание.../Poslanie...*, 2000, p. 290): "Know, O lover of Christ and God, that all Christian kingdoms have come to an end and descended into the one kingdom of our sovereign, according to the prophetic books, namely, the Roman Empire. For two Romes have fallen, but the third stands, and there will be no fourth". The doctrine of "Moscow as the Third Rome" emerges as a religious doctrine of the continuity of the world's Christian kingdoms, an eschatological teaching based on a providential approach to the destinies of the world, but not on the idea of national exclusivity or Byzantine heritage.

We are currently examining the situation at the end of the 15th century when the ideology shifted from an eschatological concept of the "End times" to the concept of the Third Rome. However, messianic ideas began to appear in Rus almost from the time of its baptism. In the "Word on Law and Grace," Metropolitan Hilarion of Kiev (*Слово.../Slovo...*, 1997, p. 26) retells the Old Testament story of Hagar, Abraham's maidservant, and his wife Sarah, equating Isaac ("the son of the free woman") with the followers of Christianity and Ishmael ("the son of the slave woman") with the Jews. Hilarion emphasizes that the Law appeared before Grace, just as Ishmael was born before Isaac. Therefore, just as Abraham rejected Hagar, the Lord rejected

Israel (Matthew, 21: 43). The Gospel will spread throughout the land, while the "lake of the Law has dried up." Hilarion likens the old wineskins from the parable to the Jews and the new ones to the pagans who embraced grace through baptism and communion. Rus adopted Christianity later than other "tongues" and there was a short time between the baptism of Rus and Hilarion's speech, undoubtedly carrying a providential meaning.

3. On Cruelty

In the works of historians and cultural scholars dedicated to the peculiarities of medieval consciousness (A. Gurevich, F. Ariès, M. Bloch, J. Huizinga, C.-G. Jung, and others), we do not find attempts to comprehend the connections between the phenomenon of cruelty and the epoch. Of course, there are plenty of descriptions of the tortures themselves, for instance, in P. Ganuškin's works. Statements are made that the phenomenon of cruelty had its own understanding and interpretation in different historical epochs, distinct from others, but such understanding usually comes from philosophers, legal historians, and not philologists.

People of the Middle Ages were sincerely convinced of the necessity of severe punishments - Christian love had no relation to criminals. What mattered was that the punishments were just - "like fault, like punishment," as the well-known saying goes. Calls for "gentleness" from monks and scholars should not deceive anyone - the same people advocated ruthless punishment for heretics, and the contradictions between cruel executions and the commandment "thou shalt not kill" were not apparent to the people of that time.

In the nature of things, there is nothing that could distinguish good from evil: good is what aligns with the will of God, and evil is what contradicts it. "If someone kills by the will of God, every act of human compassion is the best killing; and if someone shows mercy and compassion through the will of God, and it is not pleasing to Him, such mercy will be more dissimilar to killing; for it is not the nature of things, but the judgments of God, that make good and evil" (J. Chrysostom, *Against the Jews*, Discourse 4).

Cruelty was considered to be unmotivated, senseless violence, much like it is today. However, the mere sight of death, blood, and tortures did not disturb the medieval person. In Western Europe, torture was a completely ordinary, normal method of conducting investigations (ordeals) not only in the dark Middle Ages but also in the Renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries. In Russian legislation, trial by combat persisted until the middle of the 16th century. Grotesque cruelty, in the modern sense, was entirely compatible with righteousness for medieval people, as were other actions and manifestations that seem unacceptable to us today. Each era has its truths and misconceptions, and to learn to understand, one must look into the past without condemnation or servility, without imposing one's own misconceptions and truths on the time.

4. The perception of the phenomenon of cruelty in the tradition of studying "The Tale of Dracula the Voievode"

Here is what we read from Y. Lur'e: "Let us note once again: we by no means consider the 'Tale of Dracula' an official work whose purpose was to depict the ideal ruler. No authority in the world would acknowledge its identity with the 'devil' feasting among stakes on which the bodies of those executed by him decayed" (Лурье/Lur'e, 1964, p. 56). Let's try to show that this opinion is mistaken – the authority could very well wish to appear exactly like that. To do this, we will compare Dracula with the "Voievode Stephen of Moldova" mentioned in the "Narrative." Stephen the Great (Stephen III Mushat) in some sense is the historical counterpart of the real Vlad III Basarab: Stephen was Vlad's contemporary and cousin, their methods were externally indistinguishable – Stephen also cruelly punished boyars, impaled traitors, and employed scorched-earth tactics against the Turks, while Vlad engaged in charity and monastery construction, making donations to Mount Athos. Perhaps Stephen was more calculated and fortunate, but when it comes to cruelty, it is unlikely that a modern person can discern shades of brutality and recklessness between Stephen and Vlad.

Here are several excerpts from the "Moldavian-German Chronicle" (*Молдавско-немецкая летопись/Moldavsko-nemeckaja letopis'*, 1976, p. 48): "In the month of February, on the 27th day, Voievode Stephen went to Braila in Muntenia and shed much blood, burned the market, and did not spare even a child in the mother's womb; he cut open the bellies of pregnant women and hung the infants by their necks. The Lord helped him to destroy them, those whom they caught alive, he ordered to be impaled on stakes in a cross-like manner through the navel, approximately 2300 in total; and he was occupied with this for two days (...) and went to Suceava with a great booty and joy, praising the Lord God with his bishops and deacons, because with His help, it was possible to accomplish such".

"In October, on the first day, Voievode Stephen again set out with Basarab and a large army to Muntenia and approached the castle called Telezhan, took the governor captive, and cut off his head. And captured many of his Gypsies who were there, and ordered many Gypsies to be cut down, so that blood flowed from the castle; and he set Basarab again as the ruler of the country, handed over the country to him, and punished many boyars who did not want to obey him" (*idem*, p. 50).

It might seem that the chronicler was an enemy of Stephen the Great, but - nothing of the sort, the chronicle was commissioned by the ruler of Moldova, moreover, it was written in the German language to present the Lord to Europe in a dignified manner. There is no doubt that this is exactly how he wanted to be perceived. Who, besides the Lord, could grant victory to Stephen? It was God's will for Stephen to eliminate traitors in Braila to the last man, and the Church was by the Lord's side.

In 1502, Stephen sent the chronicle to Nuremberg, a quarter of a century after Vlad's death. It is highly likely that Stephen was familiar with the writ-

ings about Dracula and could observe the effect produced by these writings. But perhaps Stephen did not need this – he knew his contemporaries. Thus, the "Moldavian-German Chronicle" could exaggerate Stephen's cruelty. In any case, the existence of such documents should change the researcher's attitude toward the "Tale of Dracula" (*ibidem*).

Here is what the philologist M. Odesskij writes: "Dracula's cruelty was pathological even for those dark times. Cruel to enemies, allies, and subjects alike: he chopped heads, burned, skinned, forced cannibalism, boiled alive, disemboweled, impaled on stakes, etc. The stakes varied - depending on the social status of the condemned - in length, diameter, color, and were arranged into elaborate geometric shapes, something like a 'garden of torture'" (Михайлова, Одесский/Мihajlova, Odesskij, 2009, p. 74). "Europeans perceived his bloodthirsty sophistication as some kind of Eastern exotic, absolutely inappropriate in a 'civilized' state" (*idem*, p. 80). In other words, M. Odesskij is convinced that the real Vlad III Basarab stood out for pathological cruelty (which, in general, is not derived from anywhere), and considers cruelty precisely as a method of execution. The researcher seriously believes that such a barbaric method of execution was exotic and inappropriate in Europe. However, legal historians tell us that "qualified executions" (various sophisticated punishments for different crimes) came to Eastern Europe from the West, where executions were more frequent, for a greater number of offenses, and differed in greater diversity (РоЖНОВ/Rožnov, 2008, p. 42-59). The practice of public sadistic executions in Western Europe continued significantly longer: just remember the execution of Robert-François Damiens, which took place in the Greve Square in Paris on March 28, 1757 - only thirty-six years before the French Revolution. Details of this execution are reproduced in the testimonies of contemporaries and the periodical press of that time.

"Damien was supposed to be quartered, but first he was pulled on the rack, then burned with burning sulfur, pieces of muscle were torn with red-hot tongs, nipples were pulled out, and molten lead, boiling oil and burning resin were poured into fresh wounds. The priests at this time called on him to repent. He was then tied to four horses to be torn to pieces. The horses were torn, they were whipped, Damien screamed terribly, but they still could not tear off at least one leg or arm. We added more horses, tried to direct the horses differently, but to no avail. After several attempts, one of the horses fell. Then Damien's body was cut at the hips and armpits, the horses pulled and tore off his leg. The crowd in the square and the aristocrats in the windows clapped their hands. When all the limbs were torn off, the body was still breathing, the victim's eyes scanned the crowd. What was left of Damien was thrown onto the fire, and after burning, the ashes were scattered to the wind" (Емельянова/Emel'janova, 2012, p. 65).

In discussing Italians, Y. Lur'e acknowledges that "cruelty" can be useful and necessary for a ruler (Лур'е/Lur'e, 1964, p. 51): "Thus, the cruelty of

Dracula did not contradict Bonfini's assessment of him as a just ruler. On the contrary, cruelty and rage (as well as 'Phoenician cunning') were deemed by the Italian humanist as necessary attributes of rulers in certain cases. Here, inevitably, we are reminded of a like-minded contemporary of Bonfini, the Florentine Niccolò Machiavelli". At the same time, Y. Lur'e consistently condemns Ivan the Terrible, repeatedly referring to him as the "Russian Dracula" (Лур'е/Lur'e, 1964, pp. 53, 71, 76 and others), without considering the ruler's motivations. However, if one delves into the number of victims and the intricacy of executions, Torquemada, Henry VIII, and Cromwell significantly exceeded Ivan the Terrible. Moreover, Ivan the Terrible condemned the beating of Huguenots during the St. Bartholomew's Night.

Perhaps, due to immersion in the literary image, researchers overlook the piety of the real Vlad III Basarab - no one mentions the churches he built, the lands and villages he donated to monasteries, or the sacrifices made at Mount Athos, as it does not align with the image of the mythical Dracula. Meanwhile, well-known charters to monasteries in Cozia, Tismana, Comana, Snagov, and the Monastery of St. Panteleimon on Mount Athos have been preserved and are well known to Romanian historians. In the Govora Monastery, there is a bell with the inscription, "This bell was cast in the name of our Lord God and St. Nicholas in the year 6965 (from the creation of the world)" - that is, in 1457, at the beginning of Vlad's rule. In the church near the town of Târgșor, a stone slab with the following inscription has survived: "By the grace of God, Vlad, Voievode and lord of all the land of Wallachia, son of the great Voievode Vlad, built and completed this church on June 24, in the year 6969 (1461), indiction 9" - and this is only what has come down to our time.

5. Plot and Composition of "The Tale"

Between Vlad's death and the creation of the narrative, less than ten years elapsed, yet "The Tale of Dracula the Voievode" is by no means a biographical account. In terms of structure and composition, the work can be divided into two parts. The first part comprises a collection of parable-like stories united by a common character and theme, while the second part is connected by a certain plot - the story of Dracula's fall from converting to Catholicism to his demise.

It is essential to highlight a significant structural feature of "The Tale," as noted by Y. Lur'e (Лур'е/Lur'e, 1964, p. 67): the plot unfolds as a series of trials and riddles, some of which lack unequivocal answers. A similar "play with the possibility of drawing several parallels" is found in other Russian literary monuments, with Y. Lur'e seeing a connection to the "epic" traditions of Old Russian literature. The revenge of Olga against the Drevlyans in the "Primary Chronicle" is built on riddles and their metaphorical interpretation, inaccessible to the interlocutor. Importantly, a riddle often does not

presuppose finding an answer from the uninitiated, and the language of riddles can sharply differ from the language of other folk genres, heading towards incomprehensibility. Some episodes in "The Tale" – the parable of the two monks, the parable of the burned beggars, stories of an honest merchant, of the golden ring – have their particular design but are also constructed as trials.

The parable of the two monks constitutes a central episode in "The Tale of Dracula the Voievode" essential for comprehending the work's underlying concept. The parable unfolds as Dracula presents the monks with the bodies of executed individuals and poses the question, "Am I doing well"? The first monk responds, "No, sovereign, you commit evil; it befits a ruler to be merciful. Those whom you impaled on stakes are martyrs". Conversely, the second monk asserts, "You, sovereign, are appointed by God to punish evildoers and reward the virtuous. They committed evil and are punished according to their deserts." What was Dracula's response to them? It is noteworthy that dying in torment did not automatically confer martyrdom; martyrs were only those who died for faith and a just cause. Someone slain by the hand of a wicked king, a tyrant, indeed fell into this category, becoming a martyr and attaining salvation in the afterlife. However, without knowing who and for what reason they were punished, one cannot judge whether they were martyrs. From our extended explanations, it is evident that the first monk passed judgment without knowing the circumstances – if the executed individuals were ordinary criminals, they could not be martyrs. Dracula rebukes the first monk, saying, "Why have you left your cell and monastery, wandering in the courts of great rulers if you understand nothing? You said these people are martyrs. Be a martyr with them," and orders him to be impaled. To the second monk, he declares, "You are a wise man," and sends him home with honors.

Compare the literary Dracula's response to the first monk with Ivan the Terrible's reaction to the letter from Andrej Kurbskij: "How can you not be ashamed to call villains martyrs without considering for what reason each one suffers? (*Пепенуска.../Perepiska...*, 1979, p. 19). "The king further writes: if you consider me an unjust ruler, then accept death at my hands and become a martyr, for this is not death but a gift of goodness; after all, one must die anyway: "If you are righteous and pious, as you say, why are you afraid of an innocent death, the Lord's, which brings good to those who suffer for doing good? And if you are righteous and pious, why have you refused, a disobedient ruler, to endure suffering and inherit the crown of life"?

Thus, the "wise" monk succinctly articulated a certain understanding of the concept of power – the right to execute and pardon belongs only to the Sovereign, who is not subject to human judgment, as the Sovereign is accountable to God. Attempts to call the king to account were perceived as blasphemy. We see such an attitude in Ivan the Terrible's response to the accusations of Andrej Kurbskij: "Who appointed you judge or teacher? Will you answer for my soul on the Day of Judgment"?

The message of "The Tale" is nowhere explicitly stated, allowing the reader to take any side in the argument. This is unusual for medieval literature, whether European or Russian. However, for a medieval reader, Dracula's response sounds quite definite, suggesting that the author may not have needed anything else.

One way or another, the parable of the two monks anticipates discussions on the role of the sovereign for collective salvation in the Byzantine Empire, on martyrdom and tyranny, on the limits of royal power, which unfolded in the second half of the 16th century in the works of Russian writers, as well as in the polemic between Ivan the Terrible and Andrej Kurbskij.

The interpretation of the parable of the beggars, whom Dracula invited to a feast and burned alive, presents a certain complexity (*Сказание... / Skazanie...*, 1999, p. 462). Dracula explains his actions – he freed people from poverty and spared them from suffering. He sent the beggars to heaven not as sinners but as martyrs, to whom the gates of paradise were open.

Almsgiving, considered a virtue that today might be termed as compassion or philanthropy, is one of the obligatory virtues of canonized Russian princes. It was also a means of supporting the impoverished population, a kind of social institution for income redistribution. It was believed that charity was more needed by the almsgiver than the beggar because it was a concern for one's soul. On the other hand, the necessity of labor was also prescribed for Christians – "By the sweat of your face you shall eat bread until you return to the ground" (Genesis, 3: 19).

The Church collected funds not only for the poor but also for those who suffered from fires, refugees, and for the ransom of Russians enslaved abroad, which justified the existence of monastery property. "The Tale" emerged during a period of intense debate between those opposing land ownership by monasteries ("nestiazhateli"), including figures like Fedor Kuricyn, and the Josephites advocating almsgiving. It can be argued that this parable engages in a polemic with Joseph Volockij, yet even in this case, the author allows the readers to draw their own conclusions.

The phrase uttered by Dracula before the battle with the Turks may be perplexing to a modern reader: "Whoever wishes to contemplate death, let him not go with me, stay here." A devout Christian has always been obligated to contemplate death; disdainful attitudes towards death, esteeming oneself as ready for the heavenly Kingdom, constituted a sin, although cowardice was also considered a sin. On the other hand, secular recklessness was not welcomed, deemed madness, and even blasphemy. Thus, Dracula's statement should be interpreted as reverential towards God.

In "The Tale," there are several episodes, transparent in content, where Dracula asserts certain virtues through cruelty and justice. These include the punishment of cowardly warriors wounded in the back, the episode with the golden cup that no one dared to steal, the episode with an honest merchant declaring an extra gold coin, the punishment of a woman neglecting her

husband, and the penalty for adultery. One could also add the execution of a squeamish servant disapproving of Dracula's cruel methods and the remark about Dracula's rejection of evil. The latter remark is intriguing in its implicit proclamation of the equality of common people, boyars, and priests before the decrees of the Sovereign: "And hating evil in his land, if anyone commits any evil—murder or robbery or any falsehood or injustice, he shall not live. Whether a great boyar, or a priest, or a monk, or a commoner, even if someone possessed great wealth, they cannot escape death, and he is so fearsome" (*Сказание.../Skazanie...*, 1999, p. 462).

In addition to the parable of the two monks, "The Tale" features several other episodes affirming the exceptional status of the God-chosen Sovereign. One such episode involves the trial of an ambassador through the spectacle of a gilded coin (*idem*, p. 466), where the ambassador tells Dracula: "Sovereign, if I have committed anything worthy of death, do as you wish. You are a just judge - my death will not be your fault, but my own." The episode about Turkish envoys who did not remove their caps in Dracula's presence and the episode where Dracula beheads a constable daring to enter the ruler's house in pursuit of a criminal are also present (*idem*, p. 468). The episode with the Turkish envoys is a "wandering plot," found in German pamphlets as well, but the episodes of the gilded coin and the slain constable are absent in German sources (Лурье/Lur'e, diagram between pp. 32-33), suggesting that these are original episodes.

