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Table of Contents

Editorial ………………………………………………………………… 7

Introduction for contributors to Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies ……………………………………………………………………… 10

Literature

Catalina Iliescu-Gheorghiu
Romanian migration reflected in recent Portuguese literature: the Roma ethnicity as a case in point ……………………………….…………….. 13

Cultural studies

Antoniy Moysey, Antonina Anistratenko, Tetyana Nykyforuk
Slavic elements in the calendar rites of the Romanians of Bukovina …. 26

Ayusman Chakraborty, Dana Radler
Representations of Indian ascetics: from Johann Martin Honigberger's memoir to early twentieth century Romanian newspapers and journals .. 38

Alexandra Chiriac, Ana Catană-Spenchiu
The image of the Russian Enlightened monarch in the Romanian culture at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century ……………………………………………………………………… 57

Roxana Elena Doncu
The sea and its national avatar in Romanian Romantic literature: from the Small to the Great Union ……………………………………………….. 84

Simona Lazăr
The funerary practices from the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age in the south-west of Romania and the relations with the south of Danube ………………………………………. 101

Mihaela Bărbieru
Adapting political communication to technology. Case study: evolutionary aspects on social networks in Romania …………………… 117

Translations Studies
Daniela Hăisan
Parergonality, paratranslation, and text-as-house imagery: six Romanian-language editions of Oscar Wilde's fairy-tales ……………. 137

Attila Imre
Translating acronyms of "Designated Survivor" into Romanian …… 157

Andra-Iulia Ursa
Instances of (un)translatability in Ion Creangă's "Amintiri din copilărie"/ "Memories of my boyhood" …………………………….. 175

Linguistics
Arina Greavu
Morphological and syntactical aspects of Romanian/ English codeswitching ……………………………………………………. 191

Marcela Alina Fărcașiu, Daniel Dejica, Simona Șimon, Annamaria Kilyeni
Easy-to-read in Romania: current status and future perspectives in a European context 221

Gabriel-Dan Bărbuleț
Content based learning-Task based learning-Problem based learning in Teaching Romanian Language to Foreign Students 241

Contributors …………………………………………………….. 251

Editorial

Language is the essential means for delivering to an audience any message, thought, argument or belief. Words are carefully gathered within abounding sources of meaning and connections meant to challenge thinking. *Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies* seeks to be the pursuer of this aura of ever-growing meaning enriched by all its contributors who choose to entrust their writings to the covers of the journal every year. Identifying itself as a prolific cultural research, the second issue of the fifth volume encompasses thirteen articles written in English. Besides its thematic diversity, the present issue pictures pluriperspectivism and views with intercultural and international nuances coming from Ukraine, Spain, India and Romania. Aiming towards highly academic standards and variety, there are several sections included in the present volume: literary studies, cultural studies, translation studies and linguistics.

The first section, *Literature*, introduces a debate revolving around the concept of ‘ethnotype’ as analyzed by Catalina Iliescu-Gheorghiu, Associate Professor at the University of Alicante and author of several books and translations available worldwide. She tackles not only the representation of the immigrant as reflected in Portuguese literature, but also the elements affecting and changing the internal and external perception of a group, the Roma ethnicity in this case.

The collective work of Antoniy Moysey, Antonina Anistratenko, Tetyana Nykyforuk, scholars coming from the Department of Social Sciences and Ukrainian Studies in Bukovinian State Medical University, Ukraine, reveal Slavic elements in the calendar rites of Bukovyna. Word analysis acquires a mystical dimension leading towards the subliminal connections between countries, languages and roots. Moving on within a religious sphere of thought, Ayusman Chakraborty from Taki Government College, West Bengal, India and Dana Radler from Bucharest University of Economic Studies trace the reasons behind the understanding of ‘fakirs’ in Romania and identify the way their image is presented in Romanian newspapers and journals. The Indian ascetics are the source of fascination and interest, a peak decreasing as fast as it has increased. Alexandra Chiriac and Ana Catană-Spenchiu from “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iaşi continue the search beyond historical facts and outline the way 18th and 19th century Romanian culture built the image of the Russian monarchy and therefore, the implications resulted out of those facts. The next article completing this part intends to highlight right from the beginning the national significance of the Black Sea as framed in Romanian Romantic literature, mainly in poetry. It places spiritual evolution at its centre, focusing on the visual elements and natural landscape that inevitably alters the human being from within. The author challenging the inner pace of the readers is Roxana Elena Doncu, lecturer in English at the Modern Languages Department at the "Carol Davila" University of Medicine and Pharmacy in Bucharest. Simona Lazăr, archaeologist, 3rd degree Scientific Researcher PhD at "C.S. Nicolăescu Plopşor" Institute for Researches Social Studies and Humanities in Craiova, senses archaeological trenches and presents the way funeral practices confirm the present identity of citizens living in the south-western area of Romania. Mihaela Bărbieru, from the same Institute, closes the section by reaffirming the importance of communication and the way technology becomes the fastest and the most useful tool not only to connect people, but also to place the understanding of networking beyond screens. The focus is on political content delivered in online formats.

The field of translations has strongly emerged towards mediation, the role of the translator being doubled by this mediating approach. Thus, the text becomes a link between cultures and the name of our next section, *Translation Studies,* is developing this sphere. The first analysis explores the paratext in Oscar Wilde's fairytales in several Romanian editions. The way these paratextual details are arranged and rearranged in each Romanian version is seen as assembling different house imageries by Daniela Hăisan, Associate Professor of Linguistics and English Language at "Ştefan cel Mare" University of Suceava, Romania. Attila Imre, Professor in the Department of Applied Linguistics of the Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences, Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, Romania, directs the attention towards English recurrent acronyms in the Romanian TV series known as *Designated Survivor*. Andra-Iulia Ursa, PhD student in Philology and teaching assistant in translation studies at the Department of Philology, "1 Decembrie 1918" University of Alba Iulia, approaches the subject of vernacular language shaped through the lens of an international language, English, and questions the '(un)translatability'. She chooses as source text *Memories of my Boyhood* written by Ion Creangă, a great Moldavian storyteller of the 19th century.

Linguistics, the last domain included in this issue, examines the language and its communicative systems. Arina Greavu, assistant professor at "Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu, analyses code switching and the way it is traced in the speech of a ten-year-old bilingual child. The languages compared here are Romanian and English. Marcela Alina Fărcașiu, Daniel Dejica, Simona Șimon, Annamaria Kilyeni from Politehnica University of Timișoara introduce the concept of 'Easy-to-read' for the disabled as implemented and applied across Europe and identify at the same time challenges faced by Romania regarding this aspect. Moving on with the relation between language and learning, Gabriel-Dan Bărbuleț, Associate

Professor at “1 Decembrie 1918” University of Alba Iulia, concludes and completes the section with a study referring to teaching the Romanian language to foreign students. The Communicative language teaching is discussed in terms of the following categories: Content based learning, Task based learning, and Problem based learning.

All the articles filed in this issue portray a fruitful, noble, and deeply rooted communion between authors, editors and overseas reviewers. Honoured by the absolutely fundamental work of our thirty international reviewers coming from the USA, Israel, Germany, Bulgaria, Azerbaijan and Romania, we are sincerely expressing all our esteem and gratitude towards them. *Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies* is published in collaboration with Lund University, Complutense University of Madrid, “1 Decembrie 1918” University of Alba Iulia, Romania, and the Romanian Language Institute, Bucharest, and welcomes contributions from scholars worldwide.

Bianca Maria Bucur Tincu

Introduction for contributors to Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies

Focus and Scope

Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies (Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University, Sweden / Centre for the Research of the Imaginary "Speculum", "1 Decembrie 1918" University of Alba Iulia, Romania / Complutense University of Madrid, Spain / Romanian Language Institute, Bucharest) publishes studies about Romanian language, literature, theatre and film, cultural studies, translation studies, as well as reviews of works within these fields. It welcomes articles that focus on case studies, as well as methodological and/or theoretical issues.

Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies is a new forum for scholars of Romanian language, literature and film that sets and requires international high-quality standards. The journal accepts papers written in Romanian or English, as well as in French, Italian, and Spanish.

Peer Review Process

SJRS has a two stage reviewing process. In the first stage, the articles and studies submitted for publication need to pass the scrutiny of the members of the editorial committee. The studies accepted in this stage are then undergoing a double blind review procedure. The editorial committee removes all information concerning the author and invites external scholars (whose comments are paramount for the decision of accepting for publication or not) to act as anonymous reviewers of the material. Neither the identity of the author, nor that of the reviewer is disclosed. The comments and recommendations of the anonymous reviewers are transmitted to the authors.

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Literature

ROMANIAN MIGRATION REFLECTED IN RECENT PORTUGUESE LITERATURE: THE ROMA ETHNICITY AS A CASE IN POINT

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Abstract: *This article focuses on three contemporary Portuguese literary works that feature Roma characters and culture-specific elements within a wider selection of authors who mention or delve into past and present Romanian realities. This selection was aimed at determining which are the themes, historical events, lived or narrated memories, symbols, images, and ethnotypes that interest contemporary Portuguese authors in relation with the Romanian immigrant segment, a population fairly representative in Portugal (ninth largest minority group, with some 31,000 residents and an annual immigration rate of 2,000 new arrivals). My exploration (through several channels: library catalogues, oral sources, databases) revealed ten literary works which tackle elements related to: the Roma ethnic group and the negative ethnotype of prostitution, crime and begging; the former elite (aristocracy, intelligentsia), above all, temporally anchored in the early years of the 20th century; and the Communist regime, its apparatus (party and secret police) and its fall at the end of the eighth decade of the 20th century. In this article I shall focus on the analysis of the first group, basing this on the concept of "ethnotype", observing how the image of a given immigrant population is constructed, and how this image affects its members in the public and private spheres.*

Keywords: Portuguese literature; Romanian ethnotypes; Roma ethnicity; Alfonso Reis Cabral; Maria Velho da Costa; Chico Buarque.

Introduction

The world map of human movement notably offers the figure of 281 million people (IOM, 2021: 3) who are currently on the move, and, although the wars and conflicts taking place in different areas of the globe appear to be the principal cause of this boom, poverty and the lack of resources needed to survive continue to be the primary cause of human migration. A significant number of citizens of the former Soviet bloc countries have moved in recent decades to the EU nations with the highest levels of development. This is how former *exporters* of migrants (Spain, Portugal) have become host countries and how others, such as Romania, have acquired the double condition of sending citizens abroad (as of 2017 nearly three million reside in EU countries, according to Şuiu, 2019) and at the same time receiving migrants from the former Soviet Union countries or China. There are some 700,000 Romanians in Spain (15 percent of all foreigners and 1.5 percent of the total population), aged between 20 and 44 years old, of whom more than half are women (largely employed as domestic workers or in the care for children or the elderly, while the men are employed in construction, agriculture, or catering); it is thus a case of economic migration (Şuiu, 2019) whose purpose is to attain a higher standard of life, higher income, and better opportunities for the future.

The presence of Romanians in Portugal is less common, with a population of five million, of whom half a million are foreign-born (half of these are concentrated in Lisbon). Some 31,000 Romanians reside in Portugal, of whom a third are tax-paying workers. In fact, according to Olivera & Gomes (2019: 143) in the *Observatorio das migraçoes*, Romanians and Bulgarians represent the highest employment levels among migrants, although their salaries are not comparable to those of Portuguese citizens. It is a young, educated segment which thus contributes to the country's demographic politics, and which suffers from lower rates of workplace injury, as they are employed in sectors with less exposure to high accident rates than those in which other foreigners are employed, which means they can choose the kind of jobs they take unlike other migrant groups (178). Only 15 percent of the Romanians own their own homes, the rest choosing to rent (229). Remittances from Romanians residing in Portugal rise to almost 20 million euros per year. All of this indicates, as is the case in Spain, that these are economic migrants, who sometimes are the targets of racist and xenophobic attitudes (most notably in the case of the second generation) on the part of the host society, especially among the lowest strata. The EU MIDIS II study (2008–2016) on racial and ethnic discrimination highlights (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018: 13) ethnic and migratory origin as the principal cause of discrimination, and which is experienced by one in four of survey respondents, with the Roma ethnic group targeted in 26 percent of cases, along with North African and Sub-Saharan migrants. According to Oliveira & Gomes (2019: 284), the rate of naturalization among Romanians in Portugal is 1.4 percent of the total of foreigners (versus 11 percent for citizens from Santo Tomé, 9.5 percent from Guinea Bissau, or 7.8 percent from Angola), applying the principles of *ius sanguinis* and *ius soli*.

Genova (2015: 5) points out that there is no universal migrant experience, since, as Vertovec (2007: 1024) observes, diversity is not what it used to be (a large, well-organized community with a defined geographic origin) but it is a rather "new, small, scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified" population. This is the case of Romanian and Roma immigrants in the Iberian Peninsula. Their degree of integration, or, in Koulaxi's (2022) terms, *conviviality*, understood as a constant encounter with difference, gauged by Amin (2012) as access and use of urban infrastructures, is also patent in recent literary works of the host countries. Conviviality is not a natural outcome of urban encounters, as Koulaxi (2022: 211) shows, but a process of identity-formation that is rooted in the context of everyday life and emerges at the juncture of embodied encounters with the Other. Togetherness and separation are not to be seen as binary but rather as dialectical, based on a diverging distribution of modes of communication, according to Georgiou (2017), who reckons media to separate citizens from non-citizens, while face-to-face communication brings them together. I would add a third type of encounter: the literary one. I argue that together with the media (local or in the country of origin) another important means of cognitive embodiment of diasporas that reflects, and, to a certain extent, influences connection and disconnection of migrant population is literature. This article proposes an examination of 10 contemporary Portuguese literary works (divided into three groups: the Roma ethnicity[1], the former elite[2], and the Communist regime[3]) that feature Romanian characters and culture-specific elements, with the aim of determining which are the themes, historical events, lived or narrated memories, symbols, images, or ethnotypes (Leerssen, 2016) that interest Portuguese authors in relation to an immigrant segment that is fairly representative.

Methodology

The methodology underlying this study combines documentary analysis of migration-related questions, from official Portuguese sources (migration observations, diverse reports from specialized institutions), and review of literary bibliography so as to identify those works that contain Romanian elements, to be analysed later. In order to verify the results of the analysis of literary works and sociological sources, I carried out field

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[1] In *Leva-me contigo* (2019) by Alfonso Reis Cabral; *Myra* (2008) by Maria Velho da Costa; and *Budapeste* (2002) by Chico Buarque.

[2] In: *Encontros e encontroês de Portugal no mundo. Romenia*. (2019) by Leonidio Paulo Ferreira; *No Estoril. Uma noite igual a tantas* (1952) by Adeliade Felix; *Livros de Crónicas* by Antonio Lobo Antunes, and exceptionally, *Os Maias* (1888) by Eça de Queiroz.

[3] In: *A blusa romena* (2002) by Antonio Mega Ferreira; *A noite nâo é eterna* (2016) by Ana Cristina Silva, and as a children literature epilogue in *Ser diferente e bom* (2008) by Sonia Pessoa.

research, more precisely, I conducted a series of in-depth interviews with Romanians residing in Portugal[4]. The presence of Romanian characters or elements in contemporary Portuguese literature is anecdotal. The outcome of this research based on a selection of ten works, which, as previously mentioned, can be grouped into three blocks: a) the Roma ethnic group and the negative ethnotype of prostitution, criminality, and begging; b) the former Romanian elite (aristocracy, intelligentsia) temporally anchored in the early years of the XX century; and c) the Communist regime, its apparatus (party, secret police) and its fall, at the end of the eighth decade.

Theoretical Background

Rather than the broader category of stereotypes, this analysis is concerned with its more specific variant, the *ethnotype*. The scholar who has labelled and drawn up (Chew, 2006), a *grammar* of image studies, the Dutch imagologist Joep Leerssen (2016), defines *ethnotypes* as a stereotypical attribution of national, supra-national or ethnic characterisation, responding not to an anthropological reality but to an opposition between the auto-image and the hetero-image, i.e., between the Self and the Other. Like prejudice and stereotype, the ethnotype is promoted in times of tension and diminished in periods of stability. In Leerssen's view, ethnotypes use *rhetorical formulae* and *moral tropes* and are based on *oppositions* and on *behavioral profiles* (temperamental patterns or psychological predispositions), obviously not drawn from historical constants but rather from images and counter-images. The danger of ethnotypes is their ontological half-life and their diluted presence in texts. Leerssen warns that even if we have more than one frame for a nation, the active frame pushes the others into latency. In Chew's (2006) view, "stereotypes colour, to a large extent, not only our self-perception (*auto-image*) and our perception via the image of the other (our *hetero-image*) but determine for better and for worse our behaviour toward the other" (Leerssen, 2006: 180, my emphasis). Leerssen (2007: 344) argues that the way a nation believes it is perceived constitutes a *meta-image*, and he (Leerssen, 2016) encourages a redefinition of imagology in the light of recent developments, showing that the concept gains urgency (as it did after the Second World War), with resurgent nationalisms, due to crisis conditions and

[4] In this study the interviewee's names have been changed, so no personal data can be identified, except for a public figure who gave his approval. The four interview subjects have been given the fictitious names of Elena: (30 years old), Gina (34), Dorina (24) and Tudora (45); all four have completed at least some university studies, but they are employed below their qualification level. Two are part of the first generation of migrants, and two of the second. The four subjects speak Portuguese fluently, two of them graduated from secondary school and university in Portugal. The other two needed some four years to acquire the basics of Portuguese, beyond grammar and phonetics.

unprecedented migration (Hoenselaars & Leerssen, 2009). However, ethnocentricity characterized human societies and "anything that deviated from accustomed domestic patterns is 'othered' as an oddity, an anomality, a singularity" (Leerssen, 2007: 17). The anecdotal belief in national features lasted until the late eighteenth century and later influenced the nineteenth century's comparative-historical paradigm. Like many stereotypes, the image of Roma has been contradictory, oscillating between romantic wanderers (bohemian, indicating a geographic location) and demonizing portraits (thieves, impostors, lazy, immoral, even cannibals) as Kommers shows (2007: 171). In scientific literature, Roma people are depicted as fata morgana, elusive and non-existent, as Willems (1997: 300) explains. The tropes attached to them throughout centuries of literary production are (Kommers, 2007: 173): bohemianism, untamed passion (gendered as a *femme fatale* image such as Hugo's Esmeralda, or Mérimée's Carmen and less frequently as men —Emily Brontë's Heathcliff), nomadism (suggesting freedom), and disregard for law and conventions.

Reality: Testimonies by Residents of Romanian Origin in Portugal

With the goal of corroborating the observations gleaned from sociological studies, I carried out field work consisting of four in-depth interviews with Romanian women residing in Portugal, belonging to the first and second generations of the diaspora. In addition to their personal details, the interview covered the following sets of questions: migration (when, how, why), legal status, employment status, housing, health, studies, language, discrimination, and an ample section on Romanians in Portugal. Additionally, I interviewed Daniel Silva Perdigão (personal communication, July 23, 2020), a bilingual university professor who is profoundly knowledgeable about Romanian culture (and who, with his refugee family, spent his childhood and completed his university studies in Romania).

Focusing on the first of the three categories of literary works identified, I will continue by analysing some of the questions commented on by the interview subjects, regarding the Roma ethnic group and the discrimination it is submitted to by the host society.

Regarding the question of whether there is discriminatory behaviour on the part of the Portuguese society, the four interview subjects are of the opinion that there is, especially toward African society (based on skin colour), followed immediately by hatred of Romanies. When asked to rank them, the four subjects assigned the first place to rejection of the Roma population in general, followed by that of Romanies of Romanian origin, with some highlighting the frequent equivalence of Romanians and Romanies. The four interview subjects recognised the existence of discrimination against the Romanian group (three of the four gave examples, while one said that she had not experienced it directly although people she knew had). As to the question of rejection of Romanian Romanies by Romanian migrants in Portugal, three believe that it does exist, and one chose the option of 'not much', although all of them identified as the cause the predominant ethnotype (delinquency), as well as the generalised (especially with lower social strata) confusion between Romanians and Romanies and also point out that these attitudes arise from generalizations about cases of petty theft and begging in tourist zones, media campaigns carried out by radical political groups, and skin colour. Three of the four interview subjects are of the opinion that the media are primarily responsible for the dissemination of negative images of minorities. This is combined with the *luso-tropicalist* ideology about the historic reality of the former Portuguese colonial empire. The youngest subjects underscore poverty as the backdrop for this situation. They point out that they are not ashamed of being Romanian and that they fight on a daily basis against generalizations and stereotypes, while the first generation of migrants are not getting involved in deeds such as begging, delinquency and prostitution associated with this ethnic group and are more given to separate the image of Romanians from that of Romanies of Romanian origin, sustaining that they represent separate cultures, although they do point to education as the solution. In turn, Silva Perdigão indicates that Romanies of Romanian origin are not accepted by the endogamous Iberian Roma population owing to a question of intermarriage and the control of traditional trades (market stalls, iron-mongering). Regarding the Romanian population, in Perdigão's opinion, it tends to lose its identity in Portugal (he gives the example of the dozen Romanian cultural associations that existed in the 2000's, and which have disappeared), except for an intellectual elite that self-identifies as such.

To contrast these results with the perception held by the members of the host society, I consulted diverse sources. One is the study carried out by Rosario, Santos & Lima (2011), which finds that the Roma are not seen as a nomadic people who settled in various countries over many centuries, but rather that, in the eyes of interview subjects and focus groups, drawn from the Portuguese lower and middle classes, Gypsies are exclusively from Romania: "*a raça cigana vem da Romenia*"[5] (143). In fact, for these interview subjects, "Romanian is synonymous with gypsy", a surprising equivalence, given the numbers of Portuguese Romanies living in the country. Generalizations and stereotypes (ethnotypes) associate Romanian migration with delinquency, even if in this definition of 'Romanian' is the underlying imagological concept of Gypsy in all of its connotations: "*os*

[5] The Gypsy race comes from Romania.

romenos saõ traiçoneiros, mendigos e inspiradores de sentimientos de piedade"[6] (169). Even when the Sub-Saharan population, because of its physical characteristics, is the target group of xenophobic and racist attitudes, Romanies appear to be at the head of the list due to two factors: 1) its association with criminality in the collective imagination; 2) its geographic distribution across the whole country, in contrast with the African population, which is largely concentrated in Lisbon and environs.

The Roma Ethnicity

Hancock (2002/2017) refers to the liberation of the Roma people from slavery in 1864 in the recently created Romanian State, with about 600,000 emancipates. However, they continued to be seen as outsiders, mainly because they were not Christians, had no country of origin and preferred to keep to themselves (31). In previous times, restrictive laws had been dictated in Europe to regulate their treatment and movement (in 1568, Pope Pius banished Romanies from the realm of the Holy Roman Church) and for centuries, to be born a Romani had been illegal. In Eastern Europe, under Communism, they lived in ghettos (*mahala* in Romanian) with high rates of unemployment and crime. To cope with racism, discrimination, and violence in Europe, the UN established the Roma Rights Centre (53). In the European folklore, Romanies are identified as non-white and evil-doers, and they could not access mechanisms to combat stereotypes. Media, often relying on literary or poorly researched sources, have transmitted news in an anti-Roma direction, as Kenedi shows (1986: 14), and Romanies remain the ideal target for *scapegoatism*. In turn, Beck (1985: 103) refers to other minorities in Romania who do have support (Germans, Magyars, Jews) whereas the Roma people lack a protective state and a history to legitimize them. Glase (1998: 1) claims that without a history, Romanies are defined by their 'behaviour' (Leerssen warned against using behavioural or temperamental patterns to define a group, leading to hazardous generalizations and ethnotypes) and they are submitted to racism, religious intolerance, and a literary tradition, making a blurred or non-existent distinction between imagined and real people. According to Hancock (2002/2017: 64), during the Industrial Revolution, literature depicted gypsies as either leading an idyllic rural way of life, or as 'noble savages' in need of Christian salvation, and their contemporary 'persona' is the result of dynamics rooted in the 19th century, based on colonialism and racial hierarchy, combined with a romantic nostalgia for unspoiled territory. On the other hand, children (especially European children) were presented with a misleading image of Romanies at ages when stereotypes and attitudes are formed. The image of 'Gypsy' as antithetical to

[6] They are treacherous, they are beggars, and they intend to inspire pity.

'us' while at the same time spatially nearby. It is also dichotomic, hinting at the myth of 'children-stealers' which still circulates, (see Kommers, 2007: 172) and at the image of far-away exotic people. Both clichés are equally dangerous because of their pedagogical power and the discrimination they both exert on this ethnicity through an *othering* strategy. The Romani reaction to this treatment goes in two directions, as Hancock shows (2002/2017: 67): either avoiding any contact with non-Romanies or cohabiting but educating in self-exclusion. Kommers (2007: 171) shows that this *status aparte* was sought by some Roma-elites and the minority has contributed to a certain degree to the perpetuation of the representation of alterity. This phenomenon is common to 'small cultures' that evolved under the sign of an inferiority complex in search of recognition such as those in the Balkan Peninsula, adopting mental pictures of themselves as they were "produced, reproduced, and distributed by literature and mass media from countries located far away" (Musat, 2022: 154). Kishwar (1998: 14) explains how people who are constantly humiliated and attacked often "transform their behaviour into that of the stereotyped image projected on them". As an example, Stockin, King & Knight (2001) interpret the flamenco dance as a 'stylized aggression' reflecting the resentment of having to entertain the patrons in exchange for protection from racism.

Fiction: The Roma Ethnicity in Literary Texts

Out of the ten literary works selected for analysis, three contained Romani elements. In the following section, we shall identify the prevalent ethnotypes (out of the most frequently found in literature, which go from slave and childish mentality, through hygiene and magic, to morals and crime), and the stylistic devices through which they are sub-textually introduced.

In the first place, the travelogue *Leva-me Contigo* by Alfons Reis Cabral (2019) recounts both a life experience and a social experiment, during the author's journey on foot from the North to the South of Portugal, "*pela Estrada Nacional 2*" sharing his experiences on social networks and receiving comments from friends and strangers. On the nineteenth day he meets some Roma children of Romanian origin (133) "*escondidos pelo pó de un camino*" (hidden in the dust of a country road), who are eating out of the garbage, are filthy, do not attend school, and do not speak Portuguese. One of them speaks to him in Romanian, whose similarity is a surprise for the author ("*cheios de frases em romeno que soavam quase a portugués*"—full of Romanian phrases that almost sounded like Portuguese), although he is disconcerted when a child who appears to be younger than he is ["*com oito anos, aparentava cinco*"— at eight years old, he seemed five (133)], with skin that is "between burnt and dirty", with "clear, green eyes", says to him in the little Portuguese he speaks (133): "*Leva-me contigo*" ("take me with you").

On one hand, the ethnotype alludes to the childish mentality, since the narrator refers to his interlocutor as appearing to be three years younger than his real (physical and intellectual) age. On the other hand, the narrator refers to hygiene, another major point of debate. Surprisingly, he does not offer a reflection on this encounter, but rather limits himself to describing it, recounting that the children are afraid of his tripod, a fact that leads the reader towards observing their endogamic life has taken place outside of urban centres. Nevertheless, he does in fact use the child's words as the title of this book, which leads the reader to empathize with his subjects, despite not legitimizing the group or countering the ethnotype, but rather reinforcing it with this echo of the myth of the 'noble savage'. Along the same lines, we note that the author has included (174) the three Roma children in his acknowledgments at the end of the book ("*aos três rapazinhos ciganos, por terem conversado comigo*"—to the three Gypsy boys for speaking with me.)

Myra is the protagonist of the novel with the same title written by Maria Velho da Costa (2008); she is a Russian adolescent, victim of a prostitution ring in Portugal, who lives surrounded by violence, under various identities, and on the verge of suicide, and who finds solace only in the company of her dog, a link to her yearned former life. The episode that motivates the selection of this literary work relates Myra's encounter with Sister Maria Augusta, who asks about her background. For obvious reasons, Myra invents a reality that is far from the truth, telling the nun that she is Romanian and, in order to be more convincing, includes a gastronomic element (71), ("*e hoje à noite temos bolas de carne com ervas e salpicão, que é o que eu mas gosto*"—and tonight, we're having meatballs with herbs and sauce, which is my favourite), leading to the questions (72): "*Tu és romena, filha? És da etnia cigana? Não te mandaran observar, naceste a termo?*" (Are you Romanian, my child? A Gypsy? Have you seen a doctor? Were you born normal?) Myra replies "*Nasci já cá, no Hospital de Setúbal, […] e a minha mãe tem más medo de ciganos do que do diabo na cruz*"[7]. The nun's inference in classifying Myra as being part of the Roma ethnicity is based on existing prejudices in the Portuguese society: the girl was born without a doctor's care and is thus deformed.

Among the above-mentioned ethnotypes, at least two appear here: that regarding hygiene (it is suggested that they follow unconventional lifestyles and have a different understanding of healthcare norms) and that of delinquency, depicting the criminal gypsy, who 'upright' people fear. The

[7] I was born here, at Setubal Hospital, and my mother is afraid of Gypsies more than of the devil on the cross.

author uses Myra's response to correct the nun's generalization and to draw a line between Romanians and Romanies, although she does not address the stereotype of danger that shadows this group, as she substitutes the nun's confusion about the Roma population's lack of medical care with another ethnotype, criminality: gypsies are "more feared than the devil".

The novel *Budapeste* (2002) by the Brazilian author Chico Buarque (well-known as a singer and poet), who is an exception in my selection of works limited to the Portuguese-speaking geographical context (due to his large number of readers in Portugal), is the first-person narration of an anonymous writer (ghost writer) who, during a stay in Budapest, falls in love with the Hungarian language and later with his teacher, Kriska, thus beginning a double life, divided between two cities and two women. While having a drink at the 'Asshole' Bar, a thief attempts to rob him and supposedly kill him (46): "*era romeno, usava um medalhăo de bronce no peito, uma argola na orelha, um anel em cada dedo, era um cigano romeno*"[8]. He had gold teeth, brutal fists, and murderous intentions (47): "*E assim ficou evidente que per alguna artimanha, com alguna prestidigitaçao cigana, eles tinham reservado para mim a bala do tambor. […] Estavam de olho no meu dinheiro desde o inicio, organizavam minha morte*" (It was obvious that through some scheme or Gypsy trick they had a bullet with my name on it…they were after my money from the beginning and had planned to kill me). The protagonist manages to slip out of the bar in the middle of a group of Danish tourists and the episode ends there.

Once again, we observe how contemporary literature, far from standing against ethnotypes (in this case, once more, that of delinquency and accompanied by a series of visual symbols in the medallion, rings, gold teeth, and earrings, almost a figure from a nineteenth-century engraving), it perpetuates them, with the Gypsy as an exponential case in his hypostasis of criminality, as was the case in the past in the writing of Cervantes, Tolstoy, Conan Doyle, or Verne. In fact, in none of the three cited works do we see the other vision of the Gypsy, romantic and more amiable (the bohemian, artistic Gypsy), which in the opinion of one of the interview subjects reflects a hardening of the Portuguese society's xenophobic attitudes over the past decade, and which, in turn may have something to do with the far-right's entry in the Portuguese Parliament (André Ventura's *Chega* Party). Moreover, Buarque corrects the initial perception that the narrator has when he first encounters this character— *era romeno* (he was Romanian) —settling on *cigano romeno* (a Romanian Gypsy) after describing his appearance ("*era romeno, usava um medalhăo de bronce no peito, uma argola na orelha, um*

[8] He was Romanian, wearing a bronze medallion on his chest, an earring, and ring on each finger; he was a Romanian Gypsy.

anel em cada dedo, era um cigano romeno"). Even though he makes this clarification at the end of the sentence, the deliberate ambiguity that he introduces with this confusion is latent in the subtext, and perhaps in the imagination of the reader.

Conclusions

This paper focused on the presence of Roma elements in three literary works selected for analysis (out of the ten identified as containing Romanian elements) as a reflection of a demographically diverse Portuguese society. It also delved into the striking fact that the Roma minority is considered by a part of Portuguese society as belonging exclusively to the Romanian migration of the nineties and 2000s, in spite of the pre-existence of a considerable local Roma population prior to the migration phenomenon, which was indeed intensified in the aftermath of the fall of the Eastern European communist regimes. In one of the novels (Chico Buarque's *Budapeste*) a dangerous criminal emerges, whereas in the other two, the reader is faced with children as victims of begging (Alfonso Reis Cabral's *Leva-me Contigo*) and prostitution (Maria Velho da Costa's *Myra*) with whom the reader obviously sympathizes, but which is no obstacle to the perpetuation of the ethnotypes through literature. Even if they dwell on a biased perception of the Romanian community in Portugal, these three books do reflect a) a part of the Portuguese society's fears and obsessions regarding otherness, at least those of the lower classes (according to the results of the ACIDI Report by Rosario, Santos & Lima, 2011), and b) the negative image of Romanian immigrants based on stereotypes/ ethnotypes and reinforced by media campaigns.

After having approached ten literary works written in Portuguese in the last two decades, containing characters and elements of Romanian culture, history and society, we can conclude that the ten works differ in views and topics, but also share some common elements, such as a Manichean view of Romanians, either as suspect characters of unreliable aspect, prone to evil-doing and deliberately depicted in a relation of synonymy with the ethnic Roma group (with its own ethnotypes), or as an educated and cultivated elite exoticized through religious, folkloric, idiosyncratic, and gastronomic elements.

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Cultural studies

SLAVIC ELEMENTS IN THE CALENDAR RITES OF THE ROMANIANS OF BUKOVYNA

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Abstract: *This study is aimed at identifying the most noticeable Slavic elements in the calendar rites of Bukovyna. It analyzes material collected by Romanian researchers in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century (E. Niculiță-*Voronca*, T. Pamfile, L. Bodnărescu, A. Fochi, A. Zașciuc), documents from the Central Scientific Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova, the* New Linguistic Atlas of Romania, Moldova and Bukovyna *(1987), as well as personal observations recorded by the authors of the study in Ukraine and Romania during ethnographic expeditions. In the calendar rites of the Romanians of Bukovyna, some clear Slavic elements can be identified, such as some names of calendar holidays, Ukrainian elements in such rites as* koliada, *the Christmas star,* shchedruvannya. *Ukrainian motifs of musical folklore in winter rites, as well as the use of the names of Ukrainian* opryshky *and* haidamaky*, the adaptation of the "walking with* vertep*", the use of the term* vidma *of Ukrainian origin, the penetration of the name and main text of the Ukrainian* Malanka *etc.*
Keywords: calendar rites; Bukovyna; Romanians of Bukovyna; acculturation; Slavic elements.

INTRODUCTION

The present study is territorially limited to the Chernivtsi region in the Ukraine and Suceava county in Romania. This area includes the historic

Bukovyna, part of northern Bessarabia, and the Gertsa region. From an ethnic point of view, it is the Ukrainian-Romanian-Moldovan border.

The current main trends of interethnic contacts between Ukrainians and Romanians in the Bukovyna ethnic contact zone resemble the main trends in several border territories in Europe. We can talk about commonalities and differences in the process of their functioning. For example, in contrast to the Ukrainian-Polish border, where the main criterion for identifying the ethnicity of communities is religion, in Bukovyna the language factor is definitive in the ethnic identification process of Ukrainians and Romanians. However, it should also be mentioned that there are several mixed villages in Bukovyna, whose population, as with the Ukrainian-Polish border, is bilingual. As is the case with the Ukrainian-Polish and the Ukrainian-Russian borders, the ethnic border does not coincide with the state border in Bukovyna. Comparing the Ukrainian-Romanian ethnic border with other European border regions, the interethnic contacts evince the peaceful cooperation between ethnic groups, which shapes the discourse of both ethnic groups. In this context, it is appropriate to mention Lorraine (*Lothringen*, in Germany), Switzerland and other European territories which are ethnically diverse. For example, interethnic contacts take place in a tolerant manner in Switzerland, where Germans, Italians, Romansh, and others live together peacefully.

Historically, the territory of Bukovyna has been a contact zone between the Slavic and Thracian civilizations. As historical conditions varied, the dominance of one ethnic group over the other alternated. Arguably, ethnic interaction has been constant, intensifying in certain historical periods. The process of ethnogenesis of both communities has taken place simultaneously. The mass settlement of the Slavs in this area in the 5^{th} – 6^{th} centuries were periods of rapprochement. This process had a marked influence on the formation of the Romanian language, into which a mass of Slavic words penetrated. Several centuries later, the independent Moldavian principality was created (14^{th} – 15^{th} centuries). From the 13^{th} century to the late 18^{th} century, Bukovyna was part of the Moldavian principality. Moldavian culture and language was dominant during these periods. From 1775 to 1918, Moldavia was a part of Austria (as of 1867, the Austro-Hungarian Empire), and the German language and culture were persistently cultivated. From 1918 onwards, Moldavia became part of Romania, and the Romanian language and culture became dominant. During this period, the contact zone was part of one state, which influenced the formation of the peaceful coexistence of ethnic groups. With the implementation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Bukovyna was divided into two parts: the southern part remained a part of Romania, and the northern part was integrated into the USSR. Nowadays, this territory is a part of the

Ukraine, and the Ukrainian language dominates. Nevertheless, in both parts of Bukovyna, the coexistence of the Romanian and Ukrainian populations continues.

The present study is aimed at identifying the most prominent Slavic elements in the calendar rites of the Romanians of Bukovyna. The methodology of the article is based on the principles of historicism. Methods such as analysis, synthesis, and comparative analysis are supplemented by the study of archival documents, field work, the study of an ethnographic miscellany of the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries and by mapping.

Investigating the interaction of different cultures becomes more relevant as globalization intensifies. Thus, such research provides pertinent examples of cultural interactions and their results in terms of traditional knowledge and practices, including rites. The novelty of this study consists in its analysis of neighbouring cultures by relying both on already existing archival and bibliographic material and on new information resulting from ethnographic expeditions carried out by the authors. Since the topic of the study is narrow and specific, its historiography is covered by the work of authors such as Gh. Bostan, A. Kurochkin, Gh. Kojoleanco and by several papers published by the authors of the present article.

The source base of the study consists of material collected by Romanian researchers in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries (E. Niculiță-Voronca, T. Pamfile, L. Bodnărescu, A. Fochi, F. Zașciuc), material from the Central Scientific Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova, *The New Linguistic Atlas of Romania, Moldova and Bukovyna* (1987) and personal observations recorded by the authors of the article on the territory of Ukraine and Romania during ethnographic expeditions.