A fabrication by the author is the episode of Dracula's death, according to "The Tale," during the Turkish invasion. We have a record (Bogdan, 1913, p. 342) of a message from Stephen the Great about Vlad's death, read by Archimandrite John Tzambalak on May 8, 1478, before the Venetian Doge and senators in the Palace of the Doge (translated by S. Lyžina from the Latin original, excerpt): "However, I took care to have the Voievode Basarab (referring to Layota Basarab) expelled from Wallachia, and another Christian ruler named Dracula (in the Latin document Drachula) was appointed because he had been known before (as an enemy of the Turks). And I expected that His Majesty, the King of Hungary (referring to Matthias Corvinus), would be inspired by this idea, and I argued to him that Vlad (Vladislav) Dracula should become the ruler. And eventually, I convinced the king, and I was allowed to gather warriors to carry out my intention and propose the mentioned ruler to the throne in Wallachia. I immediately gathered the warriors, and when they came, I joined forces with one of the royal captains (referring to Stefan Báthory of Ecsed), and uniting, we brought the mentioned Dracula to power. And when he came to power, he asked us to leave some of our people as guards because he did not trust the Wallachians too much, and I left him 200 of my people. And when I did this, we (with the royal captain) withdrew. And almost immediately, that traitor Basarab returned and, catching Dracula without us, killed him, and all my people, except for ten,

were also killed". As we can see, Stefan does not mention the Turkish invasion and does not note any supernatural phenomena.

It should be noted that the presumed author of "The Tale," Fyodor Vasiliievich Kuritsyn, led a diplomatic mission to Stephen of Moldavia and Matthias Corvinus, visited Suceava and Buda, and was in close contact with Stephen's daughter Elena Voloshanka and the relatively numerous Moldavian diaspora in Moscow. The text of the narrative was most likely written in Akkerman. At the same time, the author never names Dracula directly and refers to the capital of "Mutenia" as "his city." One of the copyists in the 17th century "filled the gap" and invented the name "Mutyian" for the city. In reality, the capital of Wallachia was quite prosaically called Târgoviște, meaning "marketplace." It seems that the Russian ambassador knew well what the Wallachian capital was called, but does such an ordinary name befit the capital of the "wise and cruel" Dracula?

6. The Originality of the Story about Dracula

D. Lihačev, speaking about the secular spirit of the second edition of the Chronograph, mentions "The Tale" (Лихачёв/Lihačev, 1970, p. 8): "Contradictory traits can be observed in the portrayal of Dracula in 'The Tale of the Mutyian Voievode Dracula' (he is just and simultaneously perversely cruel), in the portrayal of individual chronicle heroes, etc. However, the contradictory nature of the historical figure has never been noted in literature before. It was not consciously recognized or declared by the authors, although it was unintentionally depicted. Historical writers never deliberately aimed to describe this contradiction. It emerged as if spontaneously, in the reader's consciousness, not in the intentions, and especially not in the declarations of the authors. Only in the early 17th century did historical writers openly speak about the contradiction of human character for the first time." In other words, the author of "The Tale of Dracula" described the contradictory nature of the hero involuntarily, unconsciously, "spontaneously."

"Ancient Russian literature did not know openly fictional characters. All the characters in Russian literary works from the 11th to the early 17th century are historical or claim historicity: Boris and Gleb, Vladimir Svjatoslavič, Igor Svjatoslavič, Alexandr Nevskij, Dmitrij Donskoj, or Metropolitan Cyprian - all these are princes, saints, church hierarchy people who existed, high in their social status, and participants in significant political or religious events. Writers from the 11th to the 16th centuries seek for their works significant figures, significant events - not in a literary sense, but in a purely historical sense. They aim to write about real historical figures, events that took place in a specific historical and geographical context, resorting to references to contemporaneous accounts and material traces of the activities of their heroes. At the same time, all the fantastical and miraculous is conceived as objectively real, historically accomplished" (*idem*, p. 109).

Medieval historicism demands idealization; the medieval author seeks to portray in the hero a true prince, a true saint, and even a true villain, which often makes the images appear predictable and stereotypical. "Idealization was one of the ways of artistic generalization in the Middle Ages. The writer invested his created image of a person (a state or church figure, a saint) with his ideas about what this person should be like, and he identified these ideas about what should be with what actually is. This was a kind of expression of the medieval preference for deductive over inductive reasoning: the writer sought to derive everything existing from general truths instead of generalizing life experience" (*idem*, p. 86).

It is evident that in the case of the "Tale," things are quite different: the Wallachian ruler is not a significant historical figure for the Russian reader, the image of Dracula does not conform to any template, and there is no need to talk about "idealizing biographism". Fedor Kuricyn, well-informed about the circumstances of the real Vlad Dracula's life, not only does not strive to but consciously avoids the possibility of describing the circumstances of the hero's life that are well-known to him.

Another feature of the narrative, noted by N. Karamzin, is the departure from the usual moralizing of that time: "The author could have concluded this tale with a beautiful moral, but did not do so, leaving readers to judge the philosophy of Dracula, who treated his subjects for villainy, vices, weaknesses, poverty, and diseases with one remedy: death" (Карамзин/ Karamzin, 2016, p. 597).

Thus, the peculiarity of the work lies in the fact that the "Tale" is the first known monument of original Russian fiction, a narrative that did not enter into chronicle compilations and was dedicated to a hero who did not pose any interest as a historical figure. The author of the "Tale," presumably the Duma deacon Fedor Kuricyn, was well-informed about the circumstances of the real Vlad Dracula's life. However, he not only did not strive to, but consciously avoided the possibility of describing well-known events. The author clearly saw the difference between the negative image of Vlad Dracula from the "German sheets," the real voievode Vlad III Basarab, and his fiction character. The author of the narrative did not mention the hero's name, did not narrate about his origin and childhood years, avoided describing details of the prototype's life, and did not adhere to medieval patterns of hagiography. The character of the hero was contradictory, ambiguous, not corresponding to any of the familiar images of an ideal prince, clergyman, boyar, warrior, saint, or fool. The author rejected moralizing, the opportunity to express an attitude towards the hero in an explicit form, which is unusual for the late 15th century. "The Tale of Dracula the Voievode" represents a utopia (or anti-utopia, depending on the perspective) with elements of anti-behavior concerning the image of an ideal ruler, and the land of Muntenia is an anti-world, a fairy-tale kingdom where the impossible is possible in the ordinary world. The narrative was likely "soulless," not belonging to the genre of

church-moral literature of its time, and did not correspond to any of the known genres and styles of Old Russian literature.

A. Isakov and V. Neupokoeva characterize Kuricyn's political concept as Renaissance, specifying that it was a "subversive, almost Machiavellian form of the Renaissance" (Исаков, Неупокоева/Isakov, Neupokoeva, 2015, p. 641) with characteristic ideas of state sovereignty, the primacy of law, and universal justice implemented by the sovereign. However, Kuricyn's understanding of the limits of royal power and the role of the sovereign in the Christian kingdom is traditional. If it differs from the views of the Josephites, it leans towards prioritizing the king over the church, as evidenced by the parables of the two monks and the burning of the beggars. Kuricyn's views were close to those of Peresvetov and Ivan the Terrible, somewhat ahead of his time.

A separate question concerns the manifestations of the Renaissance in Eastern European civilization. D. Lihačev makes an interesting observation: "Meanwhile, Baroque in the West emerged precisely as a successor to the Renaissance, and its features are largely determined by this. Baroque in the West was a partial return to the Middle Ages. In Russia, however, Baroque came after the Middle Ages and assumed many functions of the Renaissance" (Лихачёв/Lihačev, 1970, p. 156).

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LES RELATIONS ROUMANO-OCCITANES,
TRACÉES PAR LES AMIS POÈTES ALECSANDRI ET MISTRAL /
THE ROMANIAN-OCCITAN RELATIONSHIPS
TRACED BY FELLOW POETS ALECSANDRI AND MISTRAL

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Abstract

The present article is centred around the biography of two writers – Vasile Alecsandri and Fr. Mistral. Our aim is to provide the reader with an overview of the common literary values for which they both fought. Even though they had two parallel destinies, their lines cross, reflect each other and correspond to each other. References to Alecsandri pose questions regarding the great family of Romanian writers, such as Sadoveanu, Pilat, Coșbuc and many others.

Keyword: Alecsandri, Mistral, meditative poetry, civic poetry, origin, mirrored cultures

Rezumat

În articolul de față, ne propunem o incursiune în biografia a doi scriitori, Vasile Alecsandri, respectiv Fr. Mistral, încercând să aducem în fața cititorului un extract al valorilor literare comune pentru care au militat cei doi. Două destine paralele, dar a căror linii majore se intersectează, se oglindesc, își corespund. Trimiterile la Alecsandri interpelează marea familie a scriitorilor literaturii române, precum Sadoveanu, Pilat, Coșbuc și mulți alții.

Cuvinte-cheie: Alecsandri, Mistral, poezia meditativă, poezia civică, origine, culturi în oglindă

L'étude de la vie et de l'œuvre de Fr. Mistral, ainsi que la connaissance du destin humain et artistique de V. Alecsandri, nous mènent à la conclusion que, entre les deux grands poètes, il y a une sorte de parenté morale et esthétique qui a déterminé une grande estime réciproque et une amitié qui allait se développer. Ces sentiments durables se sont réfléchis dans les relations nouées entre leurs pays, la France (et notamment, la Provence) et la Roumanie, en constituant un objet de curiosité et d'enseignement, qui conserve, comme nous l'avons déjà déclaré, un intérêt indéniable, plus net, à tout prendre, qu'autres sujets.

C'est de Maillane que la patrie d'Alecsandri reçut le plus juste et le plus éloquent tribut d'admiration ! Apparemment modeste, l'offrande, en fait, par la plume du Maître, devenait celle de toute la Provence. Et, à travers la Roumanie, c'est la latinité qui est concernée.

Ce sont, on les devine aisément, des raisons fortes et particulières qui ont fait naître cette parenté entre les deux poètes.

Le parallélisme de leurs destins humains et artistiques est déterminé, en premier lieu, par leur structure organique semblable.

Mistral, comme Alecsandri, était un homme profond et complexe. C'était un rêveur et un réaliste, un fantaisiste et un esprit lucide, un homme qui vécut, du point de vue matériel et spirituel, sans mesquinerie, comme sans excentricité, un homme pondéré, dont l'âme absorbait les riches nourritures de la poésie et du bon sens populaire.

Sa physionomie avait quelque chose de bon, de souriant, de calme, fait par une vie de plein air méridional.

Exprimant la forte impression que lui a produite la rencontre du poète, Alecsandri écrivait, dans une de ses lettres : « Mistral est une personnalité marquante en Provence et il serait partout grâce à son génie poétique. Il a une belle prestance, front large, couronné de mèches grises, sourire attrayant et allure franche et de bon aloi. Nous nous sommes vus comme si nous nous connaissions depuis vingt-cinq ans, et nous nous sommes quittés bons amis » (Alecsandri, 1960, p. 241).

Cette santé, cette mesure, ce fort équilibre de sa structure ont fait de Mistral un classique, un olympien. Cependant, le poète ne méprisait pas la beauté et les satisfactions de la vie, ni de l'art. Il était un épicurien, qui souvent goûtait la volupté.

C'était un homme sincère et loyal, un homme généreux, sans rancune, compréhensif. Mistral était d'accueil familial, d'une patience inlassable, d'une humeur égale et gaie (« La gaieté, c'est la marque et l'effet du génie », écrivait Michelet). Mais il y a de la majesté et de la grandeur dans sa simplicité, « la dignité des rois et des bergers », comme l'avait défini Lamartine.

Son jugement était sérieux, parfois dur, car cet homme avait une éthique étonnamment juste, tant pour les autres, que pour lui-même. C'était un homme aux convictions bien ancrées, longuement méditées, par-delà son sourire indulgent et aimable, un grand homme qui n'entendait pas trahir ses convictions, un homme dépourvu d'illusions, mais aussi de scepticisme. De son regard aigu, il a surpris les nuances les plus passagères de la beauté du pays et, en même temps, il a eu une profonde compréhension de la psychologie de son peuple. Il était doué d'une profonde sensibilité lyrique, d'une intelligence sagace, du sens de l'humour et de la satire impitoyable.

Toutes les qualités qui caractérisent la personnalité humaine de Mistral ont fait de lui le chef de file incontesté des coryphées, un conducteur et un manieur d'hommes, consommé au service d'une haute politique spirituelle.

Les mêmes traits caractéristiques de son profil humain et moral, sa formation intellectuelle et idéologique, son talent artistique ont déterminé l'originalité de son art, un art à la fois personnel et social.

En un temps où le romantisme épuisait sa force et la générosité de ses inspirations sociales, Mistral donnait l'exemple d'un art civique, profondément militant.

Son art est le résultat de sa conception artistique, qui est si rapprochée de celle du poète-citoyen Alecsandri, et que nous avons mise en valeur plus haut.

La conception de la poésie de Mistral se rattache au romantisme. La poésie doit servir le peuple, la patrie, sans souci personnel de confiance et d'expansion. Pour lui, écrivain politique déclaré, la littérature, de quelque genre qu'elle fut, était toujours engagée, tout avait de l'importance, un sens et une substance, comme il l'avait appris de Lamartine et de Hugo. Dans la littérature de l'époque, Mistral occupe une position insulaire, par l'accent presque sans terme de comparaison, posé sur l'idée d'utilité de la parole écrite. Son œuvre est la preuve magistrale que le génie confère une atroce responsabilité.

Créateur par excellence, le poète est pour Mistral celui qui donne dans ses vers l'expression fidèle des joies, des peines et des espérances de ses concitoyens. En-dehors de cette mission, il n'a pas d'ambition personnelle. Il a conscience de l'indestructible lien qui unit le poète au peuple, considérant que, par tout ce qu'il a de meilleur, le poète appartient au peuple. C'est par là justement qu'il aboutit à une définition plus précise de ses sources poétiques, en célébrant la terre natale, le peuple, les hommes.

Comme Virgile, le poète de Maillane a chanté les paysans et les troupeaux. Il a écrit pour les gens des mas, mais Mistral n'a rien concédé au goût du peuple, à la facilité ou à la vulgarité. Nous nous trouvons devant une poésie longuement élaborée, aux ciselures minutieuses, chargée d'une émotion vibrante. Le message de Mistral est celui de la perfection.

V. Alecsandri a saisi de bonne heure cette haute qualité du maître de Maillane, la grandeur et la beauté de l'œuvre de celui-ci. L'estime témoignée à l'homme se double toujours d'une vive admiration à l'égard de l'artiste, de son génie poétique.

Les sources d'inspiration sont presque les mêmes chez Mistral et chez le poète roumain. Épiques, parce qu'ils ont disposé d'une immense matière épique, ils sont lyriques aussi. Les thèmes de leurs œuvres sont les thèmes de la vie, de la réalité.

Peu philosophes, les deux poètes sont peu méditatifs. Ils ne s'aventurent pas parmi les chimères, ils ne tournent pas le dos au réel. Ils cultivent une poésie purifiée des brumes métaphysiques (peut-être, chez Mistral, il y a une certaine métaphysique religieuse), une poésie optimiste, qui glorifie les beautés de la nature et de l'amour, qui chante la vie.

Leurs idées, leurs attitudes ont une clarté et une simplicité exemplaires. D'où cette vision optimiste de la vie, cette tonalité affective majeure, lumineuse, qui est le propre de leur inspiration.

Mistral a voulu donner à son pays une œuvre épique surtout, capable de l'incarner tout entier. Et il a réussi. Alecsandri n'a pas désiré autre chose. Ce fut un beau rêve. Ce fut leur idéal commun.

L'amour pour le peuple et la décision de trouver dans ses chansons la première source d'inspiration de leurs œuvres constituent une forte liaison entre les deux poètes. En cherchant à sauver la langue provençale⁷ de la décadence, Mistral se tourna instinctivement vers le peuple, comme vers le seul dépositaire des valeurs traditionnelles du pays. En Roumanie, également, Alecsandri, nous le savons déjà, en quête de ces mêmes valeurs les a découvertes, lui aussi, dans les milieux populaires. A Maillane, comme à Mircești, c'est « aux gens de la terre » que l'on s'adresse, pour trouver les valeurs révélatrices du génie national. Cette attitude de confiance dans le peuple et dans ses valeurs morales et artistiques les ont menés vers une véritable doctrine « poporaniste », qui eut un rôle décisif dans leur éthique, leur esthétique, leur combat politique et social. Jusqu'où allait cette doctrine ? Nous le savons déjà. Plus loin chez Mistral que chez Alecsandri, mais, même chez le poète roumain, elle fut visible pendant toute son activité civique et littéraire.

Examiner le rôle des chants populaires dans l'éveil du sens poétique chez Mistral, leur apport à ses doctrines et à sa poésie, la place tenue par le folklore dans l'essor du Félibrige et les tentatives de celui-ci comme moniteur du folklore et tout cela avec l'arrière-plan social et sentimental qu'on doit pressentir c'est réaliser un travail de fond. Nous n'avons ni l'ambition, ni les moyens de l'accomplir. Nous nous proposons de dégager seulement quelques aspects du problème, pour mettre en valeur les similitudes théoriques et pratiques entre Mistral et Alecsandri, dans ce domaine si important de leur activité.

Nous avons insisté, plus haut, sur la renaissance du lyrisme européen et roumain dans un contexte politique et littéraire passionné « nationaliste » sous l'influence de la poésie populaire et sous l'impulsion de l'exemple donné par les pays anglo-saxons.

La pénétration en France de la sentimentalité et des idées préromantiques et romantiques suscita lentement un certain intérêt pour les chants populaires. Mais la rénovation poétique qu'on pouvait en espérer, ne se produisit, on le sait, que très faiblement. Pas d'œuvres poétiques de valeur⁸. On eut surtout en France, ce que Paul van Fieghem appelle le « romantisme intérieur » (van Tieghem, 1925, pp. 19-25), représenté par de grandes personnalités artistiques, qui produisirent des chefs-d'œuvre. Seuls les romantiques mineurs prirent goût en somme au « romantisme extérieur », celui des chants et des contes populaires (Nerval, 1854).

« Et l'on peut regretter », écrit F. Baldensperger, « que trop de circonstances contraires, une insuffisante complicité d'imagination chez nos poètes, la

⁷Considérée par Constantin I. Istrati « d'une similarité frappante » avec le dialecte aroumain (Istrati, 2011, pp. 73-74).

⁸Ni les musiciens français n'eurent guère plus d'oreille pour la musique populaire française, sauf Berlioz et Ravel.

longue habitude d'une poésie trop régentée, trop indifférente à la vraie simplicité aient empêché notre littérature de se retremper aux sources populaires et d'avoir à ce moment l'équivalent de ce que Bürger, Schiller ou Goethe avaient donné en Allemagne, ou de ce que l'évêque Percy avait appris à tenter aux poètes anglais » (Baldensperger, 1907, p. 131).

Mais le romantisme méridional, représenté surtout et longtemps par le Félibrige, plus ouvert à certains courants des idées et sentiments, que le romantisme d'expression française, a réalisé, dans des larges proportions, une synthèse féconde entre l'élément populaire et l'élément savant.