BUKOVYNA ETHNOGRAPHIC ZONE – PRESERVATION OF PRE-CHRISTIAN CUSTOMS AND RITUALS

Our study confirms the specificity and uniqueness of the Bukovyna region with regard to the preservation of a large number of beliefs, customs and rituals inherent in the system of the people's calendar of the Romanians of Bukovyna. Local folk traditions were formed as a result of a thousand-year acculturation process in the border zone of two civilizations –Slavic and Romanian. The globalization of modern social life and the process of chaotic diffusion of traditional national values throughout the world have not yet managed to prevent the scientific community from understanding the essence of the impact of interethnic coexistence through the study of the Bukovyna ethnographic zone.

In Bukovyna, some remnants of pre-Christian traditions can be found. Among these, there is a set of so-called *wolven days* involving rituals meant to provide protection from predators, consisting in the practice of protective censing, the application of magical signs such as cruciforms, spells to remove fear etc. In some areas of Bukovyna, the oral folk tradition preserves archaic methods of measuring the time of year using natural phenomena, with the timeframes of the annual cycle of agricultural activity as guides and reference points. The repetitive ritual of the shepherd's holidays still exists, consisting in the rite of sprinkling holy water on the sheepfold, the expulsion of sheep through the smoke from the living fire, the shepherd's ritual of sacrificial cheese, and others. Concerning the agricultural cycle, we shall mention the weather bulb calendar, rites related to barren trees etc. Ritual bonfires are still being lit, customs and beliefs associated with the souls of deceased relatives are still being practiced, and there are still cases of initiation of young people into adulthood. Traditions of carolling and dramatic winter rites are gaining new impetus and a wide range of pluvial customs is still enacted.

The uniqueness of the Bukovynian ethnographic zone is confirmed by the numerous ancient customs and rites that are actually practiced to this day. Of these, we shall mention the magical ritual of burying the anthropomorphic *Caloian* doll (burial of the drought) to bring about rain, the remnants of the rite of *Paparuda* (*Dodola*), which have already vanished from the Romanian ethnic space. The ensemble of dramatic winter rites of the Ukrainians and Romanians of Bukovyna in terms of archaic splendour and the scale of celebration is an ethnographic phenomenon unique to the Ukraine, Romania and the Republic of Moldova. Rituals of maiden and bachelor initiation (for both the Romanian and the Ukrainian cultures) can still be found. Ukrainians in Bukovyna light ritual bonfires during Easter, while in other Slavic ethnographical zones, the ritual is usually practiced on *Ivana Kupala Night* and other holidays. The specificity of the ethnographic border zone is also reflected in the celebration of such popular holidays among Slavs as *Maslyana* and *Kupala Night* — they are not typical for Ukrainians in the region. Several transitional, reworked calendar customs and rites were formed in this area, and were later adapted to the local customary norms of behaviour, way of life etc.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE CALENDAR RITES OF THE UKRAINIANS AND ROMANIANS OF BUKOVYNA

A comparative analysis of the calendar rites of the Romanians of Bukovyna and their Ukrainian neighbours revealed a large number of common features in the performance of rituals of agricultural and pastoral cycles. These include such rites as the first ploughing of the field, rituals concerning barren trees, and the custom of first bringing the cattle to pasture on St. George's Day. Common rites are also included in the celebration of Christmas. These are: leaving the remains of ritual dishes for the souls of deceased relatives, the singing of carols, walking with a star (walking with musicians and singers led by a leader holding a gold or silver star), *Herod* (live *Vertep*), *shchedruvannya* (singing winter-blessing songs), *posivannya* (traditional songs, inviting spring), dramatic rites (bringing the goat, bear, foal or *Malanka*). In addition to the common set of Easter rituals of a purely ecclesiastical nature, based on one's confessional identity, there are also such rituals as the act of throwing water, swinging on a swing, prohibitions and restrictions during Lent, a list of ritual dishes etc. (Moysey, 2010: 225).

However, several calendar rites have not spread to other ethinicities, retaining their ethnic identity. We are talking about the Romanians' holidays and rituals in Bukovyna: thus, *Sfântul Toader* (St. Theodore) is celebrated in the first week of Lent. In some Bukovynian villages, horses are brought out to pasture for the first time, calves are shorn. This ritual was enacted to protect livestock from disease; *Mărțișor* is a traditional spring meeting holiday (Romania, Republic of Moldova) which is celebrated on the 1st of March. On this day, people give each other boutonnieres in the form of flowers, made of white and red threads. *Baba Dochia* is a mythological character. According to legend, she shakes the snow off her 12 shrouds and thereby causes changeable weather in March; *Arminden* is celebrated on the 1st of May and holds symbolic congratulations for the first day of spring. Also, it is meant to help avoid natural disasters. In the villages of Bukovyna, *Arminden* is reified as a bare tree decorated with ears of wheat. For nine Thursdays after Easter, a ritual for the protection against hail is enacted, the so-called *Joimărițe*, i.e. a terrible mythological female creature, who on Holy Thursday checks what young women and girls have done over the winter. She is the patron of weaving and checks on young women's diligence. *Caloian* is a pluvial rite, which consists of the ritual burial of an anthropomorphic doll during a drought; *Paparuda* is a tour made by the youth of peasant farms. The main character is a pure lady decorated with green branches and leaves. She performs songs and dances to summon the rain. *Gaiduk* folk performances (*Gruia și Novac, Bujor, Păun, Joian, Codreanu*, *Coroi*, *Pintea)*, the dramatic rite *Brâncovenii* and other rites are not typical for the calendar rites of the Ukrainians of Bukovyna.

Conversely, the Ukrainians have their own customs and rites, such as the *puppet vertep* at Christmas time. Puppet *vertep* implies the existence of a portable theatre. The nativity scene house consists of two tiers, while the nativity scene is divided into two parts: religious and secular, corresponding to tragedy and comedy. *Didukh* is a Christmas symbol that looks like a sheaf of rye or wheat. Considered to represent the spirit of the grandfathers, *Didukh* is placed in a corner of the room on Christmas, decorated with colourful ribbons. It symbolizes the spirit of the guardian of the economy, the key to a bountiful harvest, prosperity, and wealth. *Warming* or *burning the grandsire* implies that at the end of the Christmas holidays *Didukh* must be burned off. This fire brings about the end of winter and the beginning of agricultural activities. Moreover, the spirits of the ancestors can return to heaven. Another specific custom that is worth mentioning is *Kalita*. *Kalita* is the name of a ritual cake prepared for St. Andrew's Day. The game is a contest of who will bite *Kalita*. The girls kiss the winners and adorn them with periwinkle wreaths. We have mentioned above only a few examples of winter customs that are uncommon for eastern Romanian people.

At the same time, we observe mutual borrowings in this area. According to the purpose of our study, we will focus on the Slavic elements in the calendar rites of the Romanians of Bukovyna. One of the obvious borrowings consists in the names of calendar holidays, namely: *Stratenia, Stretenia* (Ukr. *Stritennia*); *Teplea Alecsa*, *Alecsi-Boje* (Ukr. *Sviato Teplogo Oleksy*); *Blagoștene, Blagoveștenia* (Ukr. *Blagoviscennia*); *Probajele, Probajine*, *Probajeni* (Ukr., *Preobrajennia Gospodne* – The Transfiguration of Christ), *Ispasul, Stroborul, Procoava*, *Ovidenia* and others. In this case, we see the influence of church tradition. Both Romanians and Ukrainians belong to the same denomination, i.e. the Orthodox religion. Church books were written and read in Old Slavonic in the churches attended by Romanians, so the names of the mentioned calendar holidays were circulated in Slavonic.

In the second half of the 19th century, A. Zașciuc noted that most peoples of Bessarabia borrowed many customs from the Moldavians, and they, in turn, borrowed from their neighbours, mostly the Ruthenians (Ukrainians), with whom they almost assimilated in the northern regions. Zașciuc also drew attention to specific borrowings in the spiritual sphere. Thus, carols sung on the first day of Christmas, walking with a star, s*hchedruvannya* (generosity songs, blessing songs) for the New Year enacted by Romanian Moldavians, in his opinion, come from the Ukrainians; this also applies to beliefs in *rusalki* (water nymphs), who are considered to be drowned girls or the souls of unbaptized babies (Zașciuc, 1862: 450, 484, 487).

An important contribution to the study of the commonalities and differences in the traditional culture of the Romanians and Ukrainian population of Bukovyna was provided by Prof. Gh. Bostan. The scholar identified common components in fantastic and novelistic stories, as well as fairy tales about animals. He argued that different elements of mutual borrowing in chronology became popular in national repertoires: the Ukrainian *Malanka* among Romanian Moldavians, Moldavian wedding orations among Ukrainians, Ukrainian fairy tales among Moldavians, Moldavian fairy tales among Ukrainians, the interpenetration of poetic features etc. (Bostan, 1985: 83, 131). According to the scholar, the Romanian *plugușor* ritual had a local influence on Ukrainian agricultural Christmas carols *(shchedrivky)* in Bukovyna and northern Moldova (Bessarabia), and Ukrainian motifs of musical folklore interacted and intertwined with Moldavian *zoomorphic games* (goat, horse), household scenes (*Did* and *Baba*), *Haiduk* performances (*Bujor*, *Jianu*). The folklorist concluded that the Moldavian *Haiduk drama* in Bukovyna was significantly enriched with motifs and images of Ukrainian folklore (characters like Oleksa Dovbush and Ustym Karmaliuk) (12-16).

In certain areas, Romanians have borrowed the *Walking with Vertep* custom from their Ukrainian neighbours, consisting in children walking and carolling with a model of a church or stable. *Vertep* is a portable puppet theatre representing the mystery of the Nativity of Christ. The theatres were large boxes, about the height of a human adult, covered with cloth or lined with coloured paper and often with paper representations of saints.

T. Pamfile and E. Niculiță-Voronca give examples of the borrowing of the name *vidma* (*witch)* from the Ukrainian language (Niculiţă-Voronca, 1998; Pamfile, 1916: I, 129). In Romanian mythology, this character appears under the names *strigoi*, *strigoaică* and *strigă*. In their writings, T. Pamfile and L. Bodnărescu mentioned other common mythological characters – *moroi* – the souls of unbaptized stillborn children who roam the village at night and drink the blood of children and young girls (Bodnărescu, 1908: 17; Pamfile, 1916: I, 131).

DRAMATIC WINTER CARNIVAL RITES

As for *Malanka*, Romanians borrowed this term from Ukrainians as an umbrella term for the carnival in general. In addition to the term, some motifs of the *Malanka* carol were borrowed as well. In the Bukovynian ethnographic zone, *Malanka* is a complex of the same type of dramatic rituals, formed along the interethnic Ukrainian-Romanian-Moldovan border. Thus, *Malanka* is widely spread in the Republic of Moldova, across the Ukrainian districts Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Khmelnytskyi, Chernivtsi, Vinnytsia, Kharkiv, and Kyiv, and across the northern districts of Romania. The initial localization of the rite was concentrated, according to the hypothesis of Professor Gh. Bostan, in Podnistrovya (Mohyliv-Podilskyi raion) and northern Bessarabia (Ataky, Okniţa). To confirm his theory, the researcher cites the textual support of the rite among Ukrainians ("Our Malanka was in the Dniester", "Malanka-Podnistryanka", "...took water from the Dniester"), as well as from Moldavians ("Malanochka from *Hârlău*/ Strolled in Mohyliv") (Bostan, 1985: 42). Professor A. Kurochkin, who researched the *Malanka* rite in the whole Ukrainian ethnic range, holds a similar opinion. According to him, the most complete versions of the rite have been registered in Transnistria and the surrounding areas. The richness of carnival paraphernalia, the composition of performers, the accompanying folklore in its verbal, musical and dance expression unveil their structural development. In this area, the rite retains its archaic features up to the present (Kurocikin, 1995: 107-108). Material resulting from our field research confirms the findings of Gh. Bostan and A. Kurochkin. In several Bukovynian villages, *Malanka* songs used to be sung with the melody of the *Malanka-Podnistryanka* song: it is heard in Berehomet, Vashkivtsi of Vyzhnytsia district; Boyanchuk, Kostryzhivka, Malyi Kuchuriv of Zastavna raion; Davydivka, Nova Zhadova of Storozhynets raion**;** Dnistrivka of Kelmentsi raion; Zhylivka of Novoselytsia raion, Kruglyk, Nedoboivtsi of Khotyn raion; Revno, Striletskyi Kut, Shyshkivtsi of Kitsman raion. These are Ukrainian villages where the influence of the all-Ukrainian space is strongly felt. This melody was also recorded by N. Băieșu in Dynivtsi, Novoselytsia district, in 1971 (carols sung at Christmas) (TsNAANRM, 1971: F. 19, R. 238, 70). In the villages of Hertsa and Hlyboka raions, the motif is preserved, although the text varies (Bostan, 1998: 101). *Malanka* emerges as a clear influence from the neighbouring Ukrainian space.

Thus, it can be confirmed that this motive has only been adopted by the Romanians of Bukovyna of Novoselytsia, Hertsa and Hlyboka raions of Chernivtsi region of Ukraine and in the northern regions of the Republic of Moldova. Conversely, it is not typical of the Storozhynets region of the Ukraine and of Suceava county in Romania. Moreover, even for the Romanians of Bukovyna residing in the Novoselytsia, Hertsa and Hlyboka raions, this motif is not the main one in texts on *Malanka*.

The southern border of the spread of *Malanka* is the north of historical Moldavia: the Suceava and Botoșani counties of Romania; in Botoșani, the term *Malanka* as the name of the carnival group is recorded only in one village, Călinești (Fochi, 1976: 307). In this context, it should be emphasized that the term *Malanka* is often found in mixed Ukrainian-Romanian or Romanian villages located alongside Ukrainian villages: Pătrăuți, Hănțești, Volovăț (NALR, 1987: 66, 86, 105).

Differences within the territories of these areas are also visible in the mapping of *Malanka*, which is used by the Ukrainians and Romanians of Bukovyna alike as the name of the dramatic winter rite. The *mapping* shows that the centre of the widest spread of the term is the entire territory of the Chernivtsi region, in both Ukrainian and Romanian-speaking villages. In Suceava County, as one moves from the north towards the south, the term gradually disappears. The southern boundary of the spread of the term *Malanka* is the line Suceava – Gura Humorului – Câmpulung Moldovenesc (Moysey, 2010: K 5-1б).

Regarding the text of this rite, in addition to the motif “Malanochka from Hirleu/ Walked in Mogilev”, the Romanians of Bukovyna used to sing the common motif “Let Malanka into the house,/ Because it is raining in the yard” since the second half of the 19th century. They also described *Malanka* as a hard-working and beautiful girl (“She will heat the stove/ And sweep the house,/ And wash the dishes”). The material we have collected shows that this motif is the most common among Romanians in Bukovyna. It is registered in Dynivtsi, Boyany, Malynivka, Marshyntsi in the Magala Novoselytsia district, Kupka in the Dymka Hlyboka district, Budentsi, Lower Petrivtsi and Upper Petrivtsi of the Storozhynets district, Kolinkivtsi Khotyn district of Chernivtsi region. It is also most common among Ukrainians in Bukovyna in the villages of Bagna and Vashkivtsi in the Vyzhnytsia district, Revne and Streletskiy Kut in the Kitzman district, Zhylivka in the Novoselytsia district, Gordivtsi, Kruglyk and Nedoboivtsi in the Khotyn district, Boyanchuk and Maliy Kuchuriv in the Zastavna district, Zhadova in the Storozhynets district, Dykhtynets in the Putil district, and Brailivka in the Kelmenets district.

Our analysis of field work material allows us to state that this dramatic rite may have been performed without traditional words or songs in the Romanian-speaking villages of Bukovyna. Furthermore, it has been recorded that in most Romanian-speaking villages it takes place without the usual *Malanka* text, while the words of other New Year's rituals, such as *the Goat*, the *Bear* etc., are performed. There is only the name of the band – *Malanka*. The most relevant territory in this case is the southern part of Bukovyna.

Thus, according to source material, in Romanian-speaking villages, only Romanian performances - such as *The Bear, The Goat*, *Haiduk* performances etc. – were held under this name. The Romanians of Bukovyna did not borrow the main characters of the Ukrainian rite – *Vasyl* and *Malanka*. This is clearly visible in the composition of the Romanian *Malanka* throughout Bukovyna. Consequently, it is recorded that in the Bukovynian ethnographic zone this term currently covers a set of similar dramatic rites, which include characters from various groups of outfits (for example *goat, horse, bears*, *old woman, old man, Haiduk* and historical performances).

Walking with a Goat is one of the most common rites of the Romanian population of Bukovyna. The mapping we performed shows that the goat ritual is evenly distributed across the territory of both the Romanian and Ukrainian populations of Bukovyna. The ritual is held mainly on New Year's Eve, although there is evidence related to its performance on Christmas Eve or between Christmas and New Year.

Based on the source material, it was found that there are two types of performance in this ethnographic zone. The first type, the simplest, involves two participants: a guide and a goat. While the guide is carolling (reciting), the dressed man pulls the goat's jaw by the rope in synch with the carol. Then they change places. In performances of the second type, the action turns into a folk drama (there is a kind of stage), in which five to ten actors take part. The script, in this case, consists of the following episodes: the grandfather (old man) sells a goat, the goat gets sick, they (i.e. the doctor, the witch-doctor, the gipsy lady, sometimes the grandfather himself, according to the respective version) try to cure it, the goat finally gets up and starts dancing.

Analysing the main episodes of performing the *goat* ritual in Ukrainian- and Romanian-speaking villages of the Chernivtsi region and the Republic of Moldova (the goat's sale, illness, treatment, healing and dancing), Prof. Gh. Bostan stated that such a development of *the goat play* among Romanian Moldavians is observed only in the villages of the Chernivtsi region and in the northern parts of the Republic of Moldova. This gave him reason to claim that the Bukovynian and North Moldavian versions of the play were enriched with new fragments due to long-term contact with the widespread identical Ukrainian folk performance (Bostan, 1985: 38-39).

Comparing the Ukrainians' and Romanians' material on the ritual of *Walking with a Goat*, it is worth noting that the main characters are identical (the *Goat* and *Did, the elder* who leads it), and that the main episodes are similar. However, there is a difference in the texts and accompaniment of the *goat*. For example, Ukrainians have a common ritual recitative of agrarian nature: "Where a goat walks, there rye sprouts,/ Where it doesn't, there it withers,/ Where a goat steps, there will be rye in sheaves,/ Where a goat touches its horn, there will be rye in a stock" (Zahaipin of Kolomyia district). In some cases, the calendar is also different: Ukrainians often perform this ritual both on New Year and on Christmas. In the Hutsul region, for example, *Walking with a Ram* was typical of Christmas. The Ukrainians of Bukovyna have a custom of *Walking with a Living Goat* at Epiphany (Kamyana, Hlybochok, and Snyachiv in the Storozhynets raion). The Gipsy and the Jew played a leading role in this rite (Kojoleanco, 2004: III, 108).

There was no mass borrowing by the Ukrainians from the Romanians' *Haiduk* and military folk performances (*Banda lui Bujor*, *Joianul*, *Gruia* etc.), performances with a historical (*Constantin Brâncoveanu*) and folklore (*Făt-Frumos*) content. Instead, the names of the most famous Ukrainian *opryshki* and *haidamaky* characters (U. Karmalyuk, O. Dovbush, V. Dzhuryak) took their place in the repertoires of Romanian plays. This fact reflects the common interests in the anti-serfdom struggle of the people.