Sous l'impulsion du génie de Mistral et animé par un patriotisme incandescent et revendicatif, les Félibres ont recours aux chants populaires et au folklore, et ils les ont utilisés poétiquement dans leurs œuvres, pour assurer le maintien de la « haute civilisation traditionnelle » de leur pays.

Mistral, surtout, avait le sens du folklore, ainsi que l'intuition de ce que pouvait gagner son œuvre, en mettant en valeur cette source d'inspiration. Auprès de cette muse, et en partie grâce à elle, le poète a purifié son cœur et en même temps son art, lui donnant une force nouvelle, et l'éloquence du rhétorisme et du didactisme.

Sur les lèvres de sa nourrice, Alecsandri a entendu chanter les doïnas et les ballades séculaires. Sur celles de sa mère, le maître de Maillane a écouté le murmure des temps passés; de ces voix, l'un et l'autre, comme d'une eau vivifiante, s'imprègnent et se fortifient.

Le « mystère » et le secret de leurs chefs-d'œuvre se trouvent dans cette parfaite assimilation artistique des éléments folkloriques les plus divers.

L'attitude de Mistral envers la langue de son pays, comme celle d'Alecsandri, est le résultat de la même doctrine « poporaniste ». Pour eux, la vitalité d'une langue, comme celle d'une nation, se mesure à la dignité morale de ceux qui la parlent, ainsi qu'à l'élévation intellectuelle de leur littérature. En 1882, devant les membres du « Cercle artistique de Marseille », Mistral affirmait sa foi, en ces termes : « En voulant réhabiliter le provençal, nous avons la certitude de faire une œuvre de patriotes, œuvre de dignité pour notre race et notre pays. Car tous les peuples tiennent et ont toujours tenu à leur langue naturelle, parce que dans la langue se moule et brille le caractère de la race qui parle. Une langue, pour tout dire, c'est le portrait de tout, c'est la Bible de son histoire, le monument vivant de sa personnalité ».

La même vérité, il l'a dite déjà, en vers, dans l'« Ode aux Catalans », de 1860 :

« Des Alpes aux Pyrénées et la main dans la main
Trouvères, élevons donc le vieux parlé roman,
C'est le signe de famille,
C'est le sacrement qui joint les fils aux aïeux,
L'homme à la terre, c'est le fil,

Qui tient le nid dans la ramée »⁹.

La foi du maître est celle du Félibrige tout entier. Langue des empereurs et des rois autrefois, langue des paysans maintenant, elle mérita de vivre, puisque c'est la langue de la vie du peuple, de ses joies et de ses souffrances. Mistral ne croyait jamais que la langue de sa Provence qu'il avait voulu réhabiliter, disparaîtrait. Le Félibrige visait à préserver, cultiver et défendre la langue maternelle (Zamfir, 2013, p. 64). À Saint-René-Tallandier, qui lui avait fait l'objection d'écrire « Mireille » en provençal, pas en français, le poète répondait : « Quant à la disparition plus ou moins prochaine de la langue provençale, il m'est impossible d'y croire. De même que les idiomes antérieurs aux conquêtes des Romains, tels que le grec, l'arabe, l'allemand, le basque, le celte, ont survécu à la langue latine, je suis convaincu que notre langue populaire vivra autant que notre peuple de Provence. Une langue est le produit d'un climat aussi bien que les mœurs et la végétation » (Ripert, 1946, p. 21).

De là, le grand souci du poète d'enrichir la langue de son peuple et de l'épurer. On sait que Mistral a été parfois accusé d'avoir créé une langue artificielle, fabriquée pour son usage et celui de ses amis. Si parfois on éprouve quelque difficulté à comprendre certains passages, c'est que le poète emploie des mots techniques des pâtres, des moissonneurs, des gens des mas, et aussi des vocables anciens, tombés en désuétude. C'est un essai de faire de cette langue un instrument poétique de premier ordre, plus concret et plus chantant, et toujours adapté aux sujets de ses œuvres. Ainsi, il ne donnera pas seulement à la langue d'oc les titres de noblesse, en l'employant à écrire des chefs-d'œuvre ; il montrera aux érudits et aux artistes du monde entier qu'elle est la richesse d'une langue méprisée, que l'on croyait réduite au rang du patois.

La recherche du folklore et du passé n'interdisent pas l'intérêt pour le présent, et la curiosité de l'avenir. La méditation sur hier éclaire toujours, dans l'œuvre de Mistral, comme dans celle d'Alecsandri, aujourd'hui, et le thème du présent est une source permanente de leur poésie. Poètes-citoyens, ils se sont trouvés, dès le début, au centre des événements. L'œuvre de la renaissance nationale de leur pays est inimaginable sans leur contribution. Le front dans le ciel et les pieds solidement plantés dans le sol de leurs terres natales, ils enregistrèrent le jeu des réalités, car ils étaient restés, jusqu'à la fin de leurs jours, des facteurs importants de toutes les transformations de leur époque.

⁹En provençal : « Dis Aup i Pirenèu e la man dins la man / Troubaire, aubouren dounc lou vièi parla rouman; / Acò's lou signe de famiho, / Acò's lou sacramen qu'is àvi joun li fiéu / L'ome à la terro; acò's lou fiéu / Que tèn lou nis dins la ramiho... ».

Le sentiment de la participation à l'œuvre collective trouve chez Mistral une expression suggestive, une image émouvante. De là, la multitude des poésies de « circonstances », une expression artistique fidèle des problèmes de son époque, de la responsabilité qu'il s'assuma pour l'avenir. La poésie de Mistral est un hymne robuste d'espérance et de foi, comme indique la belle strophe du chant de la « Coupo santo » :

« Vuejo nous lis esperanco
E li raive dou jouvènt,
Dou passat la remembranço
Et la fe dins l'an que vèn »¹⁰.

Par une telle évocation, le poète patriote Mistral a défini sa doctrine. Il ne veut s'appuyer sur le passé que pour construire l'avenir. Ce n'est pas de regret romantique, de complaisance morbide, c'est la confiance en l'humanité de l'homme, en sa capacité de tendre inlassablement vers l'avenir.

Cette aspiration vers la source robuste de la vie a fait de Mistral et d'Alecsandri des poètes de l'amour et de la nature. « Du moment », disait Mistral, dans une lettre adressée à Roumanille, « que le beau, l'amour et la liberté sont exclus d'un livre, ce livre est fade à coup sûr ».

Le chantre de Maillane a exalté et divinisé l'amour dans des vers d'une incandescence troublante et d'une grande force expressive. Il n'a pas chanté l'amour platonique des troubadours, ni l'amour dévorant des romantiques, mais l'amour sain et créateur, qui prolonge la vie, sa beauté et sa toute-puissance.

Les deux poètes ont aussi adoré la nature de leurs pays. Ils ont excellé dans cette communion avec la nature, qu'ils ont exprimée non point par la contemplation, mais par une analyse intense. De là, les deux poètes ont décrit avec une précision pittoresque le soleil, les arbres (Mistral, la mer), les plaines, le travail. Ils en sentent le charme, ils nous le font sentir.

Poètes de la nature (« la grande couveuse qui renouvelle indéfiniment les générations des êtres », dit Mistral, dans « Calendal », « peuple les mers, revêt les monts de hautes forêts, étend ses garrigues sur les ruines des cités »), ils sont, surtout, des poètes de la nature humanisée par l'homme, fécondée par le travail de celui-ci. Ils ont saisi, sous l'apparence extérieure, le signe durable des choses et, au-delà du paysage, le sens de la présence humaine. Leurs poésies sont un éloge suprême au travail, au travail manuel. « Sfîntă muncă de la țară, izvor sacru de rodire » (Saint travail des paysans, source sacrée de la fécondation), dit Alecsandri; « Le travail transforme l'homme en Dieu », dit Mistral.

¹⁰«Vers-nous les espérances/ Et les rêves de la jeunesse,/ Du passé la remembrance / Et la foi dans l'an qui vient ».

Plus que l'oeuvre du poète roumain, celle du poète provençal est une immense fresque du travail manuel. C'est ainsi qu'à travers toute son oeuvre, on voit se dresser les héros de son époque rustique : moissonneurs, laboureurs, pâtres, pêcheurs, charpentiers, menuisiers. En célébrant la noblesse des travaux de ces « gens de mas », Mistral avoua, encore une fois, son grand amour pour le peuple, pour les vertus physiques et morales de celui-ci.

Si rapprochés par les motifs artistiques de leurs oeuvres, Mistral et Alecsandri ne se séparent non plus en ce qui concerne la forme. L'adaptation de la forme au fond est parfaite. Cela se voyait même dans leurs logis : Mistral dans sa claire maison d'un beau village, sous un ciel enchanteur, parmi les lauriers et les fleurs enivrantes, Alecsandri à Mircești, au milieu d'une grande plaine verte. De là, la santé fraîche de leurs vers, la spontanéité de leurs rythmes, la grande richesse d'images. Ils sont des poètes de plein air, des poètes du soleil, de la lumière. Ils sont des cigales.

Plus artiste qu'Alecsandri, Mistral est un véritable maître de la forme. Il a eu toujours la conscience de l'oeuvre bien faite, travaillée dans le détail jusqu'à la perfection. Ce souci de la forme, c'est un des généreux enseignements que peut donner l'étude de l'oeuvre mistralienne. Il faut remonter aux troubadours pour trouver, « une telle habileté technique, un renouvellement si complet des formes strophiques, une telle sûreté de rimes, de tons, de moyens littéraires » (voir Ripert, 1918). La musique des vers du Maître de Maillane est la qualité dominante de son art inégalable.

On pourrait citer encore d'autres mentions éparses, d'autres coïncidences et similitudes entre les deux poètes. Ce que nous avons voulu mettre en valeur, c'est le parallélisme de leurs destins d'homme et d'artiste. Les deux hommes s'ignoraient lorsque, au début de leur vie, dans un même esprit, ils ont pris, chacun de leur côté, des voies semblables et qui fatalement doivent se rejoindre. Ils se rencontrent, et les liens qui vont désormais les unir, uniront, par la même occasion, la Roumanie et la Provence.

Pourrait-on signaler des influences de Mistral sur l'oeuvre d'Alecsandri ? Il est difficile de nous prononcer. Car, c'est en 1882 que les deux poètes eurent leurs premières relations. Or, à cette date, Alecsandri se trouve à la fin de son activité littéraire. Après la rencontre de Mistral et des Félibres, il a écrit deux grandes oeuvres dramatiques, où il célèbre l'idée de la latinité (Leu, 2013), mais nous ne pouvons pas dire que, dans ces pièces, il y a des influences importantes, quoique certaines de Mistral. Il nous semble que des circonstances historiques semblables, une atmosphère littéraire commune, ont déterminé ce parallélisme de leurs destins de poètes, dont nous avons parlé plus haut. Les voies semblables de leur vie et de leur art les ont unis et les ont rendus amis. Et une amitié située sur le plan des idées et des sentiments, au-dessus des intérêts temporels, reste durable. Alecsandri a plu-

siieurs fois parlé (surtout dans sa correspondance) de Mistral et il n'a jamais cessé d'admirer le grand poète.

L'estime et l'admiration de Mistral pour Alecsandri, très vives, étaient moins exactement motivées, parce que, si Alecsandri pouvait lire le français, le poète de Maillane ne connaissait pas le roumain. Mais on est sûr qu'il s'est fait traduire des textes et qu'il eut vite deviné, sur quelques échantillons, les mérites du poète roumain. Mistral voyait en Alecsandri un représentant du génie de son peuple, une incarnation des virtualités de la race latine. Et il était particulièrement sensible à cela. Voilà pourquoi la mort du poète roumain devait dicter au poète provençal une lettre, dans laquelle l'homme et l'artiste se rencontraient, pour exprimer, à la femme d'Alecsandri, la douleur d'avoir perdu un ami, et pour témoigner une fois de plus l'admiration des Félibres et de lui-même : « Personnellement... Je pleure avec vous l'ami souverainement bon qui m'avait ouvert son âme, son cœur et sa maison... Le nom d'Alecsandri est inscrit dans le ciel des bons génies de la Provence, comme il l'est au panthéon des plus pures gloires latines et des immortels fondateurs de la nationalité roumaine »¹¹. Plus tard, Elena Văcărescu, à l'occasion de quelques conférences en Provence, 1927, constate le fait que le nom d'Alecsandri était encore prononcé avec admiration par le peuple occitan (Moțoc, 2010, p. 154).

Alecsandri étant mort en 1890, les relations entre Mistral et le poète roumain n'ont pas pu durer bien longtemps. Mais les contacts ont continué et les rapports qui s'établirent, dans le dernier quart du XIX^e siècle, entre la Roumanie et le Midi de la France, furent, sans doute, plus nombreux qu'on ne le soupçonne aujourd'hui.

Par les voies de la poésie, deux pays se sont trouvés rapprochés. L'amitié qui naît entre écrivains, entre simples individus, gagne toujours les peuples. Alecsandri, Mistral, Roumanie, Provence, c'est dans la patrie de la latinité qu'ils se rencontrent et fraternisent.

La tentative d'établir des rapports de tempérament, de sujets et de formules littéraires entre les poètes roumains et Mistral n'est pas inutile non plus. L'idée nous en fut suggérée par la poésie de Ion Pillat, dédiée à Mistral.

Pourquoi cet artiste cultivé et raffiné, qui, dans son âge mûr, semble un Lucullus réfugié dans le sein de la nature, s'est approché du Maître de Maillane? Parce qu'il s'est retrouvé dans la pensée et la sensibilité de celui-ci. Ion Pillat est un poète, « traditionaliste » (comme sont tous les poètes qui ont appartenu au mouvement littéraire « Gîndirea », dont le traditionalisme a été conscient et a eu la valeur de programme); sa structure l'attache au sol natal, sa nature est calme et sentimentale. C'est un sensuel éméché de couleurs et d'arômes, un chanteur du paysage national par excellence, doué d'une perception visuelle singulière, un impressionniste sensible et comme on n'a

¹¹Lettre inédite à Pauline Alecsandri, Maillane, le 12 septembre 1890, Ms Bibl. Académie de la R.S. de Roumanie, S. 115 (LX).

pas manqué d'en faire la remarque, apparenté, par cette sensibilité chromatique, à Renoir.

Sa poésie est d'une tenue classique sereine, équilibrée. On peut trouver certaines similitudes de structure et de modes d'expression semblables entre Mistral et Ion Pillat.

Les mêmes similitudes on les trouve dans la poésie du Transylvain George Coşbuc, dont l'oeuvre garde, depuis les premiers vers jusqu'aux derniers, une particulière inspiration ensoleillée. Tout baigne dans le soleil et la lumière. De même qu'Alecsandri aspirait sans cesse au soleil, de même le Transylvain Coşbuc nous suggère ses préférences pour la « brise légère des rivages méditerranéens », qui est, dans son oeuvre, l'expression métaphorique d'une ambiance sereine.

Le rythme de sa poésie est très souvent le rythme de la lyrique mistralienne. En lisant la ballade « Nunta Zamfirei » (Les noces de Zamfira) il nous semble qu'on entend un chant du poème « Mireille ».

En prose, les mêmes caractéristiques nous les trouvons dans « Amintiri din copilărie » (Souvenirs d'enfance) de Ion Creangă. Dans ces souvenirs, un rôle primordial joue, ainsi que dans les « Mémoires » de Mistral, la glèbe natale; il revit, fraîches comme le premier jour, les joies de l'enfance, en fixant le cadre physique et moral et tout ce qui, selon lui, avait contribué, en son temps, à la naissance et à la précision de certaines idées, de certains sentiments qui, par la suite, firent partie intégrante de l'image qu'il se formait du monde.

La sérénité de l'univers enfantin, une sensibilité disciplinée et régie par la sagesse et la mesure sont les traits dominants de cet écrivain classique.

Les mêmes traits définissent l'oeuvre de M. Sadoveanu, un autre conteur moldave représentatif qui appartient au type apollinien.

D'ailleurs, un grand rameau de la littérature roumaine, qui commence avec Alecsandri et passe par Creangă, Coşbuc, Pillat, Sadoveanu, définit, admirablement, par les motifs et les modes d'expression, la tradition ensoleillée de l'art roumain, l'esprit apollinien de celle-ci.

Ce qui caractérise la psychologie du Roumain, généralement parlant, c'est cette apollinisation du fond dyonisiaque, cette tendance à infléchir la passion violente selon les exigences de la forme et de la mesure. Conséquence probable de ses origines, de son histoire, de son expérience de la vie, des vicissitudes traversées au sein d'une géographie unitaire et harmonieuse, invitant elle-même à la pondération. La culture roumaine appartient au type apollinien.

Toute l'évolution de la littérature roumaine, si on l'analyse à ce point de vue, dénote une sorte de « classicisme » latent. Nous n'avons pas de ces grands obsédés, de ces caractères excessifs, pathétiques, ténébreux, aux contemplatifs extatiques que nous rencontrons, par exemple, dans le romantisme européen.

La poésie même d'Eminescu est une expression de cet esprit apollinien (qui n'implique pas l'absence d'un contenu pathétique, mais un façonnement rationnel de ce contenu). Titanique et excessif pendant sa jeunesse, le poète évolue plus tard vers une expression de l'essentiel d'une pureté classique : l'élément titanique s'est sublimé en un art limpide et profond. Arghezi, le plus grand poète roumain depuis Eminescu, représente aussi une admirable apollinisation du dyonisiaque humain.

C'est l'originalité de la littérature roumaine, de la culture roumaine en général, car la peinture de N. Grigorescu ou de St. Luchian, la musique de G. Enescu, les sculptures extrêmement stylisées, mais en essence populaires, Olténiennes de Brâncuși, la pensée de Xenopol, T. Maiorescu, N. Iorga etc. présentent les caractères d'un style apollinien.

Ces expressions éminentes de l'esprit roumain peuvent être toujours approchées de l'art de Mistral qui affirme, dans des formes d'une grande beauté, cette dialectique vivifiante de l'universel et du singulier, du rationnel et du passionnel. Elles s'encadrent, sans doute, dans la tonalité humaine générale qui caractérise la physionomie morale de la grande famille des peuples latins.

Dans un de ses discours prononcés aux fêtes de la latinité de 1882, V. Alecsandri disait : « Sîngele apă nu se face » (Le sang ne change jamais en eau).

Toutes ces similitudes, ces correspondances de structure morale et artistique que nous avons tenté de trouver entre la littérature roumaine et la littérature provençale, démontrent la vérité des dires d'Alecsandri. Car la physionomie esthétique d'un peuple ou d'une famille de peuples garde toujours le cachet de l'originalité de leur complexe humain et spirituel.

Dans son hommage dédié, en 1930, à Mistral, dont nous avons parlé plus haut, N. Iorga, insatisfait de tout ce qu'on a réalisé dans son pays pour la cause de la fraternité latine, disait « S-ar fi putut și s-ar putea face mai mult ».

Le grand historien a parfaitement raison. On aurait pu cependant faire davantage et on pourrait encore le faire. Car, traduite dans le langage de la poésie à Montpellier, en 1878, l'idée latine a ouvert une large perspective vers l'avenir. Aucune autre conjoncture socio-politique et littéraire que celle des dernières décennies du XIX^e siècle n'a su créer une telle base de départ à la lutte commune des peuples en vue de la réalisation de nobles desseins du devenir humain. Les conditions historiques après 1900 n'ont pas été, il est vrai, toujours favorables à la manifestation des idéaux d'Alecsandri et de Mistral. Mais les idées qu'ils ont professées se sont imposées à leurs contemporains comme une réalité.

Leurs successeurs, à leur tour, ont reçu un noble héritage moral et culturel. Le champ d'action de l'idée latine restera toujours immense.

Le monde évolue, mais la culture mondiale de notre siècle fait, on le sait, une place de plus en plus large, dans ses préoccupations, à l'idée des liens

littéraires et politiques, au souci de conserver et de promouvoir les enquêtes de la pensée et de la sensibilité humaine. Les exemples ne nous manquent pas. Ainsi, en 1943, en pleine guerre, un nombre d'intellectuels de Montpellier (Tănase, 1959, p. 22), cette ville de la science et de la poésie, qui a rendu de grands services à la cause de l'idée latine, se propose de ranimer les anciennes relations provençales-roumaines. Mais les circonstances internationales de ce moment-là n'ont pas permis la réalisation de ce projet. Et pourtant, celui-ci n'est pas resté sans conséquences. Le professeur Ch. Camproux, l'un des animateurs du projet de 1943, a fait publier, dans la revue « Steaua » (L'Etoile) de Cluj-Roumanie, deux articles : « La littérature occitane aujourd'hui » (août 1958) et « Mireille » (décembre 1959). La revue provençale « L'Astrado » a consacré son troisième numéro (1967) à un hommage à Alecsandri et à la Roumanie. Lettres, mémoires, articles critiques et poésies se réunissent pour témoigner la décision des successeurs des Félibres provençaux de mettre en valeur le programme humaniste de leurs devanciers.

Pour continuer l'ancienne initiative de la montpelliéraine « Société des langues romanes », le 25 octobre 1966 s'est constituée, à Paris, une « Académie du monde latin », qui réunit des personnalités représentatives des peuples français, italien, espagnol, portugais, roumain. La nouvelle Académie est considérée « une alliance pacifique de culture, d'un caractère purement spirituel », privée de tendances de « racisme » et d'« impérialisme latin ». Elle se propose de lutter pour la cause, « de l'unité du monde latin ». Dans cette direction de l'alliance s'inscrit aussi le geste de la Reine Elisabeth de Roumanie qui a décoré plusieurs félibres pour les traductions qu'ils ont faites des poèmes signés par Carmen Sylva (Irvin Rozei, 2013).

Nous ne connaissons pas le résultat de l'action de cette « Société des langues romanes ». Mais cette initiative de créer une telle association, à notre époque aussi compliquée, et les exemples de valorisation des traditions morales et culturelles, que nous avons donnés plus haut, nous affermissent dans la conviction que, loin de perdre de leur actualité, les idées de Mistral et d'Alecsandri sont restées vivantes.

De tout ce qui a été dit jusqu'ici, nous espérons que l'on a pu dégager certains aspects essentiels du problème et aussi une confirmation de notre assertion quant au caractère nécessaire et actuel de la question des relations entre Alecsandri et le Félibrige, entre la littérature roumaine et celle du Midi de la France, dans la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle.

Il n'est plus, pensons-nous, besoin d'autres mots pour montrer de quelle manière les idées qui se sont trouvées à la base de ces relations ont servi le progrès moral et culturel, en ouvrant une large perspective aux efforts des hommes vers la compréhension et l'intelligence de l'autre.

Pour établir les proportions réelles des événements sociaux et littéraires sur lesquels nous avons insisté, nous avons commencé par démontrer que les rapports entre Alecsandri et le Félibrige ne se situent pas sous le signe du hasard et de l'improvisation.

L'examen des relations entre les deux partenaires et de la façon dont ces relations se sont réalisées, a mis en évidence, d'une part, le caractère organique de celles-ci et, d'autre part, l'ampleur et la diversité des modalités les plus susceptibles, employées à faire pénétrer dans le monde latin un message humaniste.

Certes, l'effort de faire s'épanouir l'idée des rapports culturels et politiques entre les peuples n'a pas été absent des étapes antérieures de l'histoire, bien que des circonstances objectives l'aient empêché de se manifester de façon conséquente et aient ainsi appauvri ses résultats. L'histoire de la culture européenne dans son ensemble offre généreusement le tableau d'impressionnantes tentatives des individus et des peuples de faire triompher l'amour de l'homme, la justice, la beauté. Mais, comme nous avons déjà déclaré plus d'une fois, aucune autre conjoncture historique n'a pu créer une telle base pour le rapprochement des peuples dont « le sang, la langue et la pensée coulent d'une même source », que la deuxième moitié au XIX^e siècle.

En pleine période des éveils et des explosions nationales et, en même temps, des dépassements « supranationaux », des initiatives individuelles et collectives mettent, d'une manière forte, le problème des communautés de langue, de culture, des mœurs.

Pour le monde latin, c'est le Félibrige qui a assumé, dès ses débuts, la mission complexe de contribuer au développement d'une ancienne idée, celle du rapprochement des peuples latins.

À la réalisation de ce vaste programme à long terme ont contribué toute une série de facteurs et de tendances favorables. D'abord, il faut citer cette constellation socio-politique propice, sous laquelle s'est manifesté le Félibrige.

En 1913, le marquis de Villeneuve écrivait : « Le Félibrige est venu à son heure : né plus tôt, il aurait été noyé dans les derniers reflets de l'épopée napoléonienne, la plus grande, la plus tragique, la plus fulgurante des tentatives césariennes. Elle avait échoué, mais elle a laissé, derrière elle, des lueurs si éclatantes que, pendant plus d'un demi-siècle, les yeux ne pouvaient voir autre.

Né plus tard, il n'aurait pas pu rendre la vie à des choses définitivement mortes et à une nation succombant sous le poids de ses fautes passées » (Jouveau, 1970, p. 470).

À ces conditions historiques - objectives, favorables - s'ajoute l'unité de conception du monde des Félibres, de leurs aspirations politiques et littéraires, de leur volonté de lutter à la poursuite des plus respectables réalisations humaines. Cette unité de conception et des buts a garanti l'unité de leurs efforts.

Il convient néanmoins de remarquer aussi les formes les plus diverses adoptées par les Félibres pour la réalisation de leur programme. Parmi ces procédés, utilisés avec intelligence et dévouement, les concours littéraires et scientifiques, les fêtes de la latinité ont trouvé partout l'écho le plus profond. Car « comparer et rapprocher les poésies et les littératures de langues lati-

nes », disait A. Glaize aux Fêtes latines de 1878, « c'est rapprocher les peuples et préparer l'alliance littéraire, intellectuelle, artistique des peuples latins ». C'est pourquoi, les fêtes félibréennes n'ont pas été purement littéraires, mais toujours des actes pacifiques, européens et internationaux.

D'ailleurs, l'échange de valeurs culturelles et littéraires répond toujours à un besoin constant de confrontation artistique et fortifie le sentiment de la solidarité chez les écrivains de tous les pays, qui, par-delà les frontières géographiques et politiques et toutes les particularités de l'expression poétique, sont unis par l'idéal suprême du progrès et de l'entente entre peuples.

C'est dans cet esprit qu'il convient d'évoquer la « Weltliteratur » de Goethe et de rappeler ce que l'auteur de « Faust » disait à Eckermann: « ...la poésie est le bien commun de toute l'humanité ».

Pour le triomphe de l'idée latine, le Félibrige a travaillé infatigablement. Il s'est toujours trouvé dans ses rangs des hommes qui lui ont donné leur temps et leur talent. Mistral fut le premier. Nous pensons avoir mis en évidence le rôle essentiel de celui-ci dans le développement et l'application des principes du Félibrige. Ce grand apôtre de l'idée latine et le chef incontesté du mouvement n'a jamais rien oublié de ce qui pourrait servir le programme et les buts des Félibres. C'est l'oeuvre du Maître de Maillane qui a donné de l'éclat aux faits, qui a conservé au Félibrige, tout au long de son existence, une audience internationale.

La Roumanie n'est pas restée en dehors des aspirations fraternelles de ses sœurs. L'idée latine a trouvé dans ce pays un terrain fécond de manifestation. Car cette idée ne caractérise pas seulement l'idéologie moderne des écrivains roumains du XIX^e siècle. Plus ancienne, elle a préoccupé, d'une manière très perceptible, l'esprit des chroniqueurs moldaves et valaques (Gr. Ureche, M. Costin, C. Cantacuzino). L'activité scientifique et littéraire des représentants de l'Ecole Transylvaine (S. Mieu, Gh. Sincai, P. Maior, I. Budai-Deleanu) n'a eu d'autre appui que la conscience de l'hérédité et des traditions latines du peuple roumain.

L'incessante lutte menée sur le plan culturel, au long des siècles, pour remplacer l'alphabet cyrillique par l'alphabet latin est aussi une expression convaincante de la même idée. En luttant pour sa renaissance, pour son individualité nationale, pour son unité, le peuple roumain, dans toutes les circonstances de son histoire, souvent peu favorables, a affirmé, avec ténacité et orgueil, la conscience, non point d'une inexistante pureté de sang, mais d'une réalité plus certaine, celle de la langue, de la civilisation, de la culture et des moeurs latines.

Durant la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, la période de l'éveil national des Roumains, l'idée latine revêtit une forme matérielle et politique. La principale tendance qui marque le chemin de l'activité des écrivains-citoyens de la génération révolutionnaire de 1848 (N. Bălcescu, M. Kogălniceanu, D. Bolintineanu, plus tard Al. Odobescu) est l'affirmation de l'idée latine, mise au service de la cause de l'individualité et de l'unité nationale. Toute intense

que soit l'idée du « dacisme » qui s'est manifestée, à un moment donné, dans la pensée et l'œuvre de quelques représentants de la culture roumaine (M. Eminescu, B.P. Hasdeu, L. Blaga etc.), elle n'a pas pu abattre la conscience, plus ancienne et plus puissante, de l'hérédité latine.

V. Alecsandri fut aussi un brillant défenseur de l'idée latine. Tout au long de sa carrière littéraire et politique, il a affirmé la conviction que les peuples, ayant la même origine, les mêmes croyances, les mêmes intérêts et les mêmes devoirs doivent avoir aussi les mêmes destinées, car ils sont solidaires et ont la même mission à remplir. C'était aussi la conviction de Mistral.

Dans notre travail, nous avons mis en relief la communion d'idées et de sentiments qui a caractérisé la pensée et l'activité des deux écrivains. Le parallélisme de leurs destins d'hommes et d'artistes a assuré la base féconde des rapports fraternels qui ont unis, depuis 1878, la Roumanie et le Midi de la France. Ils ont été des êtres semblables, quels que soient le lieu où chacun d'eux est né et les conditions de vie au milieu desquelles ils ont vécu.

C'est sur la base de cet élément commun, le plus important de tous, que se développent toujours la science, la littérature, l'art et aussi les rapports entre individus et peuples.

Les manifestations littéraires qui ont eu lieu dans le Midi de la France et la Roumanie pour célébrer et renforcer l'idée latine ont été nombreuses et convaincantes. Nous les avons mises en valeur, en suivant leur ordre chronologique. Ce qui demeure important pour nos conclusions, c'est que, dans un sens ou un autre, la confiance dans la vie, l'humanité, la puissance de la poésie adopte toujours, pour se manifester, les formes les plus diverses et les plus durables. Ce qu'Alecsandri, Mistral et ses Félibres ont construit sous le soleil doré de leurs idéaux communs ne s'effondrera jamais.

La continuation de l'héritage culturel a représenté incontestablement l'un des aspects les plus intéressants de l'époque qui suivit les dernières décennies du XIX^e siècle. La conviction que les nations issues d'un même sang, nourries des mêmes traditions culturelles et faites pour se respecter et s'entendre ne doivent avoir entre elles d'autres contestations que les luttes pacifiques et fécondes de l'esprit, a guidé le programme humaniste des successeurs de Mistral et Alecsandri.

Mais les efforts de ceux-ci ne sont situés sous une autre constellation de l'histoire socio-politique et culturelle. De là, le nombre plus réduit des manifestations « latinistes ». Pourtant, elles n'ont jamais cessé, et, en maintes occasions, on eut la preuve qu'elles demeuraient solides. Nous n'en voudrions comme preuve que les manifestations de sympathie dont le centenaire de la naissance de Mistral, en 1930, fut le prétexte.

En outre, la fidélité à l'héritage des initiateurs de l'idée latine au XIX^e siècle n'est pas abandonnée. Elle est pratiquement inépuisable comme nous l'avons déjà déclaré plus haut. La tradition est, sans cesse, « ouverte » et s'enrichira toujours.

Car, il ne faut jamais perdre de vue que l'histoire des cultures est tridimensionnelle : des racines du passé et du tronc présent poussent, comme une préfiguration logique, comme une conséquence nécessaire, la couronne et les fruits de l'avenir.

« Que la lumière éclate et que la nuit s'efface », dit le Roumain Alecsandri. « Que tout ce qui est beau reluisse, que tout ce qui est laid disparaisse », lui fait écho le Provençal Mistral.

Ces mots nous serviront de dernière conclusion, comme un hommage rendu à ceux qui, à une époque aussi dramatique que la leur, ont manifesté l'aspiration élevée à exprimer « la condition humaine ».

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**LANGUAGE AND LITERATURES
TEACHING AND LEARNING**

**BRIDGING KNOWLEDGE IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION.
MACEDONIAN-ROMANIAN CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC
INTERFERENCES AND THEIR ROLE IN TEACHING
AND LEARNING ROMANIAN IN NORTH MACEDONIA**

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Abstract

Our article deals with the interference between Macedonian and Romanian cultures and languages and its importance in teaching and learning Romanian as a second language in North Macedonia. Many aspects are discussed, such as: cultural context of second language acquisition; lexical, semantic and grammatical corpus creation for this acquisition.

Keywords: *culture, language, interference, teaching, learning*

Rezumat

În articol, supunem cercetării interferențele dintre culturile și limbile macedoniană și română, interferențe de care se cere a ține cont în predarea și învățarea românei ca limba a doua de comunicare în nordul Macedoniei. Sunt analizate o serie de probleme: contextul cultural al studierii limbii a doua, crearea corpusului lexical, semantic și gramatical, necesar studierii în cauză etc.

Cuvinte-cheie: *cultură, limbă, interferență, predare, învățare*

1. Framing Cultural Context of Second Language Acquisition. The Case of Romanian in North Macedonia

New cultural perspectives on second language acquisition have been created and the plethora of studies regarding the role of the language as a social practice or learning a language through its culture occurred in the field in the last century. Moving slowly from considering language as structured of multiple three dimensions (object, referent, word) to *ethnographies of communication* (Heyms, 1964, p. 2), philosophical and functional-cognitive approaches (Heidegger, 1982; Halliday, 2014) that linked the language to mind reflections, the theoretical frame of second language acquisition has gradually added new dimensions to the practical components of learning and teaching. Continuing an academic endeavor to delve in the field of Romanian as a second language as a cultural and linguistic construct taught to foreigners (Stanciu 2011, 2015, 2017, 2020, 2021), this article attempts to identify new possibilities for teaching Romanian as a second language in the North-Macedonian context by using a gradual strategy of discovering cul-

tural and linguistic interferences in a comparative perspective, to comment on the difficulties encountered by students while learning Romanian and to offer some didactic solutions to the problems of comprehension and language transfer (code-switching).

Both cultures (Macedonian and Romanian) belong to an unbounded space (the Balkans) with blurred and changeable borders or rather frontiers. Even at the linguistic level the variety of the terms belonging to different language families and groups puzzle the educated philologist/reader of the context. Apparently, a place with no name before the 19th century, the realm of the Balkans has become by the time a controversial space that fed the imagination (Todorova, 1997) and imaginary (Jezernik et al., 2007) of *reinvention and intervention* (Goldsworthy, 2004, p. 25) generating a plethora of academic disputes mainly focused on centrality or marginality, fragmentation and unity, cultural and linguistic convergences and divergences. Although the initial sets in studying the Balkans were mostly ethnographic (Cantemir, 1973) and later on they became quite linguistic (Sanfled, 1930; Rosetti, 1986; Friedman, 1980, 2002; Joseph, 1999), since the end of the 20th century they have switched to cross-cultural approaches including history, folklore, literature, as well as linguistic anthropology, namely the role of language in building ethnicities and expressing mentalities (Friedman, 1986, 1994, 2001, 2003a; Olteanu, 2004).

2. Setting the Terms: Preliminary Research Hypotheses, Concepts and Methods as Tools for Analysis and Interpretation

Arts, folklore, history, literature, culture have become modalities of conveying meaning through cognitive frames encoded in images, processes, words and phrases meant to mirror human realities groupable in different lexical and semantic fields depicting life scenes as *modalities to shadowing the real* (Crapanzano, 1999, 2006). Thinking of language as *cultural practice* (Duranti, 1997, p. 23), modern anthropology redefined culture as communication and reframed the focus on second language acquisition as communicative and *symbolic competence* (Heyms, 1972, 1980; Kramsch, 2006), namely *the capacity to acquire language through culture* (Duranti, 1997, p. 36). Some interesting openings might be noticed in the process of analyzing languages from discursive and pragmatic perspectives, on the one hand, by gradual reveal of the meaning, on the other hand, through deepening the interpretation by decoding *conceptual metaphors* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 18). A cultural approach to second language acquisition implies: comprehending language as an instrument of communication, tracing etyma to their languages of origins, interpreting meaning in a gradual manner (basic, secondary, abstract, pragmatic and metaphorical), assessing the role of languages in building cultural identity.