Conclusions

The long coexistence of Slavs (in this case Ukrainians) and Romanians in Bukovyna led to the interpenetration of folk rites. This process was facilitated by their common religious affiliation, similarities in running their household, mixed marriages and mutual visits during the holidays.

The acquisition of certain rituals was mutual. Summing up the results of the study, it can be stated that in the calendar rites of the Romanians of Bukovyna some explicit Slavic elements can be distinguished. These include: names of calendar holidays, Ukrainian elements in such rites as carols sung on the first day of Christmas, *Walking with a Star*, *shchedruvannya*, Ukrainian motifs of musical folklore in dramatic winter rites and their use of the names of Ukrainian *opryshki* and *haidamaky (Ukrainian insurgents)*, the imitation of the rite of walking with *vertep*, the use of the Ukrainian term for "witch", the adoption of the name and main text of the Ukrainian *Malanka* etc.

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REPRESENTATIONS OF INDIAN ASCETICS: FROM JOHANN MARTIN HONIGBERGER'S MEMOIR TO EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY ROMANIAN NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

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Abstract: *In recent times, Indian ascetics have become pop icons due to the influence of visual entertainment media. Outside their country of origin, they are often negatively stereotyped to foster derogatory understandings of the Others and their cultures. In this paper, we will focus on representations of Indian ascetics. Starting with their early depictions in the memoir of the Transylvanian physician Dr Honigberger, we will examine their representations in Romanian newspapers and journals. In order to account for Romanian interest in ascetics from a faraway land, this paper will take into consideration the historical developments that led to the growth of European interest in them. Through a comparison between nineteenth century British (Osborne 1840) and East-European (Honigberger 1851, 1852) writings on Indian ascetics, we will try to understand whether conceptualization of Indian ascetics in Romanian-speaking territories differed in any way from that of the British colonizers in India. The paper will then move on to examine how the Romanian press conceptualized these ascetics. Evidences point to the fact that the Romanian press became interested in Indian ascetics, erroneously generalized as fakirs, from ca. 1900 to 1940. Analysing Romanian journal and magazine articles on Indian fakirs, which till now remain untranslated into English, this article will try to show how the Romanian press conceived of the ascetics of a faraway country. Our research methodology is based on text analysis, relying on a broader cultural perspective. For the purpose of this paper, we have selected a series of article samples, taking into consideration diversity in terms of regions (southern Romania and Transylvania), as well as the most relevant period (1906-1935). The interest in Indian* sadhus *and their doings basically emerged starting with the mid-nineteenth century. Yet over the following decades accounts have changed in terms of focus. While nineteenth century authors were primarily concerned with the physical*

aspects of their work, texts written in the first decades of the twentieth century suggest that journalists and writers generally looked at the more surprising and entertaining side of fakirs' actions. Finally, the paper suggests why Romanian press lost interest in Indian ascetics after the 1940s.
Keywords: Indian ascetics; East-European travellers; Johann Martin Honigberger; Romanian periodicals.

Introduction

To someone entirely unacquainted with Romania's rich history and culture, Dracula is among the first names that crosses one's mind while thinking of the country. We now know that Bram Stoker's creation bears little resemblance to the historical Vlad Ţepeş, the Voivode of Wallachia (1456-1462). Even the practice of drinking human blood, wrongly attributed to the Voivode, was actually the feat of one Hungarian Countess named Elizabeth Bathory who lived a century later (1560-1614) (see Pop 2019: 140-141). Yet, print and media adaptations of Stoker's novel have ensured an undying notoriety to Vlad, and, subsequently his country. Interestingly, in this very novel Stoker implicitly compares the undead vampire Dracula and the Indian *fakirs*[9]. To convince the sceptic Dr Seward in the existence of the scientifically unexplainable, Dr Helsing reminds him about the *fakirs*' power of surviving underground burial for months. He asks:

> "Can you tell me how the Indian fakir can make himself to die (sic) and have been buried, and his grave sealed and corn sowed on it, and the corn reaped and be cut and sown and reaped and cut again, and then the men come and take away the unbroken seal, and that there lie (sic) the Indian fakir, not dead, but that rise up and walk amongst them as before?" (Stoker, 1997: 172)[10].

By drawing a parallel between a so called 'Romanian vampire' and Indian miracle workers, the author seems to hint at a sinister connection between these two groups of foreigners (to him) – the Romanians and the Indians. Given that many British readers in Stoker's times may have had followed him in imaginatively linking the two, it would be interesting to find out how

[9] Also spelt as *faqueer* in the nineteenth century. This paper retains the contemporary spelling, except in citations.
[10] Here Stoker obviously had in mind a particular Indian ascetic named Haridas. He survived several such interments; the most well documented one being in 1837, when he displayed his power before the Sikh ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the British Resident Sir Claud M. Wade. It was also reported that, on another occasion, a crop of barley was sown on the earth under which he was entombed in a sealed box (Osborne, 1840: 126). As it will be shown, the Romanian press was also interested in Haridas and his death-defying feat.

one of these ‘outsiders’ (the Romanians) imagined the other (the Indian *fakirs*).

This paper focuses on Romanian representations of Indian ascetics from the early nineteenth century to the mid twentieth century. It particularly examines how the Romanian press conceptualized Indian *fakirs* starting with the late nineteenth century. Evidences indicate that the press became interested in Indian ascetics, wrongly generalized outside India as *fakirs*, from ca. 1900 to 1940[11]. The paper tries to account for this sudden surge of interest in ascetics and miracle workers from a faraway land. There is something remarkable in Romanian fascination with Indian *fakirs* around this time. Unlike West European colonial powers like Britain, France, and others, Romania had little territorial stake in South Asia[12] in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Consequently, this interest in Indian ascetics and miracle workers cannot, perhaps, be too readily related to Orientalism in the Saidian sense. Here we have in mind Edward Said’s famous definition of Orientalism as “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (Said, 2001: 3). Of course, it is important to recognize that ‘domination’ and ‘authority’ in the Saidian sense do not necessarily denote actual political authority or military domination. In fact, these are to be understood as being more discursive than real. We do recognize that, to some extent, Romanian Orientalism in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century followed existing models of European Orientalism in exercising discursive control over a discursively constructed Orient. Nevertheless, we also contend that a relationship of power – and the concomitant idea of “the East as career” (5) - did not readily colour Romania’s relationship with Asian countries. Hence, we hypothesize that Romanian approach to Indian *fakirs* did differ in some extent from that of other West Europeans. This hypothesis will be tested against evidences as we proceed.

Our study focuses on eleven articles ranging from 1893 to 1942. In terms of publications, they appeared both in Romania (*Moftul român* [*Romanian Whim*], *Adevărul* [*Truth*], *Medicina populară* [*Popular Medicine*] and, as well as in Transylvania: *Ecoul* [*Echo*], *Realitatea ilustrată* [*Illustrated*

[11] While most of the reporting took place roughly in the span of these four decades, the greater number of articles on Indian ascetics appeared in the late twenties and the thirties of the twentieth century. We surmise that this was due to the steady increase of periodical publications over the country, as well as a shift from occult sciences/spiritualism towards the “fakir” seen as a mere performer or entertainer. The type of periodicals publishing articles in the twenties and the thirties of the twentieth century validate this hypothesis – they are less general newspapers and rather fit into popular magazines, often focusing on key events/celebrities/fashion and travel.

[12] Besides India, South Asia includes Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives. Moreover, India, as used in this paper, refers to the pre-partitioned undivided India which comprised of contemporary India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Reality], *Tribuna* [*Tribune*], *Gazeta Transilvaniei* [*Transylvania's Gazette*]). In terms of selection criteria, we have considered not only diversity in terms of place and time, but a wider range of topics: most articles describe the acts performed by a *fakir* in the sense of a performer able to captivate the attention of a European audience, while others hint at *fakir* as a generic concept, closer to the idea of an ascetic. In one particular case, the meaning extended beyond its primary significance. This case refers to a prominent Romanian personality, Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu (*Truth*, 1935: 1) who adopted the word as his own nickname. The word *fakir* used as an alternate name comes up in the article "The fakir in Epi" (*Echo*, 1938: 5), where it connects to Mirzali Khan Wazir, a Pashtun local leader fighting for the independence of the Pashtunian state in the twenties, a remote area located between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

To explain why the Romanian press suddenly became interested in Indian *fakirs*, the historical developments that led to it are taken into consideration.. In the process, we concentrate on the memoir of the nineteenth century Transylvanian writer and traveller Dr Honigberger. As one of the earliest travellers to visit India from this region, Honigberger catches one's eye. We compare his views on the *fakirs* with those of his colonizing British contemporaries. Finally, through close textual analysis, we point out how Romanian press conceptualized Indian *fakirs* in the early twentieth century. We also try to account for the gradual diminishing of the Press' curiosity in them by the 1940s.

Understandably, some background information is necessary to facilitate one's comprehension of this unfamiliar topic. Hence the next section will begin with a short presentation of Indian asceticism and European encounter with Indian ascetics and miracle workers, with a detailed emphasis on Honigberger's memoir. The paper will then move on to examine and analyse the representations of Indian *fakirs* in Romanian newspapers and journals.

Indian asceticism and ascetics in European eyes: from the earliest times to Johann Martin Honigberger

Any study of European representations of Indian ascetics must begin by demolishing a prevailing misconception. It is essential to understand that the word *fakir* or *faqir* specifically denotes a Muslim ascetic. The Hindu counterpart would be a *sadhu* or a *sannyasi*. Moreover, besides Hindu *sadhus* and Muslim *fakirs*, Buddhist, Jain, and Sikh ascetics can also be found in the subcontinent. But foreigners rarely differentiate among these ascetics from diverse faiths. Instead, it is more common in Europe and America to use the word *fakir* as an umbrella term for almost all South Asian religious ascetics. Perhaps James Gerein is right in suggesting that the word *fakir* calls to mind the word *faker*, it being the latter's "aural fraternal twin". Maybe that is why colonizers readily used it to designate ascetics from all religions different from their own (Gerein, 1999: 7). It appears that these colonizing powers passed it on to the other Europeans, who derived their knowledge of India mostly through British and French colonizers. Interestingly, when Western authors write specifically of *Indian fakirs*, it is usually the Hindu *sadhus* whom they have in mind. Hindu ascetics have always astonished foreigners with their severe self-mortifying practices. Some of these like spike-lying or fire-walking are obviously amazing enough to appear almost preternatural. It is for this reason that *fakir* gradually became synonymous with miracle workers and magicians in the West, nineteenth century onwards.

A few words on the severe self-mortifying practices of Indian ascetics will not be out of place here. First, Hindu ascetics are not the only ones in India to practice severe self-mortifications. Among Muslim ascetics, some sects are known for their severe austerities like the self-mutilating Rafa'i fakirs or the fire-walking Madari fakirs (for details see Zubrzycki, 2018: 133-137). To practice non-attachment, Jain ascetics of the Digambara sect do not wear any clothes. Jain ascetics also practice *sallekhana* or fasting unto death (see Shah 2007). However, of these Indian ascetics from diverse faiths, it is the Hindu *sadhus* who have drawn the most attention in the West. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the Hindus form the largest religious group in India, and the Hindu ascetics are consequently more numerous here than those of other faiths. There also seems to be an inadvertent conflation of India with Hinduism in Western perception, which is the religion of the majority in the country.[13] In such a view, Hindu ascetics (mistakenly) come to stand for all Indian ascetics. Secondly, Indian practices of religious austerity differ in several respects from their Western counterparts. It is imperative to understand that the idea of Original Sin does not occur in many South Asian religions like Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. Consequently, the ascetic practices of the followers of these religions cannot be readily equated with the Christian idea of penance to atone for sins. Particularly, Hindu conceptualization of austerity or *tapasya* is often different from that in the West. In place of atonement, Benjamin Walker sees *tapasya* as an exercise to acquire merit or spiritual powers (2019: 79). Likewise, Aki Cederberg describes *tapasya*, somewhat impishly, as:

> "… a form of spiritual machismo, wherein the *tapasvin* (the practitioner), after going through some form of extreme austerity … [gains] a kind of divine power from the experience" (Cederberg, 2017: 57).

[13] It must be pointed out that this differs from contemporary India's self-perception as a secular pluralist democracy.

He adds that "[T]he motivation for the austerities lies not in the realms of guilt, sin, or repentance, as they would in a Christian context" (57). We do not entirely agree to Walker and Cederberg, though they are right to a large extent. At times, atonement does motivate Hindu ascetics. One may take one of the legends of Valmiki as an example, which presents the epic poet of Ramayana as a robber who underwent *tapasya* to atone for his sins (Dalal, 2014: 1075-1077). Thus, it is not surprising to find European writers, including Romanian ones, often misunderstanding Hindu ascetics and their asceticism. For instance, in an article published in *Realitatea ilustrată* [Illustrated Reality] in 1928, the writer translates the word *yogi*[14] as a "penitent sinner" ('păcătosul pocăit' in Romanian, *Realitatea ilustrată*, 1928: 8). But a *yogi* is simply an ascetic, particularly one who is a practitioner of *yoga* (Dalal, 2014: 1154) [15]. There is nothing in the Hindu tradition or scriptures to identify him as a sinner, even a 'penitent' one[16]. To the writer's defence, we may say that such mistakes are natural for foreigners to make. However, such misconceptions are nevertheless to be avoided.

European curiosity in Indian ascetics and their difficult austerities dates back at least to the time of Alexander the Great. Alexander himself reportedly conversed with these ascetics, whom the Greeks called *gymnosophists* or naked philosophers (Zubrzycki, 2018: 24-25). It appears that their austerities impressed the ancient Greeks, who had their own tradition of stoic philosophy. While medieval Europe's idea of India was hazy, one occasionally came across descriptions of Indian ascetics in works like Marco Polo's (Polo, 2016: 266 – 268; also, Zubrzycki, 2018, 36-38). A deeper understanding of Indian ascetics began developing in the West only after the discovery of the sea-route to India in 1497-1498. This discovery brought India closer to Europe. A recent paper argues that the rekindling of European interest in Indian ascetics and their severe asceticism from sixteenth century onwards was a function of West European colonialism and global expansionism. Consequently, European representations of Indian ascetics, who were mistakenly generalized as *fakirs* by this time, were coloured by ideologies of imperialism and colonialism (Chakraborty, 2021: 156 – 160). While, unlike their West European counterparts, East European countries including Romania never had any direct territorial stake in South Asia, it is also true that East-European contact with India was facilitated by

[14] The feminine form is *yogini* (Dalal, 2014: 1154).
[15] *Yoga* (Sanskrit – union) is "one of the six classical systems of philosophy in India" (Dalal, 2014: 1150). Like *fakir*, the word *yogi* is often used abroad as a generic term for any and every Hindu ascetic.
[16] The concept of the Original Sin being absent in Hinduism, it is theoretically possible to remain immaculate from birth.

British and French colonialism in the subcontinent. One may take the case of Johann Martin Honigberger (1795-1869) as an example[17]. He was a physician at the court of the Sikh ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839)[18]. It was through tales of French adventurers in Ranjit Singh's employ that he became interested in the promising career prospects at the latter's court. Incidentally, Ranjit Singh employed the French in his army to counter growing British supremacy in the subcontinent. Honigberger himself served as the "superintendent of the gunpowder-mill and gun-manufacturing" under Ranjit, besides his regular position of a physician (Honigberger, 1852: xviii). Probably the former appointment was given to him on account of his European origin, Europeans being valued as officers in armies of Indian rulers at that period[19]. Therefore, his employment at the Lahore court was indirectly the offshoot of British imperialism and colonialism in South Asia[20]. It must have been similar for the few other Romanians who visited India during this period.

Since Honigberger was one of the few nineteenth century East-European visitors in India to document their experiences, it will be worthwhile to consider his depiction of Indian *fakirs* in some details. His memoir, *Thirty-five Years in the East: Adventures, Discoveries, Experiments, and Historical Sketches*, was published in two volumes in 1852 (Bordaș, 2005: 507-532). Though geographically Kronstadt was not a part of Romania at the moment Honigberger travelled to Lahore or when he published his memoirs, several decades later the interest in Indian yogis/fakirs emerged and spread out in newspapers and journals in either the Romanian Kingdom or Transylvanian media in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A version of this book had appeared in German in 1851, being entitled *Fruchte aus dem Morgenlande* (*Fruits from the Orient*). Significantly, the English version of Honigberger's German edition specifically addressed the British readers, as Honigberger writes, "to the English public, *in an English dress"* (1852: i; emphasis ours). This may account for some colonial prejudices appearing in

[17] Honigberger was born in Kronstadt, nowadays Brasov in Romania. He travelled to Lahore, now in Pakistan, via Levant, Egypt, Arabia and Persia (Honigberger, 1852: i). It was at Baghdad that he came to know about Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He worked in the Lahore court from 1828-1832 and 1936-1949, see British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG195927, accessed 22 September 2021.

[18] Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Lion of Punjab, was the last great Indian ruler to maintain an independent existence in the nineteenth century. He had his court at Lahore.

[19] British and French military victories in the eighteenth century had raised their prestige in the eyes of Indian rulers. Consequently, they employed many Europeans in their services to train and officer their armies.

[20] It is not out of place to mention here that Honigberger received a pension from the British government in India, for which he thanked the Governor General and the Board of Administration in Punjab in his book (Honigberger, 1852: xxix).

it. Thus, one finds clichéd attacks on Hinduism as standing "in the way of every attempt at improvement" of the Hindus (Honigberger, 1852: iii). One also encounters condescension towards the "uncivilized natives of Asia, whose statements cannot always be relied on" (xxviii, iii). Likewise, there is a derision of indigenous systems of medicine (iii). Ironically, this comes at a time when British surgeons were appropriating techniques of rhinoplasty and plastic surgery from Indian medical practitioners (for detailed discussion see, Nichter et al., 1983: 635-647; also, Yalamanchili et. al., 2008: 6-9). Honigberger himself mentions meeting a patient whose nose was restored through the indigenous technique. He 'confesses' that "it could not have been better done in Europe" (Honigberger, 1852: 49). In view of these facts, his dismissal of indigenous medicine elsewhere in this work appears hollow. Perhaps, it typifies how knowledge exchanges in the colonial era were always affected by unequal power-relationships between the Indian colonized and the European colonizers.