The following concepts and methods will be used within this article:

- *Fusing* (Hatim, 2006, p. 13) *contrastive analysis, discourse analysis and translations* (Johanson, 2008) meant to bridge different levels spanning

from phonetics, grammar (morphology and syntax), collocations, phraseology, word formation in order to give a continuum to interpretation and integration in the holistic system of language;

- Compatibility of *genetic relationships, convergent development* (Weinrich, 1958, pp. 378-379) and *contact induced changes by mutual reinforcement* (Lindstedt, 2014, p. 168);
- *Etymological confluences* (Poruciuc, 1988) and *lexical interferences* to justify the circulation and the evolution of the words in a comparative perspective keeping the matrix of phonetic body changes following laws and meaning deviation through mechanisms of metonymy, and metaphORIZATION;
- *Comprehension* as a deep understanding at all levels, links and structures of *language architecture* (Coșeriu, 1998);
- Relevance of *language awareness* and *motivation* in challenging the learners of L2, L3 (Stanciu, 2014, 2020).

Lexical, Semantic and Grammatical Corpus Creation and Description as Basis of Knowledge Bridging

Working in classes of Romanian language and literature as well as in two workshops of lexicography and translations allowed our teams made of teachers and students to collect cultural and linguistic samples or words-concepts consisting of lexical, semantic and grammatical information. During the last two years we succeeded to collect and insert over 30 000 headwords in two dictionaries (Macedonian-Romanian, Albanian-Romanian) with their meaning stratified in basic, secondary and metaphorical. Each entry in our dictionaries is exemplified by collocations, phrases and sentences meant to differentiate the meaning in the context and the entire lexicographic stock has resulted from this team endeavor and it has been used in the classes of Romanian language and civilization, Romanian literature and Romanian contemporary language. In this context in which languages with different origins were in 'contact situation' (Sala, 1997, pp. 43-44; Steinke, & Vraciu, 1999, pp. 36-44; Weinreich 1968, pp. 88-99), multiple fluxes and layers can be noticed in different directions spanning from bilingualism to cultural exchanges, exerting reciprocal influences and resulting in overlapping strata. Three important steps in the process were possible: co-inhabitation, bilingualism and later the assimilation either of Romanian elements in some areas (Moravia, Ukraine) or Slavic ones in others (Walachia).

In organizing the information within this article, I will be using etymological explanations as layers and interferences to separate the loanwords origins and circulation and to underline the differences of the etyma in both Macedonian and Romanian languages. A specific attention has been paid to the links between standard languages and diasporic non-standard vernaculars which reciprocally influence each other. The comparison and contrastive

analysis of three languages supposed to have been in contact over the century and affected by the main languages imposed by different empires can explain the existence and the evolution of numerous lexical items and syntactic structures identical or very similar in meaning and phonetical body.

Different modalities of bridging the target languages have been taken into consideration during the last two academic years together with a constant reflection on teaching strategies based on comprehension and self-confident use of language.

Substratum and its Reverberations in Macedonian and Romanian

Maybe the most productive field of analyses and inspiration has been represented this time by the Balkan Studies rather cultural than linguistic, which allows a stratigraphy in etymology chronologically organized as historical continuity motivated by subsequent language domination and imposing, but it also explains the inferential meaning resulted from possible confluences and motivated by transitional areas of lexical items circulation. The interest for Balkan studies comprises cultural and linguistic problems belonging to ancient substratum of Thracian and Illyrian dialects, which left some minimal traces in both Macedonian and Romanian languages. The pressure of *substratum in the Balkans, defined as* central Paleo-Balkan group that included languages existing on the Balkan Peninsula (Thracian, Dacian, Illyrian and Macedonian) all *unsettled dialects* (West, 2007, p. 157) which have been feeding contemporary ethnic and national cultural and linguistic mythologies. Thracian and its related dialects used north of Danube Getae and Dacian were probably spoken from the time of Homer to the Middle Ages. The ethnic composition of people living that time in this cross-border area has continuously changed and the existence of a pidging language which could be used over the territory is hardly tenable. In these circumstances of possible language contact and interference there is no special argument in the favor of language adoption, displacement or improvement. There were plenty of opportunities for the adoption of loan-words but how they have been moved and replaced to express new concepts, objects and techniques is again hardly demonstrable. An important theory as an elite domination was created on the basis of archaeology related to Thracian Kings' Valley in Bulgaria, fortresses in Romania but due to the scanty written sources excepting for Herodotus' narratives and some twenty words found in inscriptions, nobody was able to prove the existence of such an impressive civilization and the vanishing of a numerous population. Some Balkan relics (Kazluzhaya, 2001; Poruciuc, 2008; Alexe, 2021) have been discussed over the time as belonging to this thin layer despite of semantic divergences registered in Albanian, Macedonian and Romanian. Among them the most important seem to be Albanian *kodër*, Macedonian and Romanian *kodru*, *codru* 'forest' and Albanian + Mak. *stopan*, Romanian *stăpân* 'master, owner, landlord' which are still keeping a similar phonetical body and quite similar meaning in all three

Balkan languages. Many of those approximately 100 words belonging to substratum and interpreted like this by different scholars (Russu, 1959, 1981; Brâncuș, 2002) have remained controversial and were reinterpreted by recent scholars in a quite polarized vision (Alexe, 2021; Paliga, 2004; Ungureanu, 2016) either like originating in Latin or in the Balkan stock of words with unclear origins.

Latin and its Survivals in the Balkans

Romance (Speaking) Balkans is a second etymological track approached by two groups of researchers at a distance of less than 15 years rather from a contemporary cultural perspective than a strict linguistic one. The Romance Balkans have benefited from an International Commission on Balkan Linguistics of the International Committee of Slavists and Romanists dealing with various aspects of the Romance languages, which reunited scholars in the field of humanities from Balkan-related area (cultural studies, anthropology, history), an area animated by an effort to help the linguists move towards an interdisciplinary approach as a sine qua non in Balkan Studies. A rich collection of papers having in the collocation Romance Balkans has been published in English, French and German gathering studies in this field of cultural and linguistic interference of substratum, Latin and so-called Slavic Balkan. What is considered to belong to Balkan Romance languages, as a part of Balkan League (Friedman, 2000) from the current synchronic aspect, include (Daco-) Romanian as spoken in Romania and Moldova and south Danube Romance oases like the Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian of the Central and Western Balkans together with almost vanishing Istro-Romanian and Bayash dialects spoken by some hundreds of people in Croatia.

As a non-clearly defined linguistic space with rather open cultural and linguistic frontiers than with clear boundaries has been extended by contemporary contacts between Balkan and non-Balkan Romance languages. From the diachronic perspective the succession and interference of faiths in the space of the Balkans might explain an overview of Balkan Romance at the cross-road of cultures, languages and religions. However, the first Christianity which overlaid with what was called folk/popular Christianity, the second Orthodoxy found in interference with the Catholicism, Islam and Judaism are all present and represented in the Balkans. I considered as a good reason to explain the etymological and lexical-semantic interference in the Balkans the theory of “mutual reinforcement of change” (Lindstedt, 2000). What is known as convergence model is corroborated by the fact that the *Balkan Sprachbund* properties are most numerous in those parts of the Balkans where the greatest number of languages are co-territorial. The epicentre of Balkan etymological and lexical stock of words seems to be in the area around the southern parts of the lakes of Ohrid and Prespa, where Greek, Albanian, Macedonian and Aromanian intersect.

In the attempt of defining a context of analysis merely subjective and still questionable I will begin by establishing some limits and formulate some assumptions as main questions meant to receive by the end some possible answers.

The hypothesis and questions as well are the following:

1. How we can define Romance (Speaking) Balkans in the wider field of Balkan Studies?
2. Is there a clear line of separation between Latinity and Romance (Romance languages and cultures)?
3. Can we speak about Romance Balkans only from a linguistic point of view or it is a complex cultural construct?
4. What are the best or at least the most convenient for interpretation methods of different aspects of this *more imaginary than real space* (Todorova, 1997, p. 323)?

The grammatical structures of the languages and dialects spoken in this area were actually very perspicuously similar to each other (Mišeska Tomic, 2004). The Romance Balkans field of studies has been developing, different conferences and projects were designed and organized by research teams from the Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade. This international linguistic conference focused on the diachronic and synchronic dimensions of Romance languages in the Balkans, the historical influence of Latin and the Romance languages on other Balkan languages. Comparative linguistics, etymology, onomastics, geographical linguistics, linguistic anthropology, applied linguistics, theoretical and methodological issues came into focus while addressing various questions and phenomena linked to the presence of Romance languages and culture in the Balkans. Many were described and elucidated from different scientific standpoints. The variety of topics and approaches suggests that both Romance and Balkan studies should be broadened and adapted to meet the exigencies of ethnic studies. The beginning of the 21st century in Balkan Studies saw growing interest in the vernaculars of small ethnic groups in the Balkans like Aromanian, Istro-Romanian and Megleno-Romanian. As in modern linguistics, current research is interested in non-standard varieties, especially from the point of view of a combination of functional and typological approaches: each non-standard variety is a self-contained system. The fundamental postulate of linguists working in Balkan dialectology today is that any dialect is as good and systemically complete as any other, whether standard or non-standard. A key difference is that a standard is the object of conscious intervention, whereas a non-standard is not. There is a long and rich tradition of Balkan linguistics, but it has by and large focused on historical issues and mainly dealt with phonology and morphology. Traditionally, far less attention has been directed toward the syntax of the Balkan languages (Rivero & Ralli, 2001). The situation

can be compared to that of Slavic linguistics which has deep roots in its philological origins. While the study of linguistic systems has diverged considerably from theories of literature in recent decades, Slavic linguistics remains firmly committed to the pursuit of synchronic and diachronic knowledge that often simply cannot be captured by formalist approaches. In fact, Slavic linguists continue to engage in diachronic studies whereas many linguistics departments do not. These anthropological and socio-linguistic articles endeavour to avoid the traps of inventing new ethnic myths in the construction of small ethnic groups, or the myth of Roma “nomadism” in opposition to the myth of “territory” among sedentary peoples. The stress on the “Romance”, apart from traditional Balkan linguistic fields and a diachronic approach (etymology, onomastics, etymology points to current research in Balkan linguistics, whether mutually coordinated or not.

My interest(s) in reflecting on and researching the Balkans goes back to 2010 when I participated in a conference on the topic held at the University of Washington, Seattle, organized by the Association of Balkan Studies, settled in Ohio, the USA. The title of the conference “18th Biennial Conference on Balkan and South Slavic Linguistics, Literature, and Folklore” clearly spoke about the multitude of fields, topics and perspectives on a cultural land with not very clearly defined boundaries but rather an open space with changeable frontiers, including not only the Balkan Peninsula, but also today Romania, Ukraine, Hungary, Slovakia, conquered, controlled and dominated by different ethnic communities and state organizations like duchies, empires and kingdoms (Ancient Celts, Illyrian and Thracian, Roman, Byzantine, Bulgarian-Vlach, Cumans, Petchenegs and Tatars, Ottomans) (Curta, 2016, 2020).

Traced back to the 18th century when the first “Romanian anthropologist and ethnologist”, Dimitrie Cantemir, formulated some ideas about the Balkans, this domain of cultural studies has been fed by German Slovenian linguists (Kopitar, 1829; Schleier, 1852; Hahn, 1954; Miklosich, 1861; Meyer 1891), who discovered connections between Albanian, South Slavic languages and Romanian or underlined the role of the others, the ancient people living in the Balkans (Tomashek, 1893 about Thracian) or the Aromanians and Meglenits (Weigand, 1895).

Sanfeld’s book (1930) opened the perspective of linguistic approaches to a cultural realm, which over the centuries has intermingled folklore, history and mentalities and was mirrored in the national literatures of the new republics/states of the Balkans. There are Numerous perspectives on union *linguistique balkanique*, *Sprachbund* or *language league* (Friedman, 1986; Joseph 1999) going to details about definiteness (Mladenova, 2007; Di Sciullo, 2013; Miseska Tomic, 2009), clitic doubling (Kalluli & Tasmowski, 2008) or to linguistic morpho-syntax (Rivero & Ralli, 2001), language and cultural typolo-

gy (Coseriu, 1972; Joseph, 2002; Joseph & Friedman, 2012; Saramandru, 1986; Asenova, 2002; Dragomirescu & Geană, 2021).

Beginning mostly from the “travel literature” an entire field of Balkan anthropology either linguistic or social has sprang up since the 19th century through the writings of Martin-Leake, 1930, 1935; Ross, 1841; Curtius, 1852, which evolved and splintered into different directions like political and ethnic studies (Bjelic & Savic, 2002; Kaplan, 2005; Austin, 2017), folklore and literature (Beissinger, 1998; Muthu, 2002, 2004), ethnology and mentalities (Olteanu, 2004; Mesnil & Popova, 2007) and a plethora of linguistic studies. Todorova’s book (1997) designed new visions on the imagining and imaginary Balkans (among others Jezernik, 1998; Jezernik et al., 2007).

Rich *lexical inventory* stratified in *etymological layers* (ancient Balkan languages: Thracian and Illyrian; Balkan Latinity, Balkan Byzantium, Slavic influence, Balkan Turkic: Cumans, Pethchenegs, Tatar, Ottoman Turkish). An attempt to give a continuity to the words evolutions was marked by the integration of multiple terms labeled as Romance, Slavic or Turkic into a wider Indo-European and non-Indo-European cultural frame).

Thinking about separation as a dissection of parts from a living organism (in a continuous evolution, marked as humans by changes, struggles and worries), I would prefer using some main concepts and methods for tracing back lexical items to Balkan Latinity and interpreting them in the light of:

1. *cross-cultural frames/scenes* as modalities to evoke, link, represent and organize realities that have been defined and used in cognitive linguistic and cultural anthropology by different scholars (Hymes, 1972; Halliday, 2014 [1984]; Lave, 1988; Crapanzano, 1998, 2004; Chomsky, 2009) mostly pointing out the connections between language and mind and underlining the pragmatic, social and ethnic dimensions of languages;
2. *etymological confluences* (Poruciuc, 1998) as a modality to explain the process of cultural interferences as a result of *contact induced changes made by mutual reinforcement* (Lindstedt, 1998, 2002, 2014);
3. *analysis and comparison of discourse and metaphorical meaning* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Fairclough, 2006 [1992]) as a modality to interpret significations of the words in a continuum.

Since the 19th century some terms like Balkan and/or Danube Latinity (Fischer, 1985), Balkan Romance (Sikimic & Asic, 2008; Geană & Nevaci, 2016; Dragomirescu, 2020) and Roman-Speaking Balkans (Sorescu-Marinković et al., 2021) have been used interchangeably for defining a field of cultural and rarely linguistics studies which combine two distinctive layers: Vulgar Latin as a language connected to the Balkans surviving until the 6th century when the Slavs were supposed to plundering into the peninsula divided Latinity and separated the common or Proto-Romanian (a language including south Danube dialects) into Daco-Romanian spoken north

of Danube and Romanian south dialects (Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian) which survived as oases of Latinity in the Balkan and Istria Peninsula. Romance languages seen as springs-off of Latin interactionally and in a symbiosis developed specific lexis, etymologies and morpho-syntactic patterns. Being quite difficult to establish the fluxes of loans and the languages through/via which the words were borrowed, I would prefer to use the concept of linguistic relicts/vestigial elements to denominate the lexical units (headwords) found among languages and circulating across the dialects and languages of the Balkans. The main methods used for analysing are comparative and dissociative, because numerous terms labelled by the time as Slavic are properly Indo-European roots preserved in the Illyrian-Thracian substratum before they were borrowed in Romanian and Slavic languages. To separate such words first roots belonging to the layer of Slavic inherited vocabulary were eliminated from the inventory, whose relicts can be found in anthroponomy and toponymy as well. Some terms with Latin origins arrived in Romanian as a result of assimilation by both ethnic groups in the period of co-inhabitation. Moreover, for a lot of terms, the etymological history implies analysing the role of layers and steps before entering the Romanian language or their evolution on the Romanian terrain because Old Slavic terms can have Greek, Iranian and Latin origins and sometimes the Old Slavic and later Old Slavonic served as carriers of Byzantine (Greek) or Turkic words (Evseev, 2009, p. 24; Stanciu, 2015, pp. 5-9; Stanciu, 2021) into Romanian and belonging to what is generally named 'Slavic elements with Balkan character' (Capidan, 1943, pp. 230-231; Graur, 1954, pp. 42-47; Pătruț, 1971, pp. 241-246). Additionally, the existence of some terms with Slavic origins common for Hungarian, Slovak, Slovene and Ukrainian opened the hypothesis of long-term cultural contacts in the Carpathian Mountains and Pannonia plain (Bogdan, 1894, p. 36; Miklosich, 1861, p. 24). Different words and roots followed a complicated way being Slavic loans in Romanian through a Hungarian intermediary. The inexistence of a written Greek and Latin culture until the 15th century gave to oral and folklore literature a special value and generated the polarized opinions in exaggerating the number of Slavic terms in Romanian (Evseev, 2009) or connecting and re-evaluating them in relations with their Indo-European roots, which led to sorting the South Slavic words as a part of Balkan linguistic union.

Etymologies and Lexis: Identical Meaning and Phonetical Body, Semantic Convergences and Divergences

Commencing writing a Macedonian-Romanian dictionary together with some scholars and students from the Faculty of Philology "Blaze Koneski" in Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje, I have paid attention to two main dimensions of language adaptation/internationalization (common terms and terminologies borrowed in the last three decades of independence

and separation from Former Yugoslavia) and standardization (defining the norms of Macedonian contemporary and literary language) as well but within this presentation I will be paying attention to some ancient words discovered in my recent reads and translations, considered to belong to Balkan Latinity and being shared by Macedonian and Romanian language.

As a basis of comparison, I chose Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian etymological dictionaries and other papers related to the dialects written and published in both countries (Capidan, 1941; Papahagi, 1974; *Dicționarul Limbii Române*, vol. I-XIX, 2010; DEX, 2016; Atanasov, 1978; Ilievski, 1988; Naster, 1988; Stankova, 2009; Ugrinova-Skalovska, 2010; Bastova, 1993; Aleksoska-Chatroska, 2005; Atanasov, 2012; Atanasov, 2022). Thinking of a continuum between North-Danube dialect generally called Daco-Romanian and the South Danube Romance enclaves like North Greece and Macedonian Aromanians and Meglens, as well as other oases of Latinity in Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia some scholars (Rosetti, 1986; Friedman, 1986, 1996, 2000, 2001, 2003a, 2003b, 2007, 2010) formulated the hypothesis of a linguistic league/union which implies a common stock of words and morpho-syntactic patterns to be found in all Balkan languages either Indo-European (Albanian, Greek, Romance and Slavic or non-Indo-European (Turkic). Some recent articles (Joseph, 1998; Friedman, 2002) and books (Joseph & Friedman, 2012; Alexe, 2015, 2021) brought into sight new notes on the lexis circulation and morpho-syntax of Balkan typology that might be shared by all the languages in the peninsula.