It is only when Honigberger describes the marvels of Indian *fakirs* that one detects a subtle change in his tone. It needs to be pointed out beforehand, that like other Europeans of his times he used the word "*faqueer*" (*fakir*) very loosely. While he generally applied it to denote both Hindu and Muslim ascetics, at times he used it interchangeably with *hakim* (meaning, a physician). However, as physicians, *fakirs* only drew his derision. Nor was he interested in asceticism and religious doctrines. It was only as miracle workers that they interested him. Among the *fakirs* he describes in this work, there is the tale of a "Brahmin *faqueer*" (a Hindu *sadhu*) who was capable of withstanding bites of venomous reptiles (Honigberger, 1852: 138-141). Honigberger's curiosity in him was purely from the viewpoint of a medical practitioner. He wanted to discover the cure for snake bites by tapping into indigenous knowledge. Honigberger did credit the ascetic's belief that his habitual taking of arsenic had made him impervious to snake venom (141). Incidentally, arsenic and mercury containing pills were used in 18th century India to treat snake bites (Raman et al, 2014: 1759). Perhaps, the *sadhu* was merely reiterating a popular theory. However, Honigberger was genuinely amazed. This becomes evident when he admits that no European physician could be persuaded to agree that this was at all possible (Honigberger, 1852, 139). In tacitly accepting the limits of European medical knowledge, Honigberger seems to be unsettling the binary of a "scientifically advanced" West and a "backward" East. One finds this again when he describes the incredible feat of the Hindu *sadhu* Haridas, who survived interment for forty days at a stretch in 1837. Incidentally, this incident was widely reported in journals and newspapers across Europe. The first detailed report appeared in a medical journal from Calcutta (modern Kolkata) in 1838. Even the Romanian press displayed interest in him. Haridas is mentioned in a feature by Dr. A.L. in *Medicina Populara*, as late as on 6 June 1906 (1906: 3). Though Honigberger reports this incident in details in his book, he was not present at the time of its occurrence. The fact that he still took hearsay so seriously indicates the extent to which it caught his fancy. Perhaps, a part of his reason was that it seemed to support his belief in animal magnetism. He writes in the "Introduction" to his memoir,

> "…there are men of our day, who will not even admit the truth of *animal magnetism*; still less will they give credence to that remarkable power of suspending existence, as illustrated in the account of the *faqueer Haridas* ..." (Honigberger, 1852: xxv).

In the book, he describes the incident in great details (130-135). Very significantly, he refuses to believe that Haridas was an impostor despite knowing that some Englishmen took him to be one (132). While he does describe some of his practices[21] as seemingly "ridiculous", he almost immediately retracts to praise ascetics like him as *artists* who are "complete masters of their body and its organism" (134; emphasis ours). He not only collects detailed testimonies from those present at Haridas's internment, but also gets "faithful" copies of the sadhu's portrait to complement his memoir (201). Even if he was not personally present there, the physician provides a detailed account coming out of interviews with several witnesses among whom were Jean-Baptiste Ventura, the Italian mercenary in Ranjit Singh's service, and Sir Claude Martin Wade, the British Resident. He then correlates their opinions with his own information on yogic practices about temporary life suspension, such as lingual frenectomy[22]. However, Honigberger does not attempt to discuss how such a successful experiment connects with works presenting meditation techniques or Indian philosophy, in general. Honigberger further narrates the local legend of a *yogi*, who reportedly had spent a hundred years in a state of suspended animation inside a tomb (134). Significantly, he remarks, "I cannot, nevertheless, avoid confessing freely, that I do not entirely reject all the details given respecting the circumstance" (135). One may argue that Honigberger's fascination with Indian miracle

[21] These include swallowing a piece of clean linen and extracting it out to rinse the stomach, and drawing a quantity of the water through the anus by a tube for the same purpose (Honigberger 1852: 133-134). It may be mentioned that these processes are called *dhauti* and *basti* respectively, and are employed by Hatha Yogis to cleanse bodily humours (*shodhana*). For details, see Mallinson (2011: 775).

[22] In *hatha yogic* practice, the *khacarīmudrā* is the sealing of the uvula by curling the tip of the tongue back into the mouth. It is believed that this practice rejuvenates the body (for a description, see Mallinson, 2011: 774, 778). Lingual frenectomy is often used to enable the tongue to roll backwards.

workers did not really affect his overall estimation of India and in populace, which was in keeping with European Orientalist discourse of his times. Even then, in recognizing the limits of European medical knowledge, he also unsettled the stereotype of a ‘backward’ East. Perhaps, he did this quite unintentionally. But the end result is what actually counts.

To understand how Honigberger’s view on Indian *fakirs* is quite idiosyncratic, it is necessary to compare his writings with some of his contemporaries - particularly those directly involved with British colonialism in India. One finds that one of the earliest British colonial officers to document Haridas’ seemingly miraculous feat is W. G. Osborne, the military secretary to the Governor General Lord Auckland. His memoir *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Singh* was published in 1840, just twelve years before Honigberger’s 1852 memoir. From the very beginning, Osborne’s hostility towards Haridas becomes apparent. He describes him as a person “with a disagreeable and cunning expression of countenance” (Osborne, 1840: 128). The way Haridas prepared for his interment is summarily dismissed by him as “too disgusting to dilate upon” (125). Notably, Honigberger makes little attempt to pass judgment on these procedures and describes them in details. Osborne goes on to describe how Haridas refused to perform before him, since he did not agree to some of his conditions. He thereby concludes that the ascetic must have been an impostor (172-175). While Osborne’s attitude may appear more scientific than Honigberger’s, one must also note that he appears predisposed to distrust the ascetic. He dismissed Haridas’ performance as a “farce” even before it actually began (170). It is impossible to say at this date whether Haridas was really an impostor or not, though it is indeed difficult for us to believe in such ‘miracles’. But the real point is that, Osborne prejudges the ascetic to be an impostor even before he gives him a chance to prove himself. Honigberger, on the other hand, has no difficulty in giving him a benefit of doubt.

Our reading of Honigberger in conjunction with Osborne demonstrates that his attitude towards Indian *fakirs* did differ in some respects from that of his colonizing contemporary. While both writers were undoubtedly influenced by European Orientalist discourse of their age, Honigberger was not personally involved in European colonizing projects. We believe that this mollified his attitude towards the *fakirs* whom he did not readily perceive as fakers. We further argue that Honigberger typifies East European perception of Indian *fakirs*, at least in the late nineteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. To demonstrate this, the next section concentrates on depiction of *fakirs* in Romanian periodicals.

Indian *sadhu*s and performers in Romanian periodicals (1893-1942)

While travelogues or memoirs stand as the main genre informing readership on this topic, the late 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century brought a substantial shift. Since more and more Europeans could travel to India, and as the print and economic exchanges intensified, reports on those with unusual abilities began populating the periodicals of all European countries. In order to examine reporting in Romanian periodicals, we address the following questions: in what way do such reports emerge in the Romanian media, what is the predominant perspective, if any? Secondly, what type of sources do journalists use and do they rely on the primary source mainly or add their own voice as well? From this point of view, we employ mixed criteria in our analysis such as time and point of view. The series, thus, takes into consideration, firstly, the chronological aspect, grouping more informative articles and, then, rather critical ones. The third category contains three examples illustrating the transfer of the concept of "fakir" into a wider cultural circuit.

A short text published in the Transylvanian *Tribuna* [*The Tribune*] in 1902 opens up the first category: it connects a description of India's most familiar sites with ascetic practice. Though this reference is short, it indicates that this provided a description of the Ganga (Ganges's) banks while coming closer to the goals set by ascetics themselves. The journalist thinks that the saint living there practically believed in reincarnation:

> "There, in a cave would live a fakir, a disciple of the saint whose tomb he would guard. Often at night the tiger would come close to the fakir, would look at him and then would go away, without making any harm; the saint being thus convinced for this reason that a deity must have been incarnated in the animal so he wouldn't ever disclosed to the hunters the place where the tiger would sleep during the day" (1902: 7)[23].

The final line casts a romanticized vision emerging from the article, the author connecting the practice of the devout with his respect for the living being, which he would not disclose to hunters visiting the area. In 1906, an article signed by a physician, A.L., in *Medicina populară* [*Popular Medicine*] published in Bucharest, presents briefly his view upon breathing practice as enabling "fakirs to raise above the ground without touching their hands or feet". Although the article does not expand the topic, this author appears to have taken into consideration the results of such practices, since it lists them as follows: "one can take a more profound breadth of 307.152 seconds through the right nostril, followed at once by inhaling for 153.576 seconds. Finally, one breathes in for 76.788 seconds, suspends breathing for 397.152

[23] Dana Radler translated the fragments extracted from Romanian periodicals into English.

seconds and then breaths out through the right nostril for 153.5756 seconds" (A.L., 1906: 3). The respective practitioner expresses his view on the practice of Pratyahara, concluding, without detailing it: "one can take a more profound breadth of 307.152 seconds through the right nostril, followed at once by inhaling for 153.576 seconds. Finally, one breathes in for 76.788 seconds, suspends breathing for 397.152 seconds and then breaths out through the right nostril for 153.5756 seconds" (3). Then he points out: "Through the practice of breathing, fakirs can stand almost 40 days and 40 nights without any food, a kind of human hibernation" (4). This reference suggests that he was familiar with Honigberger's works, as demonstrated by the final paragraph of his text: "An authentic case is that happened with the fakir Haridas in Ieselmere[24], who was buried alive and stayed thus for 40 days and 40 nights after which he was taken in the state of lethargy and returned back to life" (4). In 1942, at considerable distance from the previous example, *Unirea poporului* [*People's Union*] covers a short piece of news. It focuses on a performer able to tame fleas:

> "At the American customs office, customs officers came across, in the trunks of the fakir, over the fleas he would work with and earn his living on. At the beginning, poor officers did not know what to do with the fleas. Should they allow them to be taken into America or should they stop them at the border. In the end, they decided to let the fakir take them and let him go" (1942: 7).

The news is informative yet it renders a visible comical touch.

The second series, rather critical towards the acts of fakirs, starts with the article in *Gazeta Transilvaniei* [*Transylvania's Gazette*], on 15 April 1912, where an unsigned journalist alerts readership on scams and frauds which "the best Europeans cannot imitate" (3). In his attempt to decode the act, the author declares that "the art of fakirs contains something else, a lot more than mere combinations of fast movements" (3). Since this article was published in the first decade of the last century, it reveals both an interest in the magic played upon by fakirs on their audience, as well less reliable type of information. For instance, the reporter refers to "N.W.J."[25] as a source of information, but does not provide a dated source. To conclude his series of statements and alleged examples, he states that if "it is easy to understand all those wonders talked about fakirs and for us to see that there is nothing about

[24] Probably, a corruption of Jaisalmer – a city in the Indian state of Rajasthan in North Western India.

[25] Standing for *Neues Wiener Journal* which publishes news on fakirs, for instance "Ein Indischer Richter, Babu Prankumar Ghose" on 16 February (no.6579) and "Indische Fakire und Ihre Kunststüke", April 1912 (no.6642).

supernatural powers, but those within our souls only" (3). A second article appears in 1926 in *Unirea poporului* [*People's Union*], the narrative focusing on the works of Thawara Ray labelled by the sub-heading as the "«fakir» dancing on sharp spikes" (1926: 8). Active in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Thawara Ray[26] was a performer able to thrust nails in cheeks, stay buried in a deeply-set coffin or walk on broken glass. However, this account openly exposes his performance as that of a charlatan. The accusation came from an ordinary citizen in Satmar [Romanian 'Satu Mare'] who proclaimed: "The yesterday's fakir was a great charlatan. What he did, I can do as well. Bury me too and I'll stay in the tomb as long as he did!" (8). The reporter shows that, although the alleged fakir was in the coffin for 30 minutes, those present could attest that the interval was too short for the oxygen to cause any health damage. The final comment casts a sarcastic note upon the audience in search of wonders: "Enough to say that the Indian got his purse full of Romanian lei and went happily further abroad, so that he could bury himself for more of it!" (8) It thus shows that financially speaking, such performances were providing a substantial source of income.

The article in *Realitatea ilustrată* [*Illustrated Reality*] April 1928, unsigned, starts with a truism: "In the land of stories and marvels which is India, fakirs are certainly for westerners the most miraculous thing" (8). The author invokes the rhetoric used in popular magazines meant to appeal to generalization as a persuasive discourse tactic. Through the examples of the tricks he provides, the reporter insists on the work of fakirs as being a series of deceits incorporated in cleverly-orchestrated performances. While referring to fakirs as mere performers, the author claims that some of their acts are the result of one's imagination, such as "the trick of the mangonia tree" (9) where the seed of this plant grows incredibly in front of the viewers and even bears fruit. The "rope trick" is purposefully listed close to the end. The image of the fakir's assistant climbing up a rope to be ultimately dismembered by the performer, his limbs full of blood falling to the ground, hints at the darker representations presented in the West upon such a performance, even if the fakir's assistant has been eventually brought to life by his own master. Surprising in this text is not so much its content, but the fact that the author or the editorial team do not acknowledge in any way the original source: *Wiener Magazin*, second year, March issue. While the text appears almost entirely in the Romanian version, the editors of *Realitatea*

[26] Thawara Ray appears in various publications in Romania, Hungary and France, featured as an "Indian" fakir, though media reports on him for a few years only (1926-1935). Yet, Wenner Sándor specifies that Ray is Gallician apparently working in cabaret shows, see *A magyar színészet válsága Háborús és háború utáni színészetünk a kritika és az események tükrében*, ENDRÉNYI LAJOS NYOMDA- ÉS HÍRLAPKIADÓ VÁLLALAT R.-T. SZEGED, 1928: 298.

ilustrată [*Illustrated Reality*] publish a selection of photographs from the original article only. Interestingly, their aim is both to inform as well as impact the audience, yet they do not include in their selection, for instance, the yogi sitting on the ground and displaying his mortified upper limbs, as the caption in German shows: "…and an ambitious colleague who is even more pleased, wishing to find the gods and therefore raising both arms" (*Wiener Magazin*, 1928: 47). Other photos from the original edition do not appear in the Romanian magazine either, which may suggest that the editors undertook this change on their own. However, the yogi raising both his arms up appears again in Romania four years later, in 1932, in a similar popular journal targeting the average reader, namely *Ilustrațiunea română* [*The Romanian illustration*], (17 Aug.1932: 4). The editors once again take liberty to assemble the text and illustration: they include the original photo in *Wiener Magazin*, March 1928, yet add an arbitrarily coined caption: "[standing] for one year, keeping arms up" (1932: 4); the original photo had not covered any temporal reference regarding the yogi's posture. Another article published by *Realitatea ilustrată* [*Illustrated Reality*] confirms that the absence of credits to the original material was not a singular practice. Issue no.486 of *Realitatea ilustrată* [*Illustrated Reality*], presents a photograph illustrating "Lamb slaughter" (1936: 12) while photos from a series taken in the same place, allegedly Calcutta, goes in *Wiener Magazin*, December 1928 (38). Using photos or texts and amalgamating them at the editors' choice seem thus to have been in place for certain publications.

The fact that the works of "fakirs" were meant to instill a sensationalist impact on the audience comes out from the second article published in 1928 in *Unirea poporului* [*People's Union*], where the "miracle-performer" locked himself in a glass coffin, a familiar trickery used at that time. The detail of "long needles which he stuck in [his body] before his sleep" (6) hints at the level of skill possessed by the fakir known as Doca[27]. In this account, a particular linguistic phenomenon occurs. The edition of *Unirea poporului* [*People's Union*] dated 8 January 1928 speaks about "Doca", while the French magazine *Excelsior*, the original source, mentions "To Kha" (1928: 4): the editor of the Romanian journal used a corrupted form the performer's name. The French article is brief yet detailed: the age of the performer is 54 and his routine altered ordinary body parameters: To Kha's pulse raised to 104 beats per minutes while the loss of weight raised to 20 livres (equivalent of 9 kilograms).

[27] Austrian and German newspapers indicate "To-Kha" was the stage name adopted by Ludwig Huber from Dusseldorf, born in 1873, see *(Neuigkeits) Welt Blatt* nr.191, 20 August 1929, p.5 or *Marburger Zeitung*, 10 Dec.1927, p.2. He was 54 at the performance delivered in Stuttgart, as confirmed by the Parisian *Excelsior* (1927, no. 6214, p.4).

One decade later, an ample article in *Realitatea ilustrată* [*Illustrated Reality*] (10 March 1937) not only restates the idea of tricks, but delivers a more sensational "testimony". The fakir under question attempts to deliver his act in an Indian village: to apparently dismember a boy and bring him back to life in front of the audience, but the performance fails tragically. As soon as the audience notes that the child cannot/does not come back to life, the infuriated father takes a dagger and suppresses the fakir's life in a few moments. The author, M. Mauzooruddin Ahmad, hints at self-mortification, dedicated to Shiva by Indian ascetics, which he coiders a repulsive practice:

> "For Shiva, they take the most terrible ordeals. The sons of Shiva get themselves prepared for their mission in the schools of ascetics, in the holy site of the pilgrimage, Benares. This preparation consists of a systematically completed exhaustion of body and soul. When they are finally seen as fully purified, they can be seen as wandering throughout the country, as penitents, continuing to mortify their body" (1937: 17).

While the journalist refers to spikes or burning iron crossing their tongues, he advances another darker side of their work, meant, once again, to shock and disgust the audience: "A sect part of these ones drink blood from human skulls and eat flesh of the bodies. Others think that, in the course of their spiritual development, they went so far that they can go over traditions and rights in order to commit the highest deviations" (17). A series of nine photographs illustrate the activities of fakirs, actually sadhus, presenting either individuals or groups being together; the last photograph shows an ascetic completing a self-mortification described as: "This redeemed one mutilated his legs for the glory of lord Shiva" (17), by which the author rejects such practices firmly.

Thirdly, as the term "fakir" became more familiar to the Romanian audience, journalists used various connotations. For instance, there are two connected articles, written at considerable time one after the other. These articles show that journalists looked beyond the primary context of the term, building on local cultural practice and opening "fakir" to contextualised meaning. The first, entitled "Turning-table or the fakir holding hope" appears in *Moftul român* [*Romanian whim*] on 24 February 1893. A stanza and a cartoon present two familiar literary personalities at that time: journalist Theodor Dimitrie Speranția[28] and his mentor, Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, a prominent pioneer in Romanian philology (1). The stanza includes a pun based on the noun "hope" (Romanian 'speranță'), suggesting that Speranția, whose name is obviously related to the Romanian word, is under the

[28] Theodor Dimitrie Speranția (1856-1929) was a journalist and writer publishing folkloric anthologies.

influence of his mentor. Four decades later, in 1935, Barbu Lăzăreanu refers the article written in 1893 and provides his view upon the two intellectuals under question. Lăzăreanu points out that Hașdeu has undertaken the nickname of "Fakir", the word denoting his intense preoccupation with the occult after the premature loss of his daughter, Iulia Hașdeu, a prodigy. Then, Lăzăreanu comments the sarcastic cartoon published in 1893 where Hașdeu gets engaged in a séance where Speranță appears under his complete influence:

> "In the 9th issue, the illustration on the first page, dedicated to a spiritualist duel, had the clarifying sub-title: "**Turning-table or the Fakir with Speranță**". [29] This is how to decipher this legend. One of the two newly arrived from Ioan Nădejde's *Contemporanul* [*The Contemporary*] and who came to be the most ardent disciples not only of *Revista Nouă* but of the spiritualist practice in this grouping was Theodor D. Speranță. Tony Bacalbașa would say about him: Nădejde holds Speranță [hope] în socialism[30], Speranță [hope] has put faith in spiritualism" (1935: 1).

According to Lăzăreanu, the spiritualist activity of Hașdeu allowed other journalists of the late 19th century to look critically not so much at such interests, but at Speranția as having deserted the team of journal *Contemporanul* [*The Contemporary*] founded by Nădejde for *Revista nouă* [*The New Review*], in order to become a follower of Hașdeu's work. In his 1935 article, Lăzăreanu examines critically Speranția's decision as mere opportunistic journalistic practice in the broader context of his mentor's occult practice. While the reference to Hașdeu's nickname stands out as marginal, it still allows Lăzăreanu to express his disapproving view.

This third and final grouping closes with a short piece of news published in 1938. The word *fakir* used in the article "The fakir in Epi" in *Ecoul* [*The Echo*] on 5 June 1938 mentions Mirzali Khan Wazir, a Pashtun local leader fighting for the independence of the Pashtunian state in the 1920s, a remote area located between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The article is succinct, mentioning local disorders in Waziristan as a result of "the agitation of the famous fakir in Epi" (5) where both Indian and locals were wounded or killed. The journalist does not point out that the term designates

[29] Pun, suggesting that Speranță was Hașdeu's follower.

[30] A second pun, "speranță" and "nădejde" are actually synonyms, yet they actually hint at the two publicists of the time. Ioan Nădăjde (1854-1928) contributed as a publicist and setting up journals *Contemporanul [The Contemporary]*, *Revista socială [Social Review*] and *Critica socială [Social Critique]*. He also provided translations of classical works of socialism.

in this case a Sufi Muslim, showing thus his limited familiarity with the contextual sense of the term.

Conclusion

This series of texts, across regions and over one hundred years (1840-1942) suggest the following: firstly, ample narratives such as that provided by Honigberger, as detailed as possible despite the fact that he was not personally witnessing Haridas' experience, point out that travellers were interested to understand the works of one's mind and body. Conversations with several individuals whose credibility is unquestionable results in Honigberger's minute account about Haridas as well as other sadhus or yogis the physician met during his stay there. However, despite his curiosity towards less familiar phenomena such as the suspension of life, his position is that of an individual whose faith in European medicine does not shatter, being rather skeptical about medical results achieved by local hakims. He does not provide any opening at all in the direction of meditation or Indian philosophy, which suggests he was solely interested in the physical and physiological aspects. Nevertheless, his memoir is one of the earliest in south-eastern Europe featuring ascetics. On the other hand, Honigberger had personal direct contact with *sadhus*, being particularly interested in how one could physically overcome the poison of reptiles. Osborne's testimony shows a rather limited preoccupation with Indian *sadhus*, referring to his unsuccessful interaction with Haridas. Secondly, there is a shift in what regards the medium of texts: Honigberger's is essentially a memoir, in which he incorporates direct or indirect testimonies about *sadhus*, and this is valid for Osborne's text as well. The fascination with the "Orient" results in an explosion of texts in the following decades in periodicals published in Romanian later on. After the end of WWII this expansion translates in longer or shorter or shorter news or editorials. Journalists writing about "fakirs" express their interest in the works of *sadhus*, but they have no direct knowledge, so they often rely on external sources, primarily French or Austrian/ German ones. In the series of articles published by Romanian and Transylvanian periodicals between 1893-1942, the tone shifts dramatically: while the earlier testimonies show the willingness to comprehend the physical and psychological works of *fakirs*, texts published from 1920 onwards concern performers mainly, several of them being in fact Europeans. In this case, the interest moves from empirical or scientifical examination to stories meant to attract popularity. Thirdly, while Honigberger and Osborne present the experience of the *sadhus* they had met, articles in Romanian media regard a different category, that of *performers*. Giving news about public deceit or entertainers who were not actually connected to India in any way, journalists acquire a more critical perspective as well.

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THE IMAGE OF THE RUSSIAN ENLIGHTENED MONARCH IN THE ROMANIAN CULTURE AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Abstract: *This paper aims to reconstruct the way in which the Romanian written culture from the second half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth gradually built the image of the Russian Enlightened monarchy with three of its most famous representatives: Peter II, Catherine II and Alexander I. By means of translating from Italian and German historiography, these texts served a double goal: on the one hand they satisfied the reader's need for knowledge and understanding of the contemporary events, and on the other they contributed to a political discourse that viewed Russia and the Russian Orthodox monarchy as potential saviours of the Romanian principalities from the oppression of the Muslim Ottoman Empire. By means of translation analysis, we have attempted to illustrate how the Western image of an Eastern monarch, guided by a blend of Western philosophy and Eastern Orthodox tradition, was transferred in the Romanian culture as a scientific base for political and cultural decisions.*
Keywords: Russian mirror of princes; cultural transfer; translation strategies; translation analysis; eighteenth century historiography.

Introduction

The second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth was a time of profound change in the political, social and cultural constellation of Europe. The Enlightenment as a philosophical and political ideology turned the world upside down and produced deep mutations in all aspects of the European cultural life, by mingling the role of the *polis* and *philosopher* in the state affairs. This blend of philosophy and politics created the cultural and political image of the Enlightened Monarch, seen both as an individual cultural benefactor and promoter of arts as well as fair judge and fearless military leader who would further the European civilisation within and outside the borders of his/her empire.

The idea of an Enlightened absolutism was not the invention of the eighteenth century but rather a remodelling of the Platonian trope, according to which, in order to achieve the general good, the *polis* needed a philosopher-king or a king-philosopher. The Enlightenment as a whole didn't agree upon a unifying image of this type of leader but it regarded absolutism as the contractual legitimacy of the state and the monarchy as the institution that acted for the welfare and well-being of the people. This representation triggered an entire array of duties that the state, namely the monarch, should fulfil, as well as a comprehensive list of the fundamental rights of the subjects. (Fenske; Mertens [et.al.], 2003: 350-357) Voltaire's depiction of Charles XII of Sweden or of Peter the Great of Russia, the political "anti-Machiavellic" writings of Frederic II of Prussia, the "moral" politics of Maria Theresia and Joseph II that focussed on spreading education throughout the Habsburg empire are only some of the works that illustrate the diverse efforts of the monarch to follow the philosophical and social principles of the Western European Enlightenment. The monarch was to represent now an individual, who lost his God-given legitimacy and gained the right to govern his people on grounds of rationality. He or she was the first servant among fellow citizens with whom one entered a social contract. On the other hand, the monarch was to directly participate to the Enlightenment program of change, either through theoretical and philosophical writings (as Friedrich II), or through legislative work (as Catherine II), or through direct social policies and reforms (as Joseph II). (Birtsch, 1987: 9-46) The eighteenth-century historiography gave thus the individual a central role but "the emphasis on individual characters allowed for more complex or flawed portraits than the general 'types' recommended by neoclassical *artes historicae*." (Gallagher, 2013: 359) The traditional view, perpetuated throughout the Renaissance, focussed on exemplary characters using historical accounts on great personalities in order to teach through example. The Enlightenment philosophy of history on the other hand relied mainly on 'presentism', on the idea that history and biography, the account of great but also controversial deeds of the past, served as a key in understanding the contemporary events and circumstances. (Bourgault; Sparling, 2013: 1-2).

The historical writings from this era that focus on building the image of the absolute monarch cannot be separated from the Enlightenment's guiding principles or from the historical context in which they were written, when the major conflicts and the dramatic changes in allegiances marked the historiographic discourse dramatically. The biographies of contemporary monarchs provided a perfect example of the interference of politics, philosophy and historical science. These works were written either from the perspective of the traveller who reported his impression and comments on the nation's "state of the art", or from the perspective of the strategist, who highlighted the political manoeuvres of the monarch or through the perspective of the philosopher who analysed the historical fact in larger social-political phenomena, adding his personal reflections and comments. (Chiriac, 2016: 35) Following Peter Gay's definition of the Enlightenment historiography as "science, art and propaganda" (Gay, 1996: 368), we may view these biographies of Enlightened monarchs as scientific, in the sense that they try to use scientific method in order to extrapolate and understand humanity and society as a whole, as artistic and creative, aesthetically and stylistically pleasing and as a means of diversion and instruction with a declared aim to form, educate and even manipulate the public opinion towards favouring a certain policy.

Our study aims to illustrate by virtue of three translations the history of European historiography and the network of knowledge created in order to build the 'image' of the Enlightened monarch. Moving away from Western Europe, we investigate a less known area of cultural contact and attempt to illustrate how the Romanian culture came in direct contact with the Western cultural image of the Russian Enlightened Monarch. This image of the Russian Tsars was propagated through the historical, yet propagandistic discourse of the Western cultures and disseminated in the Romanian cultural space, in many cases through Greek intermediates, with the indirect but visible support and participation of the Russian administration, which had direct economic and geopolitical interests in the region. Our purpose is to highlight how the Romanian intellectuals adopted and adapted the Western image of the Eastern monarch guided by the Eastern view of Western philosophy, so it corresponded to the needs and expectations of the target readership. The Romanian translations of these three texts (Catiforo's "Vita di Pietro"; Schweighofer's "Katharina die II." and Rumpf's "Alexander I") from Italian and German become thus perfect examples of the way in which foreign texts and ideas had penetrated the Romanian culture through a complex network of channels, contributing to a gradual accumulation of knowledge on the contemporary or recent history. This knowledge would have had a direct impact on the readers and their understanding of the social and political manoeuvres that were happening around them, contributing also to a better understanding of the role of the Romanian Principalities in this complicated and ever-mutating network of political and military interests.

Historical overview

In Central and Eastern Europe, the political and ideological conflicts escalated in the second half of the eighteenth-century with the ever-growing power of the Russian influence in the area and the weakening of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans. The struggle for political balance of the three super-powers: the Habsburgs, the Ottomans and the Russians, with changing allegiances with France and Prussia transcended the battle field and was also transferred in the diplomatic and cultural discourse. Thus, the ruling house of Russia, the Romanovs, became more and more involved in the designation of European influence spheres trying to expand its empire all over the Black Sea. To this end, with more or less of a coherent foreign policy, we may run a continuous lineage of Russia Enlightened absolutism from Peter the Great, through Catherine II and up until Alexander I as apexes in the political, strategic and cultural expansion of the Russian empire and as representatives of a new "European order", where Russia desired to play an essential role. (Ciobanu, 2007)

The Romanian Principalities, caught right in the middle of these fights tried to profit from the new-comer Russian Empire to obtain the independence from the Sublime Porte, searching for military and financial support in the new diplomatic allegiance. The eighteenth century, the "Phanariot era", is traditionally seen as a dark era in the Romanian history, governed by corruption and self-interest. However, the Phanariots played a major role in awakening the nationalistic drive in the area, by uniting the native nobility and clergy under one banner: that of regaining their independence from the Sublime Porte.[31] Consequently, many native aristocratic families (*pământeni*) and many church representatives looked East (rather than towards the Catholic Habsburgs) for a natural alliance with the Orthodox Russia and for a spiritual and political leader in the Russian tsar. (Niţă-Danielescu, 2009: 120-122) The Russian monarchs starting with Peter the Great with strong family connections in the German-speaking world, were generally regarded as civilizing figures ruling over a vast and barbaric territory, who could potentially protect and save Central Europe and the Balkans from the pagan Muslims. This openness encouraged the Russian monarchs to follow and draft ambitious expansionist plans in the second half of the eighteenth century (Ciobanu, 2007: 36-50). But the fall of the French monarchy shattered Catherine's great vision of a Greek Empire in the Balkans, also forcing the Habsburg Empire to lead a fierce propaganda war on the liberal ideas that penetrated Central Europe after the French and American Revolutions. A couple of decades later, the Habsburg and Russian propagandistic discourses were built around the French threat of Napoleon, as a legitimate representative of the French Revolution and as a potential

[31] Dan Berindei argues that the Greek presence lead to the coagulation of a resistance of the Romanian nobility and clergy that could act together in order to gain independence. Another fact mentioned is that the Phanariotes ruled in both principalities, developing the same institutions, policies and guidelines in both regions, so after the unification it was much easier to find common ground in the administration (Berindei 1984: 1-14).

liberator from the despotic rule, a discourse that turned to Russia as the saving force of European civilisation. (Camară, 2017: 145-154) The Austrian propagandistic anti-Napoleon booklets and history books narrate the great and tragic battles in Germany and France and try to destroy Napoleon's mythical image, by proclaiming his fateful failure in Russia and praising his adversary, Alexander I, Emperor of Russia as the mighty opponent of the French invasion. (Cernovodeanu, 1974: 82-84)

To this international political context, one should also add another component, namely the cultural awakening in Central Europe. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the Romanian written culture was dominated by religious texts, either foreign or Romanian, originals or translations mainly from Greek and Slavonic languages. Yet the Greek presence in the administration and cultural life also determined a rapid circulation of Western secular books in the Principalities, Neo-Greek succeeding Slavonic as the language of culture. The Greeks from the Venice and Vienna colonies were in direct contact with the rapid changes and dramatic social and cultural shifts in the Western world and benefited from these by translating into Greek the main secular works of the Enlightenment. These translations circulated rapidly in the entire South-Eastern Europe, being read directly in Greek. In the second half of the eighteenth centuries the Greek translations served also as source texts for Romanian translations meant to enrich the national language and culture with European fundamental works. The study of history in the court academies from Bucharest and Iaşi, employing foreign educators and secretaries by the nobility in order to learn foreign languages, the spread of progressive press and the echo of the main political events – all contributed decisively to a direct contact of the Romanian nobility, bourgeoise and clergy with issues of world history, as means of understanding contemporary events (Cernovodeanu, 1971: 295), gaining direct access to the original works of the West and beginning to translate directly from French, Italian and German. (Dima; Dima, 2013: 7-10) The Western European secular books, which were no longer perceived as documents but rather as commodities, were selected to be incorporated by the Romanian culture through translations, according to particular cultural and political interests dictated by the rapid and deep transformations in the power hierarchy in the area. Some of them built an image of the Enlightened monarch in a region where the lack of national leadership and the complicated foreign affairs forced the intellectuals to turn to the East, to Orthodox Russia for guidance and support.

The Russian Mirror of Princes

The "mirror of princes" is an old concept propagated throughout Europe since Renaissance, but in the second half of the eighteenth century it gained new coordinates and meanings due to the image of the "Enlightened Despot". If we have stated above the general accepted view on the Western European Enlightened Monarch, the Russian absolutism deserves special consideration due to its regional particularity. Whittaker describes the idea of Russian autocracy in the eighteenth-century historiography as falling into "three distinct patterns of interpretation", which she calls "dynastic, empirical and non-despotic models". (Whittaker, 1996: 156) The dynastic historians of the Petrine time presented an autocracy based on the legitimacy of the ruling house, as equal of any ruling dynasty in Europe, thus bringing Russia into the large family of Western European monarchies. Peter the Great was thus the logical culmination of a great dynasty, which brought Russia its deserved grandeur. The empirical model that exploited the teachings of the German philosophy of history concluded that the democracy was appropriate for smaller countries with a population well trained in democratic exercise. States like Russia could only be led by a wilful individual, capable to use his/her unlimited powers to the common good: the monarch was regarded as a parent to his/her nation, who would otherwise be lost. The non-despotic interpretation of autocracy questioned the limits of despotic rule and gained momentum after the reign of Anna Ioannovna and the alleged tyranny of Peter III. Catherine II declared Russia a European state and defined the autocracy as limited in its power by aristocratic counsel and the fundamental laws, which she herself drafted in the so called "Nakaz".[32] The message of the historians from this period was that the monarch had "all the powers to do good and none to do evil" (Whittaker, 1996: 156-170).

What was fundamentally different from the Western European image of Enlightened Monarchy was the relationship of the tsars with the divinity and their divine legitimacy. The sacralization of the Russian monarchy, as a combination of Byzantine and Western European traditions, meant "not only comparing the monarch to God but the monarch's acquisition of special *charisma*, special gifts of grace due to which he begins to be seen as a supernatural being." (Uspenskij; Zhivov, 2012: 12). During the eighteenth century, this image of the divine right to rule gained new nuances: The tsar "was seen as partaking in the divine as an individual, which defined his relation both to God and to man." (21). Even if Russia, through the direct policies of Peter II and his successors, undertook a rapid Europeanization process, the tsar was officially declared the head of church and the hand of

[32] This document, written in French and translated by Catherine herself in Russian (1767), is a legislative statement of Catherine the Great that incorporated the principles of the French Enlightenment in a practical guideline for juridical work. In Romanian, the text of the "Nakaz" was translated from a Greek intermediate with the title "Învăţătură a însuşi stăpînitoarei măriri Ecaterinii 2" in Iaşi, 1773 (BVR II-201-202). (Cioran-Camaraianu 1958: 123-132).

God on earth, a natural prerogative of autocratic power. The Russian tsar functioned also as the Byzantine basileus, with Russia declaring itself the Third Rome. In this view, the tsars were referred to by Russian historiography as “holy”, “Christ”, “Saviour”, “earthly God”, “heavenly tsar”, “earthly deity” (22-30).

Russian historians “transformed the idea of autocracy from a static concept into a vital force that could absorb waves of Enlightenment thinking and project a dynamic and rational Western image,” without losing its regional specificity. (Whittaker, 1996: 170) The special traits of the Russian tsar were disseminated also by Western European historians who wanted to build a favourable image of the remote Russia and its leaders. Peter, Catherine, and Alexander were regarded by their people as God’s chosen to rule and the Western historians viewed them as civilizing forces of the vast barbaric territory in dire need of Enlightenment. This Western image of the Eastern tsars was also perpetuated in the Romanian-speaking territories, where the view of an absolute monarch who acted for the benefit of his people found a fertile ground. The Romanian clergy and aristocracy viewed in the biographies of the Russian tsars an inspirational material for their national aspiration of an independent Orthodox country.

Antonio Catiforo’s Peter the Great

The first portrait of a Russian “Enlightened Monarch” that entered the Romanian cultural space was the life and deeds of Peter the Great of Russia. It was written in Italian by the Greek scholar Antonio Catiforo from Venice and translated into Romanian by three different translators from the three Romanian Principalities.

Antonio Catiforo (1685-1763)[33] wrote the compilation “Vita di Pietro il Grande, imperador della Russia” (Venice, 1736), which represented an attempt to construct a true but shortened synthesis of the seven volumes he used, by eliminating all the passages and comments that he regarded as superfluous and inappropriate[34]. Catiforo presented in a strict and clear

[33] Catiforo wrote three major works: a Grammar of the Greek language (1734), the compilation “Vita di Pietro” (Venice, 1736) and a translation from French, probably through an Italian intermediate, of “Histoire du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament” (1737). The life of Peter was published in the typography of Francesco Pitteri in 1736 and popularity of this work is attested by the subsequent four Italian editions and the multiple translations in different European languages. We will further refer only to the edition from 1736 since it is the source text if the Romanian translations (Dima; Dima 2013: 11-12).

[34] In the author’s preface he mentions that he used three major sources for his work: John Perry’s “The state of Russia, under the present Czar […]”, “Der veränderte Russland, in welchem die ietzige Verfassung des geist- und weltlichen Regiments … vorgestellt warden” by by Friedrich Christian Weber, Frankfurt 1721 and Jean Rousset de Missy’s work: “Memoires du regne de Pierre le Grand, empereur de Russia, pere de la patrie […] par B.

structure the history of the land, a short overview on the Russian monarchy until the ascension of Peter on the throne and Peter's reign, a chronological survey until his death. The entire work was divided in six chapters, each introduced by an "Argument" that summarised the content. At the end, the author included an "Index" of the main subjects, containing names, events, and important concepts. Throughout the text the author polemicized with his sources, correcting or criticizing the views of Missy, Perry or Voltaire and adding his own views on the international state of affairs.