On the other hand, we have not to forget that Latin terms have remained the main tool of lexis internationalization and some fields of science like medicine but also agriculture, war (military) household, religion have spread around numerous other language families like German, English, Romance and others.

These resemblances can be noticed in the numerous vocabulary items shared with Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Macedonian, Serbian and Turkish, and morpho-syntactic features common to the 'linguistic Balkan community' (Sandfeld, 1930, p. 36; Russu, 1981, pp. 79-102; Friedman, 2000) mostly understood as 'a convergence area' (Joseph, 1999, pp. 220-221). The differences are obvious in its unique heterogeneity lacking fixed contours and demonstrating a previous usage of a Latin idiom prevailing over the Slavic one and superposing various strata.

In the process of writing a Macedonian-Romanian Dictionary as well as in the teaching activities, I have involved students, the majority of which were with some main cultural and linguistic background (Albanian, Aromanian, Greek, Macedonian, Serbian) in projects focused on lexicography, translations and Balkan studies (anthropology, mentalities) seen as modalities to assess knowledge and to receive feedback from the learners of Romanian language in North Macedonia.

Registering in the dictionaries up to 10 000 headwords so far with gradually stratified meaning (basic, secondary, metaphorically deviated) and differencing contexts marked by phrases and sentences numbered by 1, 2, 3 organized from core/center to significant margins (conceptual metaphors): Two examples of sense degradation Mk. *азно* 'treasure' > Rom. *hazna* 'cesspit, dung hole' while the primordial meaning moved to the background of language and became less used. An interesting case of meaning evolution in symbiosis is a derivate of a Latin root *lenis* 'laziness' and the collective and place suffix *-iște* that generated a sublime word in Romanian *liniște* 'quietness'.

Old Lexical Items in The New Linguistic Garments or Blurred Etymologies for the Words from Substratum

Albanian served as a basis of comparison for Romanian substrate elements belonging to so called Thracian-Illyrian stock of words. However, Albanian and Romanian comparable vocabulary items have been connected to two different etymological strata like those of Balkan relics or Latin etyma that survived in the three languages (Albanian, Aromanian and Meglen Macedonian, Romanian) supposed to be in long term contacts in ancient times and in the period of Roman Empire domination.

A few words supposed to belong to substratum have been analyzed and interpreted as survived in Albanian, Macedonian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Dacian-Romanian (Brâncuș, 2002, pp. 22-39; Candrea, 1932; Capidan, 1923, pp. 444-554; Giuglea, 1922, p. 346; Mihăescu, 1960, pp. 279-290; Niculescu, 2007, pp. 32-37; Polák, 1958, pp. 693-699; Rosetti, 1947, pp. 342-356; Rohr, 1999, Rohr, 2002; Russu, 1959, pp. 49-83; Ungureanu, 2016, pp. 15-22; Alexe, 2021). They are considered to be relics or vestigial elements circulating in both contemporary languages: Alb. *avull* – Mk.Ar. Mg. *ăbur*-Rom. *abur* (Atanasov, 1978, p. 23) 'steam' is in fact an Indo-European term having cognates in Sanskrit *abhrá*, Avestan *awra*, Middle Persian *abr* 'cloud', Pashto *abrah* and Balochi *hawr* 'rain', Ossetian *ha-abrá* 'sky' and even Latin and English 'aura'. An interesting case of common etymology, divergent semantics and meaningful symbolism is represented by the pair Mac. *кóниле* (-ња), bastard' (Popovski & Atanasov, 2007, p. 295) and Rom. *cópil*₁ 'maze runner/tiller, unwanted plant' and *cópil*₂ 'child, infant, descendant, offspring'. Connected to etyma from different languages like Albanian, Greek, Hungarian, Old Russian, South Slavic or even Thracian these terms display a variety of meanings spanning from concrete like *steam* or *bastard*, 'child, tiller' to metaphorical such as *aura*, *tramp*, *vagabond*, *vagrant*. Although explicable at the metaphorical or even mythological level such a difference in meaning places the words among the Balkan linguistic vestigial elements claimed by the artisans of modern national but in fact Indo-European languages. Among other linguistic relics of the Balkans (Kaluzhkaja, 2001, p. 239) with unclear etymology we can mention a term like Mac. *смонан*, Rom. *stăpân*,

Arom. Mgl. *stăpân* (Poposki & Atanasov, 2007, p. 710) ‘boss, master, (land)owner/lord, proprietor’, which has developed as other ancient words some derivatives adjectives, nouns (Mac. *стопанство* ‘national economy’) and verbs (Rom. *a stăpâni* ‘to dominate, to master, to own’ and a variety of meanings in collocations, expressing domination, ownership, self-confidence (*stăpâne, stăpâne/Mai cheamă și-un câine; stăpânul inelelor, săpân pe sine*)).

Other terms supposed to belong to pre-Latin stock that was absorbed in Romanian and South Slavic languages as well as in Aromanian and Meglen dialects spoken in Macedonia are those related to poverty: Rom. *sărac* ‘poor’ was supposed to originate in Old Slavonic *sirŭ* ‘abandoned’ with cognates in Bg. Mac. Srb *sirak* ‘orphan’. The second pair Rom. *sărman* – Mk. *сиромашен* ‘misfortunate, poor’ < Gr. *heiromahos* ‘hand/palm worker’ cannot be connected neither in phonetics nor in meaning and derivative mechanism (Vinerianu, 2009, p. 773). Labeled as with Albanian, Greek or Old Slavic origins such terms remain among the Balkan words with *unclear origins* (Alexe, 2021 [2015], pp. 142-143), blurred meaning, but fruitful polysemy and symbolism. The same is valid for entire lexical fields like: adjectives about animals (Alb. *shterp*, Rom. *sterp* ‘barren, dry, sterile’), cattle breeding (Alb. *turmë*, Rom. *turmă* ‘herd’), name of the birds (Alb. *shtërç*, Rom. *stârç* ‘heron’), parents, marriage and wedding terminology either nouns or verbs (Alb. *krushk*, Rom. *cuscru* ‘parents in law’, Alb. *nunë*, Rom. *nună* ‘God mother’; Alb. *martuar*, Rom. *a mărita* ‘to marry’, Alb. *tatë*, Rom. *tată*, Mac. *mamko* ‘father’), funeral places (Alb. *qimiter*, Rom. *cimitir* ‘graveyard’), banks, places of habitation, parts of the house (Alb. *katun*, Rom. *cătun* ‘hamlet, small village’; Alb. *paret*, Rom. *perete* ‘wall’), verbs (Alb. *shtupaj*, Rom. *a astupa* ‘to cover’; Alb. *mërmërij*, Rom. *a murmura* ‘to whisper’; Alb. *shkëmbej*, Rom. *a schimba* ‘to change, to exchange’; Alb. *strigë*, Rom. *a striga* ‘to call, to shout’, Alb. *shtrengoj*, Rom. *a strânge* ‘to collect, to gather, to harvest, to tighten’; Alb. *tradhti*, Rom. *a trăda* ‘to betray’).

Latin and its Survivals in the Balkans

A quite unclear distinction is attested between Balkan Latinity represented by some lexical units believed to survive by oral channels of communication and Balkan Romance Speaking (Sikimic, 2008; Geană & Nevaci 2016; Sorescu- Marinković et al., 2020). The last one remains rather a cultural construct than a linguistic one. Scholars of different backgrounds and origins (Pascu, 1923; Koneski, 1965; Nastev, 1968) have listed over the time only some concepts words found across languages often used and with a fruitful symbolism. I decided to analyze and interpret those words of mixed and unclear origins that remained important due to their rich and inferential symbolism.

Celebrations and their rituals are among the ancient words-concept whose meanings roots stay between languages: The Romanian noun *colind-*

Macedonian *koleda* 'carol' have a diminutive term in Rom. *colindeț* and Bg. *колндец* denominating a bun or a round shaped loaf given to the carol singers and a correspondent verb Rom. *a colinda*, Bg. *koleduvam*, Srb *kole(n)dovati*, Slo. *koledovati* 'going from house to house to perform good wishes songs accompanied by ritualistic gestures like tilling a furrow in the yard, throwing seed, making noise and touching cattle and people by a magic stick' enriched the metaphorical meaning of the word relating it to agricultural and sun celebrations performed this time. The terms were related to two different roots like Latin and Greek *kalende - calendae* and South Slavic *kolo* 'round shape, wheel' as a shape of the sun and further it can be followed to a folklore interpretation expressing cult of sun and sacred trees (Caraman, 1930, p. 39; Caraman, 1983; Liaku-Anovska, 2019, pp. 319-320). As a term with puzzling etymological explanations Rom. *Crăciun* might be found in similar phonetical forms and the same meanings in different languages like Hungarian, Aromanian in Macedonia (Schütz, 1966, p. 34; Nastev, 1988, p. 67), Old Russian *Карацун* as reminiscent from Turkic languages all revealing ancient cults of sun, fire and trees and symbolically depicting a cycle of celebrations and practices related to the cosmic year renewal and winter solstice.

Some linguistic relics of Latin origin can be found in Macedonian and Romanian in identic or similar forms and meaning: Mac. *кандила* - Rom. *candelă* < Lat. *candelum*; Mac. *олтар* - Rom. *altar* < Lat. *alter*; Mac. *поган* - Rom. *păgân* < Lat. *paganus* 'pagan'.

The next one preserved in South Romania and some Slavic cultures such as Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian and Ukrainian displays an ethnographic reality, hidden in a custom with different names *Kaloushari* and *Rousalka*, a complex ritual of healing having the same scenario, personages and functions in all above-mentioned cultures. If in South-Central Bulgaria and Romania the dance is known as *Kaloushari*, in Macedonia and Northern Bulgaria the name is *Rousalki* dance (Benovska-Ѕьбкова, 1991, pp. 9-10; Capidan, 1923, pp. 190-191; Ghinoiu, 2013, p. 198; Pamfile, 1997b, pp. 45-55; Vojtovich, 2002, p. 447). The custom and the dance are performed in the Whitsun week and all functions, scenario and personages are alike to the Slavic nations' folklore. Its roots originating in ancient times allude, on the one hand, an initiator process, mentioning the cult of the death, of the horse, of the sun, and, on the other hand, resonate a medieval model of brotherhood by the secret ties among the members of the group, together with beliefs in fairies, divinatory and magic practices as using herbs and water for cleaning and curing (Bârlea, 1983, p. 64; Fochi, 1976, p. 50; Ghinoiu, 2002, p. 339; Ispas, 2003, pp. 148-151; Marinov, 1891, p. 166; Vasileva, 2002, pp. 169-172; Vinogradova, 1995, pp. 494-495; Vulcănescu, 1987, p. 380). Ethnographic data confirm the preservation of practices in Balkan area and the continuation of personages' image in Eastern Slavic area. In Bulgaria and South Macedonia groups of

men were going from house to house or in the fields bless the plants and cure the people. Where there was a sick person, they named the 'house of Rousalki' signifying that members of a family were affected by fairies and put the swords over the head of ill person believing that like this they will cure him/her by performing magical dances named *horo* around the tortured person. The participants in these spiritual journeys performed in this sacred period followed the rules strictly, first they did not make a cross before the meals and in the night, they did not greet each other or with the villagers. They kept silence while passed from one house to another and spent the night in the same place. When they performed the dance, they did not allow anybody to enter the circle. Only the sick person could enter and exit the circle. When they get closer to the next village, they sent a person to check if another group of people roam in the place. It was not desired to encounter another group of performers. Groups of dancers went during the week from one village to another in Northern Bulgaria, Southern Romania and Serbia. The group was always formed by an odd number of members. Their attire is made up of caps and flowers wreaths, shoes, white shirts and pants, on the girdle they wear bells, and a long stick called *tojag* used for touching people and dancing with it in a circular movement around the ill person.

It has been stated by some Aromanian and Macedonian Scholars that the Vlachs in the Balkans were not very good at agriculture and the mountain relief rather favored cattle breeding than agriculture. This might become an explanation of the not so numerous presences of Latin terms regarding agriculture in Macedonian. Otherwise, the Indo-European ones (Dersken, 2009) are well represented in Romanian and all Romance languages, including Macedonian. The unique Latin term in this field supposed to be borrowed by both languages through Old Church Slavonic was preserved in an identic phonetical form *paio* 'beat axe,' in Macedonian and in altered but similar versions Mac. *paууа* – Rom. *rariță* 'butting (small) plough' in Romanian and regional Macedonian (Derkesen, 2009, pp. 302-303; Tomici, 1986, p. 847; Poruciuc, 2016, pp. 159-180). From an anthropological ethnographic point of view, it is believed that Aromanians were good cattle breeders and merchants as well (Capidan, 1945) and they travelled with their flocks and goods within the Balkans without borders. Two words reminiscent in both languages might witness the ancient features of this mountain and rural profession: Mk. *бубол* – Rom. *bivol* < Lat. *buballus* represent the ancestor of contemporary Rom. *bou* 'bull', was depicted in folk songs of both cultures. Significantly, in legends of Moldavia the animal appears on the flag and the coats of arms, shields as a mythical aurochs involved in hunting scenarios of state foundation. From the civilization of shepherds surprisingly both languages preserved the same term: *ypдa* - Rom. *urdă* 'cottage cheese' with ob-

scure etymology and only in Romanian survived the Latin one *brânză* 'cheese' also found in Eastern Slavic languages like Russian and Ukrainian as a relic.

Housing as a cultural dimension of existence has revealed over centuries various concepts related to building and masonry, the role of fire in creating the atmosphere of family and home or generated myths of long-lasting shelters or fortresses that required a sacrifice to resist in time: Mac. *шкюдла*, Rom. *scândură* and Mac. *шунпа* < Lat. *scindula* 'board, tile of wood' underline the role of wood in building tradition and the distribution of the terms from this semantic field in two main stylistic registers: Rom. *scândură* is the general and neutral word in the standard languages, while Rom. *șindrilă* is the colloquial and popular one.

Slavic or Indo-European?

Having been integrated in the frame of Romanian ethnogenesis, the Slavic influence was seen simultaneously as a factor of separation and unification. On the one hand, the Romanian language by the Slavic settlements in the Balkans was isolated from Eastern Romanic area and it is perceived as a 'Latin oasis in a Slavic Sea' (Tapon, 2010, p. 453), continuing a language imposed by the process of Romanization and having multiple peculiarities resulting from the cultural, geographical and linguistic context. On the other hand, it seems that the Slavic influence gave Romanian language a sense of continuity because it added to the autochthonous substratum (Dacian-Getae-Illyrian and Thracian) and the Latin one a significant stock of lexis, integrating it into the Balkan context and favouring the links between north and south of Danube, where the contacts among ethnic groups were never interrupted (Brâncuș, 2002, p. 11; Kopitar, 1829, pp. 64-65; Papahagi, 1923, pp. 93-94). In the last two decades, the hypothesis of continuity was interpreted as a reaction of the Romanian historians to counterposing arguments to Hungarian and Soviet mainly political ideologies of discontinuity, conquests and migrations.

In fact, ancient words belonging to Indo-European and non-Indo-European stock have evolved at the confluences of cultures and languages and significantly changed their meaning throughout their evolution. Therefore, those more than 10000 words labelled like Slavic in Romanian or those denominating the same concepts across the cultures, but remaining with controversial and unknown etymologies can be grouped as confluent results from Indo-European or Turkic dialects. The attempts to stratify the substratum as Balkan with different origins either Thracian-Dacian, Old Celtic or Latin denote a conceptual inconsequence as autochthonous means either one of them reunited under pre-Roman (Poruciuc, 2011, 2016) and some research led to various extends spanning from some words of possible Old Germanic

origins (Poruciuc, 1992, 1999, 2000, 2005, 2008, 2011, 2016) to voluminous dictionaries of Dacian or Thracian languages (Paliga, 2009, 2020; Rohr, 1999, 2002).

Some examples analyzed below bring some insights into the field and suggest an etymological stratigraphy explained in connection with empire evolution and population settlements in the cultural territory. As it has been already demonstrated by different scholars at different times (Šafarik, 1890; Bezljaj et al., 1976) Slavic does not have neither from an ethnic standpoint nor from a linguistic one, a unity across the cultures, but rather at least three branches with a broad range of alike lexical items, but maybe in the same measure of different ones. On the one hand, the layers of Slavic have been rarely and randomly analysed in a stratigraphic approach until recently and in connection with Indo-European terms as inherited lexicon (Derksen, 2008, AHDEL, 2010). On the other hand, the investigation of Slavic inherited lexicon has never considered yet the extended links to Romanian. In result, Romanian remains considerably alike to and significantly different from all Balkan and surrounding Slavic languages, a difference which generated a considerable debate over its provenance due to sharing a 'Balkan destiny' (Flora, 1968, p. 13; Rosetti, 1986, p. 74) and reconnection to Romance languages in the 19th century.

It is commonly acknowledged in many old and new works that the influence of the Slavic language is one of the most powerful among the non-Romance influences on the Romanian language although it remained 'of obscure character' (Iroaie, 1943, p. 29; Panaitescu, 1971, p. 13). The topic of many academic controversies over the years, with many unknown and highly variable interpretations, this dimension of the Romanian language and culture is still an open field for cultural research. Over time, a lot of foreign and Romanian researchers have underlined, in numerous papers, the importance of the Slavic influence on the Romanian language considering it 'the longest and strongest among non-Romance ones' (Hristea, 1982, p. 41; Poruciuc, 2010, p. 15; Pușcariu, 1940, p. 277; Rosetti, 1986, p. 293), but to assess the dimensions of this influence is difficult because there are different sources and degrees as well as different layers coming one after another in history (Giuglea, 1988, p. 139), often replacing the centres of cultural diffusion, actioning with different degree of intensity in different regions and having regional varieties.