The Italian text was then translated in Greek in 1737 by the Athenian Alexandros Kankellarios, who added also a translator "Preface", where he explained the fact that he had to make some corrections to Catiforo's text, especially where he dealt with the policy and facts of the Romanian Principalities. (Dima; Dima, 2013: 50-53) In Romanian, Kankellarios' translation of Catiforo's "Life of Peter" entered through three distinct channels, a sign of increasing interest in the subject matter. Chronologically speaking the first Romanian translation of Catiforo's "Vita di Pietro il Grande" was made in Walachia by the boyar Matei Fărcăşanu who translated the first tome (4 books) in 1749. The original translation was lost and we have today three copies of Fărcăşanu's translation[35] that eliminated all marginal notes and other references to religious texts or ancient writers, Kankellarios' introduction and the Greek ample notes and explanations. The Moldavian translation (1756) contains both tomes of Catiforo's work, from which we have today four manuscript copies,[36] that don't include either Catiforo's or Kankellarios' preface and begin with an introduction ("Ponturile cărţii, întîi pe scurt", 1^v), where Cartiforo's "Argument" was reproduced, with a short overview of the content of each book. The marginal notes don't reproduce the notes of the Greek text but are rather corrections, explanations, synonyms, glosses. (Dima; Dima, 2013:115) A last translation of Catiforo's work in Romanian is the so called "the anonymous version from Braşov" (1783), from which we have today two copies[37], a version that contains only the four books of Catiforo's work and a Book 5 that is a

Iwan Nestesuranoi" Amsterdam, 1724-1725. Catiforo used also other sources of information, citing from Voltaire's "Histoire de Charles XII", the Dutch philosopher Bernhard de Mandeville "Free throughts on religion, the Church and the national happiness" in the French edition (1722 and 1729), the treaty of the Jerusalem's Patriarch Hrisant Notara "De Officiis Sancta Christi Ecclesia", 1716 and others. (Dima; Dima 2013: 11-12).

[35] From ms. 2353 we have today ms. miscel. 204 BAR 1749 (leaves 99-241^v); ms. miscel. 2353 BAR 1755 (leaves 134-304) and ms. misc. 2668 BAR 1767 (leaves 8-175). (Dima; Dima 2013: 56, citing Ştrempel 1983, 1987).

[36] ms. 49 BAR 1756 (leaves 2-211), ms. 122 BAR 1765 (leaves 2-212), ms. 2581 BAR 1799 (leaves 2-210) and ms. 1 "Saltîkov-Şcedrin" Library from Sankt Petersburg 1755 (leaves 1-266).

[37] ms. Miscel. 3161 BAR 1785 (leaves 1-186) and ms. 2476 BAR 1783 (leaves 4-144^v).

compilation from various sources, based on other Romanian chronicles and historical writings.[38]

The image of the Enlightened Monarch was constructed right from the preface of the translator, where the subject matter was announced: The life of Peter illustrates the great deeds of a monarch born and destined to tame the wild beast that Russia had been for centuries and bring education, civilization and Enlightenment to the people. He was regarded as a "miraculous being", with great wisdom and goodness, who despite numerous obstacles achieved all the tasks that a monarch should fulfil: "increasing the population, eradicating idleness, fostering prosperity, raising the cultural level, battling superstition, encouraging geographical exploration and expanding the borders." (Wittacker, 1996: 153) Peter's social, political, spiritual and economical efforts were all praised and the author concluded that after Peter's reign, Russia should be included among the great monarchies of Europe. This positive image of the Russian tsar transpires from the entire text, the author highlighting with every occasion the personal merits of Peter and dismissing in just a few sentences the controversial aspects of his rule, especially his conflict with his son.

The "mirror of princes" was translated faithfully into Romanian, but a close textual comparative analysis illustrates small nuances and accents that the Romanian translators made in order to further highlight the positive traits of the monarch. For example, the Romanian translator adds the dimension of the monarch's need for "wisdom" in order to fulfil his destiny and "make his people happy":

Acesta s-au arătat de la tînără vîrstă că s-au născut ales a face norociţi pe supuşii lui, care este cu adevărat scopos, ci trebuie să caute toată chibzuirea unui bun împărat (Fărcăşanu, ms. 2353, f. 134^{v}*)*

Egli sin dagli anni piu teneri della fanciullezza mostrò d'essere nato unicamente per rendere felici i Popoli a se suggetti, che è il vero scopo, a cui devono tendere tutte le mire d'un buon Regnante. (5)

The Italian text implied that "making the people happy" would be the sole purpose of the monarch. The Romanian and Greek texts reformulated the Italian sentence as "and he must seek [to fulfil this goal] with all the wisdom of a good emperor". So, the will to do good must be rooted in the monarch's wisdom, a nuance not to be found in the Italian text but added by the Greek and Romanian translators.

[38] Nicolae Costin's chronicle from 1709 and 1711, with a general interest in the actions of Dimitrie Cantemir, from the history of Axinte Uricariul and Ion Neculce, 1712. (Dima; Dima 2013: 172-221).

After highlighting the fact that Peter managed to civilise his country and to educate his people, in spite of his “pessima educazione” [poor education], the texts praised the great economic and social enterprises of the Russian tsar. Interestingly, the “coraggio” [courage] that Peter needed in order to undertake his grand designs was transposed into Romanian as “mărire de suflet” (Fărcăşanu ms., 2353, f. 135^{r}), that is greatness of his spirit or goodness of the heart. Another example of different accents is the instance in which Catiforo praises the fact that Peter modernized his army introducing “l’ordine e la disciplina delle più regulate milizie” (8), that is order and discipline to his regular armies. In the Romanian text, the accent fell on the fact that through training Peter had obtained an elite and educated army: “a nevoi oştile lui la orînduiala şi stadania celor mai aleşi şi pedepsiţi ostaşi” (Fărcăşanu, ms. 2353, f. 135^{v}). In the same passage the need for new and “precious” legislation was underlined in the Romanian translation

A întări pravile prea scumpe ca să se facă dreptate (Fărcăşanu, ms. 2353, f. 135^{v})	Stabilir esattissime Leggi per l’amministrazione della giustizia (8)

The use of the adjective is peculiar since it underlines the noble or precious nature of the law and not the exactness, as stated by Catiforo.

The “mirror” of the Enlightened prince is especially interesting in the passages that narrate the confrontation of the tsar with the Swedish emperor Charles XII. The Northern War is depicted as a clash between “titans”, with almost legendary traits. But even if Catiforo paid great respect to the Swedish monarch, the Russian tsar was the one destined to be victorious, because of his great merits. For example, by the end of Book IV, Catiforo narrated the episode in which Peter conquered Dunemunda, Pernavia, Kexolmia and Poltava. The first orders of the tsar were to “make the Lithuanians know the sweetness and goodness of his government” (ms. 49, leaf. 109^{r}): he gave back to the owners all the spoils of the war, he fortified the fortresses, he re-established trade and called upon foreigners to settle in that beautiful place that war and disease had emptied. Along with the social, political and economic measures, Peter cared also for the spiritual duties and built a church for the glory of Saint Apostle Peter and Saint Sampson. The 27^{th} of June became officially a religious celebration of the Eastern Church that commemorates the Russian victory over the Swedes.[39]

The Greek and Romanian translations intervened in the Italian text, especially when rendering the events that took place in Moldavia, correcting the original and giving a more detailed account. For example, when Peter the

[39] Our free translation of the Moldavian text (ms. 49, leaf 109^{v}), transcribed by Dima; Dima 2013: 133-134.

Great came to Moldavia to meet Charles XII of Sweden and tried to settle their disputes, he was attacked by the Turks and had to defend his position on the Prut River

Dar norocul ostenisă de a ajuta marelui Petru, deci să plecă acest mare împărat de ascultă sfaturile lui Basarb, domnul Ţării Rumîneşti, care era aşe aică să treaca apa Ieravon, adică Prutul, pentru ca să stăpînească hambarile ce le ghitise acolo turcul şi le ave pline de tot feliul de hrană. Acest sfat al lui Basarab să făcu atît de păgubitori cu cît fu întocma ce acela al Mazepii ce-l sfătuise pe craiul Carol de-l îndemnă să închiză cetatea Poltava. (Cozma Vlahul, ms. 49, f. 115v)[40]	*Ma la Fortuna era stanca di favorire le armi di Pietro: onde questo gran Principe s'indusse ad ascoltar il consiglio dell'Ospodaro di Valachia, ch'era d'avanzare dall'altra parte del fiume Prut, per occupare i Magazzini, che vi aveva il Turco ripieni d'ogni provvisione. Questo consiglio des Cantimiro fu cosi fatale al Czar, come era stato al Re di Svezia quello del Mazepa di assediare la Citta di Pultava. (247)*

The Romanian text adds another name to the Prut River and corrects Catiforo's error regarding the name of the Romanian advisor, replacing Cantemir with Basarab.

The Moldavian translation (the most complete one of the three versions) ends with the death of Peter the Great, a true translation of Catiforo's Sixth Book. Here, the merits of the Russian tsar were again highlighted in praising terms: his long travels for the benefit of his country, his virtue and modesty, his great knowledge of foreign languages and of the crafts, especially in ship building and the success of his great plans of building maritime channels and cities out of nothing. Catiforo dedicated the last page of his book to defending the devotion and piety of the Russian Tsar, openly disputing Voltaire's claim that he was not religious. The Romanian translation followed this passage faithfully and stressed the religious tolerance, also adding the vigilance of the tsar against heresy, the fact that he was a true Orthodox Christian abiding all rules imposed by the Constantinople Patriarchate. The last sentence offers us an interesting

[40] "But luck was tired of helping the great Peter, so this great emperor took the advice of Basarab, Vallachia's ruler, to cross the river Ieravan, or Prut in order to gain the storehouses that the Turks had hidden there and were full of food. This advice from Basarab proved itself to be as harmful as the one Mazepii gave king Charles to close the fortress of Poltava." [our translation]. The Romanian text adds another name to the Prut-river and corrects Catiforo's error regarding the name of the Romanian advisor, replacing Cantemir with Basarab.

example on how the Greek and Moldavian translations reiterated the importance of the prince's piety for the trust and good behaviour of his subjects, a trait that was absolutely essential in these Orthodox cultures:

> *Să aib dar iertăciune ca cuvîntul cel înfrumuseţat a acelui mai înţălept întru înţelepţi să săvîşască istoria celui mai minunat dintre ighemoni: // stăpînitoriul norodului, arătîndu-şă pururea cătră cele dumnezeieşti rîvnitori sau, să zicem cînd are frica lui Dumnezeu, atunce supuşii nu să tem că vor pătimi vreo pedeapsă afară de pravilă şi fără dreptate. Asijderea de vor cunoaşte că este el credincios şi temători de Dumnezeu, atunce supuşii nu vor putea îndrăzni a fi cu vicleşug, asupra lui avînd el şi pe Dumnezeu într-ajutori. (Cozma Vlahul, ms. 49, f. 211^r-211^v)*[41]

> *Princeps (siami lecito colla piu bella sentenza del piu dotto tra i Filosofi chiuder la Storia del piu ammirabile tra i Principi. Princeps debet esse potissimum Dei cultor: nam minus timent homines a Principe, si Dei cultorem illum putent (374).*

Catiforo's compilation from English, German, French and other sources served as *delectare*, as an informational text on a figure of great interest in Italy. The text served the same goal in the target Romanian culture,[42] with the difference that the events narrated by Catiforo were not of distant and exotic lands but partially unfolded on Romanian soil as well, and the Russian expansion had direct impact on the Romanian politics. Thus, the Greek and Romanian translators felt free to intervene and correct some of the

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[41] "Please allow that the most beautiful word of the most wise scholar to end the history of the most wonderful rulers: the master of the people, always faithful to all that is divine. When he is a ruler with fear of God, then his subjects are not afraid that retribution will befall them, except from law and justice. If they will also know him as faithful and fearful of God, the subjects will not dare to be treacherous, because he has God on his side." [our translation]

[42] The aim is clearly stated in the "Preface": "Much food and not too little sweetness and happiness I truly think that the reading of historical books will bring to the people, since from them many learn the wisdom because they enrich their customs and words and they learn. Reading and understanding from them many events, one may find his own righteous path. And when people have nothing to pass their time, it is very useful to read such books in order to not get accustomed to idleness and laziness, because there is nothing worse for a person than laziness." [Our translation] ms. 2353 BAR, leaf 132^r using Dima; Dima 2013: 70-71).

discrepancies and errors of the Italian author[43] and the text served much more directly to building up the necessary knowledge of the political milieu of the region.

J.M. Schweighofer's Catherine the Great

Johann Michael Schweighofer (1755-1812) was a clerk in the Austrian state apparatus, serving in the Hungarian and Transylvanian chancellery. He was a prolific writer, supporter of the Habsburg social Enlightenment, who tried to regenerate the image of the monarchy and of the empire in the public opinion. His main focus, especially after 1787, was to publish informative weekly papers with a detailed analysis of the geostrategic motivations of Austria and of the Habsburg foreign policy.[44] As the second issue of the periodical "Freund angenehmer und nützlicher Kenntnisse", he published a text that focussed on the life and deeds of Catherine the Great, a portrait aimed at informing the public opinion on the motivations of the Habsburg monarchy to forge an alliance with Sankt Petersburg, by revealing the qualities of this enlightened monarch on the one hand and, on the other, the geostrategic manoeuvres that she did in Crimea, from which Vienna could fully profit. (Chiriac, 2016: 55-66) This text followed an equally clear narrative structure: starting with a short overview of the Russian history, followed by a biography of Catherine II from her arrival in Russia until the present day, where the author included the controversial deeds of the empress (the throne ascension, the death of her husband, the difficult relation with her son) but tried to focus on the strength of her national policy and on the skilled diplomatic and military foreign policy. The third part of the text contains a short description of the geography, the natural and geostrategic resources of the newly conquered Crimea and of its capital Kherson, whereas the fourth chapter was drafted as an argumentative text that provided its reader with explicit reasons for which the Habsburgs should have an alliance with Russia and for which going to war against the Ottomans would benefit the Austrian empire.

The German text was translated into Greek and published in Vienna in the same year. Using this Greek intermediate, the prior Ionechentie from

[43] Dima exemplifies with the description of the Russo-Turkish War, where Catiforo names the two rulers of the Romanian principalities "La Moldavia fu data a Demetrio Cantemiro, favorito del Kan de Tartari. Un altro Cantimiro era Ospodaro di Valachia" (Cartiforo, 244). Kankellarios corrects the error and the right names appear also in the Romanian Moldavian translation: In Walachia rules Constantin Basarab Voievod and in Moldavia Dimitrie Cantemir Voievoda (ms. 49, leaf 114^r) (Dima; Dima 2013: 115).

[44] Schweighofer contributed and edited three weekly journals: "Freund angenehmer und nützlicher Kenntnisse" [Friend of pleasant and useful knowledge] (1787) – 2 volumes with 4 issues each, "Politischer Zuschauer" [Political Spectator] (1787-1788) – 13 issues and "Wochentliche Beiträge" [Weekly Contributions] (1788) – 12 issues.

Pîngăraţi Monastery translated the text in Romanian in the year 1788[45], dedicating his work to the bishop of Roman and future Metropolitan of Moldavia, Leon Gheucă, an active figure in the Moldavia's negotiations with Sankt Petersburg and Vienna. (Ciurea, 1942)

The "mirror of the Russian princess" is carefully constructed throughout the entire text, focussing on Catherine's holiness and greatness. Right from the preface of the Romanian translation, the reader is introduced to the *leit-motif* of Catherine's image: the translator mentioned that he embarked in this translation process because the book tells of the greatness of heart of the grand Catherine, empress of Russia, her wise government, and some account on the wars she wielded against the Sublime Porte.[46] The chapter dedicated to the biography of the empress stresses her "pronie", that is a supreme wisdom, with which the monarch ruled the world, her "statornicie" [firmness, consistency, devotion], "mărime de suflet" [goodness of heart], "înţelepciune" [wisdom], "o înaltă şi adîncă cugetare" [a great and profound thinking], "strălucire" [splendour]. After taking the Crimean Peninsula, the text enumerates the great social deeds of the empress: that she brought education to the Russian cities and towns, that she brought Western European scholars to develop science, art and education in Russia, she promoted the crafts, schools and churches, she wrote laws and legislation for the well-being of her people. The text ends with a chapter on the political reasons for which Austria should rejoice the occupation of Crimea by the Russians. Among the purely strategic and geopolitical reasons enumerated by Schweighofer, the image of Catherine II with the power of her supreme divine wisdom and, in short, the sagacity of Catherine II[47] served as a guarantee of the power and steadfastness of a treaty between the Austrians and the Russians against the Turks, something that also the Romanian nobility and clergy were looking forward to.

The translation of such a highly ideological text with political stakes cannot be reduced to a simple process of a faithful transposition of the original. Through selection and adaptation strategies, the Romanian text deviated from its Viennese model and tried to address to the readership of a completely new cultural area, with a different political constellation and position in the public debate. Whereas the German text represented an issue of a journal addressed to a large readership, trying to involve this readership

[45] This original translation is lost, we have today only two copies of the original manuscript: written by Antohi Hociung and included in a miscelanous manuscript (ms. 3102 BAR) in 1793 and one written by Vasile Dînga and included also in a miscellaneous manuscript (ms. 3165 BAR) in 1797 (Chiriac 2016: 116-126).

[46] "povesteşte înlăuntrul ei mărime de suflet a înaltei Ecaterinei, imperatriţa Rosiei, înţeleptele ei ocîrmuiri, oarecere din războaiele ce au avut cu Poarta" (KII, f. 2^{v}).

[47] "putere de pronie şi, în scurt, să zic de înţelepciune Ecaterinii a doua" (KII, f. 2^{v}).

in the political debate, the Romanian text remained a manuscript and seemed to address to a single person. Only years later the text had been copied and included in miscellanea containing other historical texts, supplementing thus the Romanian historiography with new information material. The two communication situations, at a public and at a private level, also mark the difference, at a textual and morphological level of the Romanian translation. (Chiriac, 2016: 126-127)

The image of the enlightened monarch is a faithful transposition of the Austrian one. Yet, for rhetorical purposes, the Romanian text accentuated and exacerbated the traits of the Russian empress as to give her an even glorious image. The main strategies employed are the additions of the Romanian translator, which accentuate the positive traits of the Russian monarch:

În armata […] era ***lucrare şi săvîrşire a înţeleptei // Ecaterinii*** *prin mijlocire măsuratelor ei socotele. (KII, f. 30^{r}-30^{v})*	*Die […] Neutralität war* ***Katharinens Wert****, durch ihre klugen Maaßregeln.*[48] *(38)*
Ecaterina au aşezat ***cu căzută şi împărătească mărire*** *învăţături. (KII, f. 33^{v})*	*Katharina [hat]* ***mit einem königlichen Aufwand*** *Künste […] unterstützt.*[49] *(41)*

Another strategy was reformulating the source text and replacing neutral words with phrases that highlighted the grandeur, exceptionalism and extraordinary character of Catherine:

Deci acum ***au strălucit*** *Ecaterina pre scaon (KII, f. 15^{r})*	*Katharina* ***war*** *nun Kaiserin im Russischen Reich. (20)*[50]
Această ***preaslăvită*** *stăpînă au arătat cu urmare în toată Evropa prin mijlocire înţeleptei sale urmări cît de vrednică era acestui scaon pre carile* ***să căde să-l întărească cu atîta nevoie şi mărime de***	*Diese* ***grosse*** *Beherrscherin zeigte in der Folge ganz Europa durch ihre weise Regierung, wie würdig sie desjenigen Throns war,* ***den sie mit so vieler Beschwerlichkeit und Muth behaupten mußte****.*

[48] "The merit of Catherine" is thus supplemented by the Romanian translator with "the work and accomplishment of the wise Catherine" and the "smart provisions" is reformulated in the Romanian text as "her measured calculations" [our translations].