The first period of so-called Slavic influence is still unclear due to the co-existence of three different elements like the Romanic, the Old Bulgarian (Frâncu, 1999, p. 87) and the Ruthenian ones (Bărbulescu, 1929, p. 21), bilingualism and cultural exchanges with often changeable shapes, caused by the barbarian invasions. In addition, the second period is marked by a continuous change of centre of cultural diffusion and regional assimilation of Old Church Slavonic culture and language: first Bulgarian, after the 12th century, the Serbian one in the South West of today's Romania, respectively, Russian

and Ukrainian in the Eastern one. Although numerous researchers labelled as Slavisms various terms as undoubtedly originating in Slavic (Leschber, 1999, 2010, 2012; Mihăilă, 1973, pp. 21-26; Miklosich, 1861, pp. 5-53; Rosetti, 1986, pp. 292-320; Ungureanu, 2016, pp. 28-43) by taking in consideration their belongingness to 'Slavic inherited vocabulary' (Derksen, 2008, pp. 26-27), namely Baltic (Vraciu, 1972, pp. 125-185), Latin and Lithuanian (Meillet, 1905, pp. 323-325) and other Indo-European words (Vraciu, 1965, pp. 283-298), which passed first into Proto-Slavic, later into Slavic languages and finally into Romanian make the number significantly smaller. Therefore, the presence of comparable terms in Romanian and Slavic as resulting from Indo-European roots is not relevant for Slavic linguistic heritage of Romanian, which consists mainly of two dimensions: autochthonous items shared by the two ethnic groups in the period of co-inhabitation and vestigial elements, namely terms resulting from assimilation of groups of Slavs in the Romanian territories as a result of cultural contacts. Many of the words existing in different stylistic registers like core vocabulary, popular, archaic, dialectal or regional, are either transmitted by oral channels and reflect folk knowledge exchanges or less numerous cult loans were transferred by Old Church Slavonic.

The main methods used for analysing are comparative and dissociative, because numerous terms labelled by the time as Slavic are properly Indo-European roots preserved in the Illyrian-Thracian substratum before they were borrowed in Romanian and Slavic languages. To separate such words first roots belonging to the layer of Slavic inherited vocabulary were eliminated from the inventory, whose relicts can be found in anthroponomy and toponymy as well. Some terms with Latin origins arrived in Romanian as a result of assimilation by both ethnic groups in the period of co-inhabitation. Moreover, for a lot of terms, the etymological history implies analyzing the role of layers and steps before entering the Romanian language or their evolution on the Romanian terrain because Old Slavic terms can have Greek, Iranian and Latin origins and sometimes the Old Slavic and later Old Church Slavonic served as carriers of Byzantine (Greek) or Turkic words (Evseev, 2009, p. 24; Stanciu, 2015, pp. 5-9; Stanciu, 2021) into Romanian and belonging to what is generally named 'Slavic elements with Balkan character' (Capidan, 1943, pp. 230-231; Graur, 1954, pp. 42-47; Pătruț, 1971, pp. 241-246). Additionally, the existence of some terms with Slavic origins common for Hungarian, Slovak, Slovene and Ukrainian opened the hypothesis of long-term cultural contacts in the Carpathian Mountains and Pannonia plain (Bogdan, 1894, p. 36; Miklosich, 1861, p. 24; Olteanu, 1958, p. 22). Travelling through different Indo-European language groups, numerous words have acquired secondary and metaphorical meaning becoming 'trichotomical' (Paliga, 2012, p. 347).

Different words and roots followed a complicated way being Slavic loans in Romanian through a Hungarian intermediary (Densușianu, 1999, pp. 241-242; Șăineanu, 1900, pp. 33-34; Ivanov & Toporov, 1974, pp. 164-167). The inexistence of a written Greek and Latin culture until the 15th century gave to oral and folklore literature a special value and generated the polarized opinions in exaggerating the number of Slavic terms in Romanian (Evseev, 2009) or connecting and re-evaluating them in relations with their Indo-European roots, which led to sorting the South Slavic words as a part of Balkan linguistic union.

Taking distance from excessive underlying of Latinity formulated by the members of the Transylvanian School, passing through a process of foundation of theoretical principles, in the last two centuries, the etymology of Romanian has evolved in three different directions, the natural maturation based on the development of comparative and structural linguistics (Candrea & Densușianu, 1914; Cihac, 1870, 1878, 1900; Hasdeu, 1983; Coteanu & Sala, 1987, Șăineanu, 1900), a stratification based on separating different layers and influences (Bogdan, 1905; Drăganu, 1933; Mihăilă, 1960, 1962, 1967, 1971, 1973, 1974, 1996; Paliga, 1987, 1991, 1993, 2006; Ungureanu, 2016, pp. 9-28; Ungureanu, 2019; Vraciu, 1980, pp. 24-32), a perspective to diversification by considering complementary approaches, such as anthropological, cross-cultural and multi-linguistic confluences (Kahl, 2011, 2015; Poruciuc, 1998, 2010, 2015, 2016). Therefore, instead of thinking of only one language source of what are generally called Romanian Slavic terms I preferred accepting multiple etymologies, tracing etymological paths and following the evolution of the words from the earlier occurrences to the current stages of meaning development by designing what has been named 'etymological charts' (Nourai, 2010, p. 12).

"The geography of Slavic loans in Romanian language" (Mihăilă, 1963, p. 27) has had centers of influence and edges creating overlaps and delimitating ethnographic and linguistic borders. There are three different situations in today Romanian provinces: on the one hand, Moldavia experienced the early influence of Proto-Bulgarian, on the other hand, of Kievan Russian and Ukrainian (Vernardskij, 1976, pp. 42-43; Vascenco, 1959, p. 329), Walachia was massively influenced especially by Proto-Bulgarian and later on by Macedonian, Montenegrin and Serbian, while priests found a shelter in the monasteries and developed the printing of first religious books, in Transylvania Latin was used in the Catholic Church, while Old Slavonic was the language of personal correspondence and deeds.

Due to the space limitations, I will analyze only some words that were not registered in Derksen's dictionary and have become the reason of my personal reflection on Indo-European roots and their semantic evolution. This is rather a continuation of my article (Stanciu, 2021) about the toponym

Volna in which I exposed the method of retracing etymologies to the ancient languages and following their circulation around classical as well as their echoes or reverberations in modern languages.

Romanian etymological dictionaries (Ciorănescu, 2002; DLRM; DEX; MDA) have recorded as of Slavic origins numerous words connecting their etymologies only to one idiom like Bulgarian, Serbian or Russian. This link induces the idea of a direct borrowing without considering the multiple etymological layers, which better explain the evolution in meaning. Therefore, more than 4000 words with uncertain (Vinereanu, 2009) or unknown etymologies and more than 10000 words with 'obscure or unsatisfactory etymological explanations' (Paliga, 1991, p. 101) may be considered, while some articles and dictionaries of Slavic languages (especially Bulgarian and Serbian) started considering the Romanian terms in relation with their etymologies. Almost nobody has taken the wider path of etymology research following the first records of the term in a language, its evolution and meaning development in the languages it was borrowed from, eventually its geographical, metaphorical and style distribution. Reckoned as widely spread within archaic, colloquial and popular registers of Romanian the words of Slavic origins belong in fact to a shared heritage and have circulated from ancient to modern languages changing their meaning either by extensions, metaphorization or limitation. An example in this regard is a word recorded in all Romanian dictionaries with either Albanian *mlaš* (Philippide, 2010, p. 724), Ruthenian (Ciorănescu, 2002, p. 516) or Old Slavic, Bulgarian and Serbian origins (*mlaka*, Scriban, 1939, p. 822) and regional distribution: Rom. *mlacă* 'swamp, marsh, slough, muddy pool, warm spring' (DEX, p. 662; DLRM, p. 508), which has quite recently been reintegrated into a stratigraphic meaning analysis and reconnected to Greek μέλιου 'source, nymphs, playful, spring' (Beekes, 2010, p. 926). Suspected of having connections with Balto-Slavic words (Russ. *moloko* 'milk', Lit. *malkas* 'draught') the term of apparently unclear meaning was related to Gothic *milhma* 'cloud' (Snoj, 2002), Latin sources and is to be found in Romanian, Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian (Bezljaj et al., 1976), with very similar conceptual meaning interwoven at metaphorical level. What unifies the semantic matrix of the word may be found in my opinion in the different aggregation states of the water (clouds, marsh, spring), which sometimes may receive a foamy white color similar to the one of milk. As a term denominating primordial elements, it was supposed to have moved from a concrete to an abstract meaning. At least in idioms and phrases the symbolism of colors was related in the case of other words from the lexical family like Rom. *baltă* 'pool, puddle, splash, fish pond' < Alb. *baltë*, Sl. *blato* (DEX, p. 87) of possible Illyrian origins (Giuglea, 1988, p. 42), actually Indo-European (Derksen, 2008, p. 64), *mlaştină* 'marsh, swamp, slough', *mocirlă* < Bg. *močilo* (DEX, p. 664), *smârc* 'muddy

pool') or other term for mud like *mâzgå* 'slime' < Sl. *mězga*, Bg. *măzga* (DEX, p. 635), *noroi* 'mud, mire, ooze, slash, dirt, filth' < Bg. *naroj* (DEX, p. 721) or even *cocină* 'pigsty' < Bg. *kočina* (DEX, p. 201) which have received in collocations, idioms and phrases either positive (*a prinde mâzgå*, lit. 'to catch some slime', metaphorically 'to become rich/wealth' (Scriban, 1939, p. 822) or negative and pejorative *a trăi (ca) în cocină, mocirlă, mlaștină, noroi* 'to live an immoral, low, miserable, unworthy life'. Belonging to Balkan and South Slavic linguistic area and not being found in Eastern and Western Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Polish, Slovak) I suppose that all these terms actually have Indo-European etymologies and due to their ancestry have received different concrete and metaphorical meanings.

It is of a common knowledge that body parts and existential objects around house, greetings and tools have very different lexical and semantic representations and there is an alike and a very different way of evolution, divergences and complementarity among the term belonging to the same lexical family or synonymic series. A rich group of lexical items are comprised in this field and denote either a semantic congruence or a straight divergence in meaning evolution. Apparently very different as evolving from various Indo-European roots, the body parts display a common zone of meaning and a similar stylistic distribution in the dialectal and spoken registers of Romanian and Slavic languages. Although the majority of the items are significantly different (*mână* - *ruka* 'hand, arm, palm', *picior* - *nog* 'leg', *cap* - *golova* 'head', *inimă* - *serce* 'heart', *creier* - *mosg* 'brain', *plămân* - *lehk* 'lung'), there are some common words reflecting sometimes synonymy or semantic divergences. Among them *copită* - *kopyta* 'claw, hoof' was original to this cognate set and that meanings such as Slav **noga* 'foot, leg' developed, via several transitional steps, from 'claw, hoof'. However, Romanian and Slavic languages have a specific term for 'hoof', *kopyto* (**koph₂ uto-*) with Baltic, Indo-Iranian and Germanic cognates, which prevents us from positing simply 'nail' > 'hoof' > 'leg'. On the other hand, a simple derivation leg' > 'foot' (or 'leg/foot') > 'finger/toe' > 'nail' does not work either because PIE **ped* - 'foot' is a standalone concept attested in all the key branches, including Anatolian and Romanian. It is not derived from 'leg' and does not spawn forms with meaning 'finger/toe' or 'nail'. One possible explanation is that PIE **ped* - 'leg' referred exclusively to 'sole of foot' as a body part doing the stepping. 'Foot' as a 'collective of toes and toenails' may have been lexicalized differently, grouped with 'ankle' and 'calf' and labelled by a form similar to **dHmog^{wh}-*/**dHnog^{wh}-*/**dHlog^{wh}*. In this case, Romanian *picior* 'leg' marked a Romanic evolution of Proto-Indo-European reconstructed root **ped-*: Latin *petioles* > Rom. *picior* (de casă, de munte) 'leg', (abutement, bottom/foot of the mountain) and *pețiol* 'petiole, leaf stalk', Fr. *pied* 'leg', Eng. *pedestrian* while Romanian and Slavic *copită*, *kopyta* 'claw, hoof' and *gleznă*, 'ankle'

marked a different process of assimilation, a stylistic distribution (popular/standard) and may represent a semantic archaism.

Maybe a Latin relict in Romanian and Slavic languages or the result of Indo-European root evolution the pair Rom. *coastă* 'rib' - Slavic *kôstь* 'bone' (Derksen, 2008, p. 239) reflects a sort of meaning extension or restraint. Although the Latin term remained otherwise isolated in Romance area nobody has considered its influence as important as it may be in a different view of terms inherited within Balkan context. The second hypothesis of Indo-European roots evolution marked by the loss of initial prefix is also feasible for the meaning restraint. Limited to colloquial spoken or sometimes called popular style in Romanian *icra* (piciorului) or widely spread in neutral Russian language - *ikra* (noga) 'ankle' display a different distribution within language usage registers, which apply to some other categories of words like nouns, verb interjections, which created etymological doublets, triplets or quadruplets from terms of different origins, mainly Indo-European or Turkic (*timp - vreme* 'time', *port - liman* 'harbour', *poftim - na!* 'Here you go').

Two main words with regional distribution reflecting a specific geography of Slavic loan in Romanian designate the groom men: first is *staroste*, the second one is *vornicel* both denominated initially medieval boyar ranks either as chiefs of regions, fortress being in charge with administrative, judge and military attribution, leading craftsmanship or merchants' associations or being mayor (MDA, 4, p. 589; MDA, 4, p. 1309). Both terms have pan-Slavic origins with etymons in Old Slavonic. First word *starosta* (OS *starosta*, Ukr. *starosta* 'the oldest and best groom's adviser') has roots in Indo-European *stāros* (Pokorny, 2007, pp. 1004-1008) and passed into Proto-Slavic as *star*' (Brückner, 1985, p. 515; Vasmer, 1987, p. 747); the second one originating in Old Slavic *дворьинкѣ* 'administrator of the castle' (Starchevskij, 1899, p. 162), 'civil servant, who takes care of court and all its belongings, responsible for fairs and trade organization' (STSRJ, 1, p. 311) and it has correspondents in Romanian and all modern Slavic languages: Bg. *дворник* 'witness of marriage', Srb. and Ukr. *dvornik* 'courtier' (Skok, 1973, pp. 465-467; Rudnicky, 1982, p. 17), Pol. *dworzanin* (Brückner, 1985, p. 105), *dvorjanin* 'the chief of the servants' (Vasmer, 1986, p. 489).

The meaning in Romanian and Macedonian is closer to the Bulgarian one as the character plays a key role in different moments of marital ceremonial spanning from wooing where he acts as a matchmaker to post-nuptial activities. As the groom's representative, he analyses the prospective bride, performs prenuptial songs in front of her parents, invites villagers to the coronation and feast, leads the suit to the church, brings the ritual bread in the feast meal, announces and collects the gifts. Chosen by the groom among close friends, he wears a distinctive sign of their ranks, a flag made up of a stick which has tied on the top a scarf sewed by groom's maids.

The central character of the wedding ritual *nevesta* 'bride, wife' allows interesting meaning extensions and philosophical speculations. The term designates the social status of a woman in the prenuptial stages like being engaged to the married one, either wife or daughter-in-law. The word originating in Old Slavic *неѡста* 'virgin or widow engaged, daughter-in-law/*неѡстка* 'son's or brother's wife' (STSRJ, 2, p. 429; Starchevskij, 1899, p. 447) and has analogous variants in Southern Romanian dialects (Ar. *neveastă*, Mgl. *niveastă*).

Generally accepted as a word with Slavic origins (Anikin et al., 2001, p. 33; Anikin et al., 2001, p. 143; Miklosich, 1861, p. 32; Cihac, 1900, p. 216; Uzenjova, 2010, pp. 62-66), it occurs in almost all Slavic languages in comparable forms: Bg. *невеста/невяста* 'bride, daughter-in-law, young wife' (Georgiev et al., 1995, pp. 587-589), Srb. *nevesta/nevjesta* 'bride, young and faithful wife, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law' (Skok, 1973, p. 515), Pol. *niewiasta* (Brückner, 1985, p. 362), Russ: *nevesta*, Ukr. *nevista* (Rudnickiy, 1982, p. 855). While covering in Slavic languages the meanings 'young woman, bride' in Romanian the word expresses all meanings from bride to married woman and alongside with the highly quoted *soție* 'spouse', *nevastă* 'wife' remains the colloquial, but very affective and popular correspondent. Moreover, North of Danube some other significations were added to the word following the allegoric patterns in Slavic: the female friend of bride who helps with administrative works during the wedding, a folk dance and the melody used together (MDA, 3, p. 743) and the euphemistic term *nevăstuiică* < Bg. *nevestulka* 'common/beechnut, weasel'.

Following the term in relation to other Slavic cultures and languages, a German lexicographer (Vasmer, 1987, 3, p. 55) enriched word's semantic and metaphorical matrix by adding to etymology the Old Church Slavonic variant *неѡста*, Slo *nevesta*, and relating the term with the primordial ancient meaning *неизѡстна* as derived with the prefix *ne-* from the verb *ѡдѡмѡ* 'to know' and generating a new meaning: 'the unknown' (Gimbutas, 1971, p. 139; Uzenjova, 2010, p. 75). Staying in the middle of some Slavic verbs denoting a kind of specific knowledge and understanding like perceiving deeper the things. This approach opens the possibility to interpret the word in a philosophical manner starting from its initial and taboo imagery, which refers to protecting the young girl who passes to a new condition and an alien space for her against the bad spirits. This interpretation is supported by a ritualistic gesture encountered in Romanian and Slavic marriage scenario, namely covering the bride at the end of the feast as marking the passing to the new status of wife. Some other meaning derived from Slavic languages may be related to some verbs like Lit. *vdati* or Russ. *ѡйти за муж* 'following the husband, get married (applying to a maid) 'or even to the ceremony of coronation (Mac. *венча/се венча* - Rom. *сунуѡ/а (se) сунуна* 'to wear a

crown in the day of the wedding', 'to get religiously married', probably related somehow to the Alb. *nun* - Mac. reg. *нун*, Rom. *nun* 'God father in the day of the wedding').

Some other etymological incursions have been started following other two etymological tracks like Greek and Turkic/Turkish that have influenced both Romanian and Macedonian languages in ancient times, Middle Ages or even in the contemporary process of language standardization and semantic development (Stanciu, 2020).

Grammar and Semantics in the Balkan Sprachbund

Not only etymological, lexical similarities can be noticed as common features of the Balkan Linguistic League (Friedman, 2000) but also some relevant grammatical and semantical patterns like those that have been noticed and enumerated over the time as *explicit analytism of argument marking* (Linstedt, 2014, p. 169): enclitic articles, object reduplication, prepositions instead of cases, recipient/possession merger, goal/location merger, finite complementation, analytic future made of verb *volo* 'want', the past future used as conditional, *habeo* perfect tense (a form of past in the future working together with subjunctive, analytic comparison of adjectives.

The Balkan clitic doubling patterns have raised important issues that have challenged even the most basic assumptions about the phenomenon of clitic doubling. However, in spite of the substantial body of literature and important new empirical evidence, there exists to date no study that details the distinguishing peculiarities of this prevailing Balkan Sprachbund phenomenon across Albanian, Macedonian and Romanian languages, which would naturally lead to a better understanding of it. Despite of similar functional-cognitive inventories of clitics some nuances differentiate our target languages in this complex field: in Macedonian the clitic doubling is correlated with the deictic value of definite article, while in Romanian there are a lot of semantic (+ Animated) and pragmatical rules like known in the context, the occurrence of feminine clitic (o, ja) takes either a pre-verbal position (*o cunosc, ja uchnpamuβ nopakama*) or only in Romanian a post-verbal one (*am ajutat-o, întâlnind-o*).

Conclusions

At one moment in their evolution the languages as a result of social and ethnic interaction reflect specific communicative and symbolic competences as abilities of the speakers/users to encode historical/human and natural realities in words, phrases, paragraphs and texts. Found in functional contacts that might have favored convergent and divergent development both Macedonian and Romanian languages display common and similar Balkan lexis and grammatical patterns possibly created in etymological confluences and showing *borrowability hierarchies* in the cultural history of the Balkans.

Romance (Speaking) Balkans and Balkan Sprachbund have become cultural constructs including folklore traditions, literature, language and mentalities. As a carrier of culture, the language(s), has been created by the time in the peninsula or even in the extended space of imaginary Balkans. Assimilated lexis from Classical Vulgar Latin, Medieval Latin adapted the words to the morphology, syntax and phraseology. Mirroring ancient, medieval and (post) modern realities, the words of Latin and Romance, Slavic and Turkic/Ottoman Turkish origins might be organized in an evolutive continuum: those borrowed due to the existence of the Romance in the Balkans, who have conquered, controlled and dominated the realm since the first century BC by sixth century AD, when the Proto-Romance was splinted by the Slavic plundering, Old Church Slavonic, numerous Romance and Turkish items borrowed in modern times in the period of national language formation.

Different etymological layers found sometimes in continuity and interference allow to any researcher passionate about the Balkans to create a rich stock of lexical items (collocations and phrases) and grammatical patterns that can be used for comprehension, code-switching and increasing cultural motivation in second language acquisition. Common to Balkan Sprachbund grammatical phenomena like clitic doubling, interchangeable structures like *habeo pro sum*, *sum pro habeo* and even syntactic patterns like those of simple or complex sentences have generated a rich stock of similarities that bridge knowledge and help the students and teachers in learning and teaching Romanian in North Macedonia.

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THE USING OF OPEN EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES (OER) IN THE EVALUATION PROCESS

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Abstract

The present paper focuses on how Open Educational Resources can facilitate the evaluation process during online teaching. Assessments are an integral part of the entire didactic process and they have a great impact upon the desired behavior of the students. Consequently, it is highly recommended that teachers use new methods and strategies in order to stimulate the students. Online means represent a great tool when it comes to evaluation. In this study, I will provide examples of apps and sites that can get the students' interest and attention in the didactic process, without making them feel uncomfortable or even anxious.

Keywords: *evaluation, strategy, techniques, OER, advantages, disadvantages*

Rezumat

Prezenta lucrare se concentrează asupra Resurselor Educaționale Deschise care pot facilita procesul de evaluare în predarea online. Evaluările sunt o parte integrantă a întregului proces didactic și au un impact major asupra comportamentului dezirabil al studenților. Astfel, este recomandat ca profesorii să utilizeze noi metode și strategii în vederea stimulării elevilor. Mijloacele online reprezintă un instrument excelent de evaluare. În acest studiu, voi oferi exemple de aplicații și site-uri care pot atrage interesul și atenția elevilor în cadrul procesului didactic, fără să îi facă să se simtă inconfortabil sau anxioși.

Cuvinte-cheie: *evaluare, strategie, tehnici, RED, avantaje, dezavantaje*

The Concept of Evaluation

The teaching and learning activity materialize into obtained results. There are some findings that support the importance of evaluation, such as the teaching act implies some objectives and the students' performances show if the objectives have been successfully accomplished, the results allow the teacher to adapt the didactic process and the assessments are 40% of the teachers' work (Chiș, 2001, p. 205).

Cristian Stan and Adriana D. Manea state that "the designing of a better educational reality in the absence of a suitable theoretical approach, centered on the issue of studying the integrative manner of self-assessment and educational assessment is unlikely" (Stan & Manea, 2015, p. 497). Consequently, it is very important that the teacher has theoretical knowledge in order to create an appropriate means through which the students should be evaluated.

However, according to V.K. Maheshwari, we also have to keep in mind that the terms *evaluation* and *measurement* are often used interchangeably. He

states that evaluation is somehow confused with testing and/or measurement. Testing, as he says, is only a way of collecting evidence with regards to a pupil's behaviour. The other one, measurement, has the role of providing a quantitative description of the pupil's behaviour. Evaluation includes both testing and measurement and even a qualitative description of the behaviour. Evaluation also includes some value judgment regarding the behaviour measured. Its main objective is the qualitative development of pupils (Maheshwari, 2017).

The process of evaluation focuses on the efficiency of the educational system. The teachers prepare the students for the real world, for all the requirements of it and they must take into consideration what the expectancies of the society are. The students' needs and the society's needs must be brought together by the curriculum and by the teacher in order for the latter to assure the delivery of young men and women into the labour market. The society is the superior system and the educational system is the subordinate one (Vasile & Ene, 2017, p. 77).

Open Educational Resources

According to Dominic Orr, Michele Rimini and Dirk Van Damme, digital technologies are mandatory in our daily life, but it seems that they became a part of the education as well. They facilitate the change and improvement in education. For them, education has the social function of fostering the next generation's development and prosperity on an individual and societal level. Education changes how people carry out their lives now and in the future (Orr et al., 2015, p. 16).

The OER help education systems, as the three authors claim, to become dynamic and it develops the teaching and learning process. They state that "digital technologies have the potential to improve education and enhance teaching and learning processes" (*ibidem*). However, all the improvements, all the resources that are used and all the innovative practices must be developed in a relevant educational environment (*ibidem*).

There are some reasons or some stimuli responsible for the occurrence of the OER. We will enumerate them, according to Jan Hylén. There are technological, economic, social and legal drivers that helped the expansion of OER. Teachers and researchers are given the chance to exploit new capabilities and new technologies through which they can create and share content. The cost of this type of technologies is dropping low, so everyone who wants to teach or learn in an interactive way can use them (Hylén, 2012, p. 19). Another important thing is that through OER people learn that sharing knowledge as a public good is very important for the development of society (Hylén, 2012, p. 19).

According to Dominic Orr, Michele Rimini and Dirk Van Damme, the Open Educational Resources (OER) are defined as being at the same time

teaching, learning and searching for appropriate materials and tools ("open licensing, to permit their free reuse, continuous improvement and repurposing by others for educational purposes") (Orr et al., 2015, p. 17). We might understand that the OER are a cumulation of online texts, images, videos, applications, platforms and games which have an educative purpose and which are free of charge.

In the paper "Open Educational Resources: Analysis of Responses to the OECD Country Questionnaire" Jan Hylén defines the OER as it follows: "Open Educational Resources are digital learning resources offered online (although sometimes in print) freely and openly to teachers, educators, students, and independent learners in order to be used, shared, combined, adapted, and expanded in teaching, learning and research. They include learning content, software tools to develop, use and distribute, and implementation resources such as open licenses" (Hylén, 2012, p. 18).

As we can see in the definition given above, it is very important to keep in mind that the OER are mostly used online and they should be free and accessible for the teachers, but they can also be accessible to students and independent learners. Of course, the resources need to be adapted to the level of the class/student and they have to be placed somewhere in the educational process, to be relevant for a specific type of activity, for achieving the objectives.

If we take a look on the UNESCO's website, we see the following definition of OER: "Open Educational Resources (OER) are teaching, learning and research materials in any medium - digital or otherwise - that reside in the public domain or have been released under an open license that permits no-cost access, use, adaptation and redistribution by others with no or limited restrictions. OER form part of 'Open Solutions', alongside *Free and Open Source software* (FOSS), *Open Access* (OA), *Open Data* (OD) and crowdsourcing platforms" (*Open Educational Resources* (OER) (unesco.org)). We can see that it is always brought into attention that these OER are used for the teaching-learning process, be it digital or not, and that they allow free access, use and share of them, as long as they were released under an open license.

According to Jan Hylén, these resources are open and flexible when it comes to provide learning opportunities. They facilitate both formal and informal learning, which can take place on an unlimited period of time. Of course, it is easier to access the high-quality materials that should help both the teacher and the student in the educational process (Hylén, 2012, p. 19).

Another important advantage is the fact that the OER are not restricted to online education (e-learning or distance education), since they can be used in a classroom as well, with the help maybe of printers, sheets, projector, audios, laptops, connection to the Internet and so on. Finding a place for the

OER in the more traditional environment should enrich the learning experience (*ibidem*).

Jan Hylén also states that "OER also has a strong social purpose since they can bring learning opportunities to hitherto disadvantaged and excluded groups of learners while they also help to mitigate the isolation of the diaspora of scholars" (*ibidem*). As the author says, these OER can help the students to feel safer, to feel included and to feel that they are integrated into the educational process.

Due to the OER, there is an increased efficiency and quality of learning resources. People from all over the world (teachers, educators, researchers, students) can upload different materials, courses or programs which may be of help to others. It is also important that, through technology, even the costs are reduced, because there may not be the case to duplicate papers (*ibidem*). The OER can be continuously adapted, revised, updated and transformed. The users have become active participants in the educative process by constructing what is learned. Even the relationship between teachers and students may develop since both parts contribute to the process of teaching and learning. The entire activity is interactive so the boundaries between the parts are at least blurred (*idem*, p. 20). It is also possible that the students who prepare to become teachers contribute to this field by adding original resources as a part of their training.

Jan Hylén argues that using, producing and sharing OER constitute a great benefit for individual learners, teachers and the global community. He sees this activity as a "systemic transformation in itself since it affects all parts of the educational system" (*ibidem*). The researcher sees the advantages for all the people that use the OER, such as individual learners who gain open and flexible learning opportunities, teachers that may increase their professional recognition, quality and efficiency in the creation of new materials, educational institutions that can attract new students, countries that may increase their support for OER in regular education and the global community, because the OER offer the chance to share knowledge and expertise on global issues (*ibidem*).

There are, as we have already seen, a lot of advantages when using Open Educational Resources. We would like to present next a list of advantages that was created by the University of Maryland and that can be found on their webpage (<https://umd.edu/>), taking into consideration the fact that was stated above, specifically that the universities or schools can take advantage of these OER and attract more and more students.

The institution claims that through OER there is an expanded access to learning, since students all over the world can access resources at any time. Furthermore, they bring into attention the scalability of the OER, since they can be easily distributed at mostly no cost. The adjustment of the class mate-

rials to better align with the learning outcomes or the augmentation of class materials are, again, advantages. It is also more interesting to bring a text which is accompanied by images or videos that help the students to learn easily. Of course, since everyone can upload, modify and distribute this kind of resources, it is obvious that the students can directly interact with them, through creating new ones or improving the already existing ones. The students can also be in touch with the institution they are part of through these resources and can continue with a lifelong program of learning (<https://libguides.umgc.edu/c.php?g=23404&p=138771#:~:text=Advantages%20of%20using%20OERs%20include:%20expanded%20access%20to,time,%20and%20they%20can%20access%20the%20material%20repeatedly>).

First of all, it is very important that the teacher is instructed on how to choose appropriate and relevant digital resources for the teaching-learning-evaluation activities, in order to facilitate and improve the entire educational process. Also, the teachers should be able to create by themselves open resources for achieving the objectives, in different pedagogical contexts. (CRED, 2014-2020).

When using OER for creating assessment for the students, the teacher should discover and use high-quality resources to determine the level of the students' progress. There should be used concrete data which can offer a better support and which can be personalized for each student, according to their strengths and weaknesses, needs and interests (<https://practices.learningaccelerator.org/problem-of-practice/how-can-i-leverage-open-educational-resources-when-planning-lessons-and-assessments-to-meet-my-students-needs-in-my-personalized-learning-classroom>).

The open resources are dynamic and can be personalized at any time for didactic activities. Educators now tend to use them, in order to create student-centred lessons and assessments, which offer a more active and deeper engagement of the students (<https://practices.learningaccelerator.org/problem-of-practice/how-can-i-leverage-open-educational-resources-when-planning-lessons-and-assessments-to-meet-my-students-needs-in-my-personalized-learning-classroom>). This can be done through different means, such as videos, support for language learning, simulations, webinars, comics, games, applications and so on.

When the teacher wants to evaluate the students with the help of open resources, he/she needs to ask himself/herself the following questions for which we will also try to provide answers (<https://practices.learningaccelerator.org/problem-of-practice/how-can-i-leverage-open-educational-resources-when-planning-lessons-and-assessments-to-meet-my-students-needs-in-my-personalized-learning-classroom>). On which standards do you want to assess your students?; How do you plan to use the assessment data?; Can any of your current open resources meet your and students' needs?; How do you determine the alignment and rigor of the assessment?

It is known that, first of all, the teacher has to know exactly what he/she is evaluating and on which standards he/she plans to assess the students. The educator should take a close look to the content he/she provided for the students and at the general and specific objectives of the discipline. The teacher has to find relevant and interesting open resources that are adapted to the students' level and interests, so that the evaluation is realized not on the principle of equality, but on the principle of equity. Some students may prefer writing to speaking or some may prefer to record themselves talking about a given topic, or to make projects and so on.

The teacher also needs to take into account the fact that the after-assessment collected data must be used in order to find solutions for the improvement of the students' abilities, capacities, knowledge or behaviour. Of course, he/she needs to make sure that the open resources are appropriate for the educative process and that they have relevance for what it is evaluated. Furthermore, the educator needs to know how to make the difference between a good resource and a bad one or between a relevant and a not so relevant one for a specific objective.

We would like to provide some examples of the OER that can be found online. We will just enumerate them and we will provide links and some explanations where possible (<https://libraryguides.lib.iup.edu/c.php?g=660341&p=4636709>).

1. *OpenCourseWare (OCW)* – this is a free and online publication of different educational materials, organized as courses; the courses can be found on YouTube - <https://youtu.be/ZfvxfkBVLqQ>;
2. *Learning modules* – these modules are created with the help of PowerPoint and have a great impact upon the students because they can bring together texts, images, videos, charts and so on. <https://youtu.be/eQRF4EsdXMU> – this is a YouTube video about how to create learning modules;
3. *Open textbooks* – typically they belong to the universities, but are published online, so people can have free access;
4. *Streaming video* – the content is sent over the Internet and people can view it in real time - <https://youtu.be/AeJzoqtuf-o>;
5. *Open access journals* – provide free, immediate and online availability of articles in the digital environment - <https://youtu.be/L5rVH1KGBCY>;
6. *Online tutorials* – provide a self study activity designed to teach a specific learning outcome - https://youtu.be/BdliEq_0qeQ;
7. *Digital learning objects* – can include a lesson, an activity and an assessment; the teacher can use the assessment part, in order to provide a digital type of evaluation - <https://youtu.be/E6jf71MYDII>;

8. *Ted Talks* – they can be also used even when evaluating students; the teacher can ask them to write down 10 important ideas presented in the video or to make a summary of the discussion; also, the teacher can ask the students to debate the same topic that was presented in the video;
9. <https://www.merlot.org/merlot/index.htm> – where you can find a great amount of materials;
10. <https://www.curriki.org/> - again, a place where you can find materials, blogs, articles;
11. <https://cnx.org/> - both teachers and students can find here materials for many disciplines;
12. <https://www.oercommons.org/> - this site provides help for teachers; the materials here can easily be used for creating an assessment.

Furthermore, we would like to introduce some platforms and applications that can be used for the creation of assessments. The first one that we will talk about is Google Forms (<https://www.google.com/forms/about/>). This platform is very simple to use. You can either choose to create a form for personal or business purpose. After choosing the purpose for which you plan to create a form, you can select the type of form you like: Blank, Blank Quiz, Course evaluation, Assessment or Exit Ticket. The teacher can easily evaluate students using the Blank Quiz type of form and then adding questions that can have short or long answers, that can have multiple choice, checkboxes or dropdown. You can select for every question the type of answer you desire to receive.

Another platform that can be easily used for assessments is Microsoft Teams. Firstly, here you can add as many classes as you wish and as many students as needed. This platform is relevant for the evaluation activity, since it gives you the opportunity to create assignments that must be returned at a specific time. The students can also see their grade directly on the platform.

Google Classroom is another platform that can be used in order to provide digital means of evaluation and it is interesting to use. You can create assessments as well, you can insert comments and grades directly on the platform, as was the case of Microsoft Teams. As a teacher, you can always see the progress, the ones who uploaded their assignments and you can always change the grade or add new comments if it is the case.

Google Jamboard is also relevant for assessing, since the teacher can ask the students to create Jams with their observations, ideas, answers and so on. The teacher can observe the comprehension of a text or oral discourse (for example), how the students write in English and how developed their digital skills are.

As we have already seen, there are lots of advantages when using Open Educational Resource for creating assessments. We consider that these OER facilitate the didactic activity, because there is no need to print papers anymore, there are no limits of downloading or using the materials, there are low costs or even no costs at all. The students are happier and more interested to use digital and open resources, because they bring together the education and the real life. They are free to express themselves through different means and to have different types of support, such as videos, images, texts or audios.

But there may be some disadvantages as well. It is known that the teacher should do a lot of research before choosing and using an open resource, since not all resources are relevant or even appropriate for a type of activity or for some students. There can also be some quality issues. The teacher will have to put some effort into adapting some of the existing resources to the classes' needs. Also, some of the resources are created in such a way that they will not need the intervention of a teacher, so there will be a lack of human interaction (<https://libguides.umgc.edu/c.php?g=23404&p=138771#:~:text=Advantages%20of%20using%20OERs%20include:%20expanded%20access%20to,time,%20and%20they%20can%20access%20the%20material%20repeatedly>). Of course, when using digital resources, there can appear some technological issues, such as having a bad connection to the Internet or no connection at all. Also, some students and some parents may see these open resources as being something not relevant or something synthetic. They may believe that the students will not be able to assimilate information or to develop skills through these resources. And, if they have this opinion about digital and open resources, they will certainly not agree with assessments based on them.

Conclusions

We defined the Open Educational Resources and presented the advantages and disadvantages of using them in the educational process, especially in the evaluation part. We also brought some examples of OER that helped us to argue the fact that using OER is relevant for creating different types of assessments that can focus on the students' needs and skills.

We strongly believe that students are more likely to participate actively and to pay attention when the teacher uses OER. Through those, the student can trace a line between what he learns in school and what he does or wants to do in real life. The students can choose from a variety of resources or may even create new ones, which make the students feel included in the process as active participants.

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