[49] Catherine supports the arts and sciences through her "royal effort", says the German text. The Romanian one accentuates the traits of the monarch and translates the passage with "rightful and royal greatness" [our translation].

[50] The neutral German word "war" [was] is translated with the Romanian "au strãlucit" [she shone].

suflet. *(KII, f. 15^v)*

(20)[51]

Such reformulations occurred not only at the lexical level but also at the phrase or textual level

*Şi la urmă au fost cu încremenire şi merare tuturor după ce au biruit împărăteasa pe turci la Cisme şi la Patrason. Cu flota sa au pogorît biruitoarele streaguri şi le-u pus cu mare evlavie // supt chipul marelui Petru (**arătînd pe asămănata mărime de suflet şi ipervolicească cinste ce avé către dînsul** (KII, f. 30^v-31^r)*

Es war daher sehr rührend, und ***zeigte von der Mässigung, Grossmuth, und ausserordentlichen Achtung für Peter der Grossen****, daß, nachdem sie die Türken bei Tschesme, bei Petrasso mit ihrer Flotte überwand, die Kaiserin die eroberten Flaggen zu seinem Bild mit Ehrfurcht niederlegte (38)*[52]

As in the case of Peter the Great, Schweighofer's text was also reformulated in the Romanian translation in respect to the religiosity of the monarch and the sacralization of the empress' image:

Această singură stăpînitoare metaheresăşte la aceasta credinţii, blîndeţii, vrednicii şi cea mai de prisosit ţinere de lege a eparhiei pe pravoslavnica credinţe a grecilor. Însă şi spre legea celorlalte nemuri aduce cinste şi // laudă (după cum

In dem Religionssystem heget diese Monarchin sanfte Grundsätze. Sie ist der herrschenden Religion ihres Staates zugethan, nämlich der Altgriechischen; aber sie zeiget, wie dieser Staatskluge, auch Achtung gegen andere Religionsverwandte.[53] *(42-43)*

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[51] The German "grosse Beherrscherin" [great ruler] is transposed in Romanian with "preaslãvitã stãpînã" [most glorified ruler]. The German text mentiones that Catherine had to preserve her throne with great "Beschwerlichkeit und Muth" [troublesomeness and courage]; in the Romanian translation with "nevoie şi mãrime de suflet" [difficulty and greatness of heart].

[52] The sentences are reversed but the message of the passage remains true. The Romanian translations depicts Catherine's attitude towards Peter's memory as "mãrime de suflet şi ipervoliceascã cinste" [goodness of heart and great honor], whereas the German original describes it as "Mässigung, Großmuth und ausserordentlichen Achtung"[moderation, generosity and extraordinary respect].

[53] The Romanian text says: "This sole ruler practices this faith with tenderness, worthiness and above all by respecting the law of the church of the Greeks. But also for the laws of other peoples she shows respect and praise (in her infinite political wisdom)". The German text remains neutral in this depiction: "In the religious system this monarch nurtures gentle

> *fiiştecare politicească înţelepciuni). (KII, f. 34v-35r)*

In this passage the German original stressed that she was tolerant with the state religion of her people and with the religions of the minorities but never implies the fact that she herself would have been pious. In the Romanian translation Catherine appears as a proto-type of piousness and religious virtue, who is also tolerant with other religions.

Catherine was a well-known figure in the Romanian historiography of the time but this particular translation is an interesting example in which the persona of the monarch is carefully and intentionally constructed in order to serve in the political and ideological fight against the Turks.

Rumpf's Alexandrer I

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the social, political and historical events that were taking place in Europe became the main topic promoted by the European intellectuals. The defeat of the great French army, its retreat from the Russian front in fierce weather conditions, the fall of Napoleon, the struggle led by Tsar Alexander I and the allied forces to "reclaim" Europe coagulated the public opinion and aroused the interest of readers everywhere. The Romanian intellectuals did not reject the ideas of the French culture, as proven by the numerous translations from Voltaire, but rather the ideas brought forward by the French Revolution (Tatay, 2011: 208), which threatened the institution of the monarchy. In the absence of relevant newspapers or journals, the reader's opinion was formed based on short pieces of writing, either originals or translations, dedicated to the events of the time and the actors involved.

In this context, the Printing House of the University of Buda became an important source of information for Romanian readers everywhere with regard to the events and sufferings brought by the war and the actions of the involved parties. Among extensive works on history and philology, there was also published here a group of booklets of small dimensions, the so-called *Buda-texts* that form thematically and formally a unitary depiction of the contemporary events regarding the French emperor and his military maneuvers. *Întâmplările războiului franţozilor şi întoarcerea lor de la Moscva* (1814) [The events of the French war and their return from Moscow], *Trista întâmplare a cetăţii Dresda de la spargerea încoace a podului, pănă la apărarea cetăţii* (1814) [The sad events regarding the citadel of Dresden from the fall of its bridge until its defense], *Scurtă arătare despre luare Parisului şi alte întâmplări* (1814) [Short overview of the

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canons. She cares for the main religion of her state, that is the Old Greek one; but she, in her political wisdom, paid respect to all other kindred religions" (our translations).

conquest of Paris and other events], *Vrednica de pomenire biruinţă, ce în vremea noastră s-au făcut, sau piramida cea din tunuri înălţată în marea cetate Moscva* (1815) [The worthy mentioning of the victory that happened in our time or the great pyramid of cannons in the city of Moscow], *Napoleon Bonaparte, ce au fost şi ce iaste* (1815) [Napoleon Bonaparte, who he was and who he is], *Arătarea stăpânirei şi a caracterului lui Alexandru I. Împăratul a toată Rossia* (1815) [An account on the rule and character of Alexander I, Emperor of all Russia] represent translations from different unknown German source texts (with one exception) that centered on the major contemporary events, aiming not at instructing its readership, but rather at highlighting the dangers of the French imperialism and expansionism. They did not depict Napoleon Bonaparte or his military campaigns in a favorable light, since the publications were under the close scrutiny of the Hungarian and Austrian authorities, which fought against France during the war and since the Romanians viewed Russia as their natural alliance.

In this group of texts, one booklet distinguishes itself by focusing not on the enemy but on the savior, namely the Russian emperor Alexander I. It is also the only writing that mentions the German source text of the Romanian translation, namely *Alexander I, Kaiser von Russland. Ein Regierungs-und Karaktergemälde*, published in 1814 in Berlin by G. Hayn, written by Johann Daniel Friedrich Rumpf. He was a counselor at the Prussian Royal Court and focused in his writings on biographies, geographical descriptions, the Prussian administration, the Prussian monarchy, local economy and legislation[54]. This text represents a biography of the Russian Tsar and was dedicated to the nephew of Frederick the Great, Frederick Wilhelm III of Prussia.

The Romanian translation[55] was published in Buda in 1815 with no mention of the translator's name and, although the issue of paternity has been

[54] He also published: *Die Disputir und Vortragskunst. Eine praktische Anleitung zum logischen Beweisen und Widerlegen und zum folgerichtigen Gedankenvortrage*, Berlin, 1833; *Berlin und Potsdam, eine vollständige Darstellung der merkwürdigsten Gegenstände*, 1808; *Berlin oder Darstellung der interessantesten Gegenstände dieser Residenz: ein Handbuch für Fremde und Einheimische*, Berlin, 1793, *Der Geschäftsstil in Amts- und Privatvorträgen*, Berlin, 1820 and translations: *Droits et Devoirs des fonctionnaires et employés prussiens depuis leur entrée en place jusqu'à leur sortie, exposés*, translated from German by C. Noël, after *Dienst- und Rechts- Verhältnisse der preussischen Staatsbeamten von ihrem Dienstantritte bis zu ihrem Ausscheiden*.

[55] Romanian title: Johann Daniel Friedrich Rumpf, *Arătarea stăpânirei și a caracterului lui Alexandru I. Împăratul a toată Rossia. Întocmită prin I.D.F. Rumpf, crăiescul praisesc a Direcției din Berlin secretar-expeditor, și Mărirei Sale celui pre dreptate și moștenitoriu craiu al Borusiei Fridrih Vilhelm III închinată. Iară acum întâiu pre românie prefăcută și tipărită cu chipul împăratului. La Buda, în Crăiasca Tipografie a Universitatei Ungariei*, 1815 [An account on the rule and character of Alexander I, Emperor of all Russia, written

repeatedly discussed by scholars, there is insufficient data to identify the Romanian translator[56]. Like the other booklets, this portrait of the Tsar Alexander I has a small format, the verified copy having a number of 108 pages, the list of subscribers included. This list offers us interesting data regarding the dissemination spectrum of the work in different regions: Moldova (460), Wallachia (486), Transylvania and Banat (460), from Buda and Pesta (121), and Vienna (24). The translation's structure is similar to the German original and comprises a history of Russian rulers (Vladimir I, Ivan I, Ivan II, Peter the Great and Catherine II), events from the life of the Tsar to the journey made by Alexander I in Petersburg in 1814, and a number of manifests written by the Russian emperor on different occasions (ascension, coronation, the day of his departure for Vienna etc.). As in the German edition, a portrait of Alexander I, emperor of all Russia, is reproduced on the reverse of the first introductory sheet, and the frontispiece on the original title sheet representing the medal issued in honor of the coronation of Emperor Alexander I, is replaced with another, which symbolizes a Muse with a scepter. (Pavel, 2018: 1338)

The detailed comparison of the Romanian version with the German source-text allowed us to reveal interesting facts regarding the way in which the image of the Russian monarch was carefully constructed in both texts. Unlike the first part of the text, where the translator's interventions consist mainly of explanations and glosses, in the last part, he moves further away from the source, omitting entire pages, apparently through a random selection. Furthermore, the Romanian translator included at the end of the translation a “Manifest”[57], a proclamation of his governing philosophy and policy, a writing that has probably circulated independently from Rumpf's text and which is considered by the Romanian translator to complete the biography of the Russian tsar.

From the very beginning, the author aims to earn his readers' trust by referring to his sources, pointing out that the events he describes are real

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after I.D.F. Rumpf, secretary of Berlin agency of the Prussian emperor and dedicated to His Highness, the rightful heir of Borussia Friedrich Wilhelm III and now for the first time translated into Romanian and published with a portrait of the Emperor at Buda in the Imperial Publishing House of the Hungarian University, 1815].

[56] The translator might have been Ioan Teodorovici who was appointed priest in 1809 by the Romanian Orthodox Church in Pest and after 1820 also held the position of censor and proof-reader of the printing house in Buda. Ioan Teodorovici is also the author of the other five booklets printed in Buda, but there is not enough information to conclude that he is also the translator of the biography of the Russian emperor. Another hypothesis regarding this issue is that Petru Maior could have been the Romanian translator of the text. (Cernovodeanu 1974: 84 and Camară 2017: 145-154).

[57] “Manifestul, care înãlțatul împãrat a toatã Rossia în zioa pornirei sale cãtrã Viena s-au lãsat, 1814 octombrie 15-27”, p. 90-104.

historical facts. Without giving any bibliographical reference, Rumpf appeals to the authority of others, quoting a mysterious scholar ("Un bărbat, carele mulţi ani în curtea cea împărătească din Rossia au petrecut"), without naming him, a man who had supposedly been at the Russian court for many years and observed the imperial family.

The image of Alexander I as an Enlightened Monarch is constructed from the start by placing him in the long dynastic line of Russian emperors. Peter I is seen as the one who drove away all his enemies, foreign and domestic alike, and brought peace to his country and Catherine II is seen as most honored, rightfully praised among the great, a powerful and brave ruler, who kept all the affairs of the nation in good order[58]. Alexander Pavlovich, the son of Mary Feodorovna and Paul I and nephew of Catherine II, was born on December, the 23rd, 1777. The young prince is seen as a promising saviour, able to work for the well-being of his subjects, to care for the nobles and, endowed with all the qualities of a hero, to bravely "lead them to victory" being the "treasure of his people". His education and training are closely related to the authority of Catherine II, who was very involved in her grandson's education, selecting the tutors and the disciplines studied by the young prince.

Aiming at emphasizing the strong character of the young prince, the author inserts a short story about the episode when young Alexander decided to contradict his tutor, professor Kraft, in a problem concerning the nature of light. This short episode written as a foot-note was translated by the Romanian author in a slightly shortened form, eliminating the refence to Newton.

*Profesorul Kraft, carele pre tinerii Prinți îi învăța Experimentalnica Fisică *)* **) Când odată Profesorul Kraft îi puse înainte multe ipothesuri despre firea luminii, cum că adecă lumina de-a pururea din soare are a sa curgere, cel de 12 ani Alexandru îi rupse cuvîntul, și zise: Eu aceasta nu o cred, căci că de ar fi așa, soarele din zi în zi ar trăbui să fie mai mic.* (4)	*der Professor Kraft, der dem jungen Fürsten die Experimental-Physik lehrte *)* **) Als Kraft einst die verschiedenen Hypothesen über die Natur des Lichtes vortrug, unterbrach ihn der zwölfjährige Alexander,* ***eben als er von Newtons Meinung sprach****, daß das Licht eine beständige Emanation aus der Sonne sei, mit dem Einwürfe: "das glaube ich nicht, denn sonst mußste ja die Sonne täglich kleiner werden."* (4)

[58] "Împăratul Petru I cel Mare, carele așijderea pre toți, și cei mai de aproape, și cei mai departe vrăjmași de pre la marginile împărăției sale i-au depărtat și înlăuntrul țărilor o nespusă liniște au băgat. Apoi, cea mai prețuită după dînsul, în scaon următoare Ecaterina II, carea, pre dreptate, în numărul celor mari, celor putearnici și cu înaltă vitejie fu socotită, toate trebile și lucrurile împărăției întru bună orînduială le-au adus" (p. 2).

Both the German and the Romanian texts compare Alexander I to Telemachus, adding that the prince had inherited the virtues of a hero, the great disposition of Catherine, an unchangeable temperament, a right thinking, penetrating spirit, and a rare modesty, at the same time a knowledge that goes beyond his age. He is described as the most handsome and the most courageous man in his kingdom, loved by everybody and praised for his wisdom and righteousness. By the grace of God, he is thus born and educated to be the great leader the Russia needs and deserves:

De acest tinăr Prinț pentru a lui firească frumseațe și moralnice bunătăți toți cîți îl vedea se mira. Se află într-însul așa adevărate idei, care pre noi ne îndeamnă a socoti că ar fi ca ale lui Telemah. […] El are ceale prea iscusite cugete ale Ecatarinei, un duh adevărat al gîndirilor, și o foarte ***cu anevoie întru alții de a se afla*** *înțelepciune, și o fire multe lucruri de odată cu mintea a cuprinde carea la foarte puțini se afla, și altora numai ca o păreare li se veade a fi, neștiind ei cît de strîns au trăbuit acesta să viețuiască. El în latul și lungul împărăției sale este cel mai frumos om, el este întru frumseațe, blîndeațe, și întru facerile de bine aseamene maicii sale. [...] Natura l-au împodobit pre dînsul cu toate darurile ceale vreadnice de iubire, și cu moștenirea a cei mari împărății în lume. Cerul de sus i-au orînduit lui, ca patruzeci de milioane de oameni, preste care împărățească, fericiți supuși să-i facă.”* (5-6)

Dieser junge Prinz flößt durch seine physische Schönheit und moralische Güte eine Art von Bewunderung ein. Man findet in ihm beinah das Ideal verwirklicht, welches uns im Telemach entzückt. […] Er hat die große Gesinnung Katharinens, eine ***unveränderlich*** *gleiche Gemüthsart, einen richtig* ***denkenden****, durchdringenden Geist, und eine seltene Bescheidenheit, dabei eine Umsicht, die weit über sein Alter geht, und die man für Verstellung halten könnte, wenn man nicht den Zwang wüßte, in welchem er lebt. Er ist der schönste Mann in seinem großen weiten Reiche, er hat die Schönheit, die Sanftmuth, die Wohlthätigkeit seiner Mutter. […] Die Natur hat ihn reichlich mit allen liebenswürdigen Eigenschaften begabt, und der Erbe des größsten Reichs in der Welt, wird sie gewiß für die Menschheit wichtig machen. Der Himmel hat ihn hoffentlich bestimmt, vierzig Millionen Menschen zu den glücklichsten Unterthanen zu machen.”* (5-6)[59]

[59] The highlighted words and phrases from the German texts are omitted in the Romanian translation, without effecting the general meaning of the fragment.

Once he took the throne, on March the 24th 1801, Alexander I wrote a "Manifesto" to mark the beginning of his reign, where the ambition, the good intentions and the extraordinary character of the Tsar are emphasized and where Alexander's main objective to settle peace is emphatically stated. In another "Manifesto" from a couple of months later, which marks his coronation, the tsar states that the first duty of any ruler is to take care of his people, that is to offer his subjects justice and equity, to further trade and to build cities and accommodation for everybody. All his deeds are blessed by God and represent God's will and the tsar is none other than God's representative, bound to serve the Almighty for the benefit of his nation. This is why the tsar declares this date (15th September 1801) an official Orthodox commemorative celebration.

> *Cel Atotputearnic și Preaînalt au binecuvîntat voința noastră și începutul nostru. Atotputearnica mînă în toate lucrurile ceale bune au fost cu noi, ca noi pre norodul cel noao încredințat să-l apărăm, și să-l ajutăm. […] După ce noi pentru cea mare a Lui pentru noi purtare de grije laudă de mulțemită I-am adus, nu putem altă mai bună jertvă a-I aduce decît, ca această zi, pentru darurile mai în jos noao arătate, în inima norodului zi de prăznuire ce o facem.* (17-18)

> *Der Allerhöchste hat Unsere Wünsche und Unser Beginnen gesegnet. Bei jeder guten Handlung haben Wir seine allmächtige Hand verspürt, die Uns, zum größeren Zeichen seiner auf Uns wirkenden Vorsehung, und zur Bestätigung des geheimnißvollen Siegels, welches Uns mit dem von ihm Uns anvertrauten Volke vereinigt, unterstützt. […] Nachdem Wir Seiner obwaltenden Vorsehung das Lob der Dankbarkeit gebracht, so können Wir Ihm keine bessere Opfer bringen, als, indem Wir den zum Unterpfande der Bewahrung Unsrer Pflichten vor Ihm heute feierlich bekräftigten Bewegungen Unsers Herzens folgen, diesen Tag in den Herzen des Volks durch die unten angezeigten neuen Gnadenbezeugungen zu heilingen und unvergeßlich zu machen.* (19)

Following in the steps of his predecessors, Tsar Alexander I wanted also to assert his foreign policy and fought against Napoleon for the liberation of Europe. The author emphasized the Tsar's courageous determination to drive the French army out of Moscow, which reveals in fact his higher purpose, namely "soartea cea mare despre Izbăvirea Europei" (77) [the great destiny to save Europe]. He is determined never to surrender, as long as the enemy is in his country:

***Eu nu pui armele jos**, încîtă vreame voi vedea că se mai află vrun picior de ai Potrivnicului ostași întru împărăția mea. (77)*	***Ich lege die Waffen nicht nieder**, so lange ein feindlicher Streiter in meinem Kaiserreiche sich befindet. (86)*

Of particular interest is the battle of the two powers on the Russian front. In Rumpf's text the "dictator" is depicted as an enemy of Europe and after his failed campaign, as a defeated leader looking for escape from Russia. Rumpf and the Romanian translator both highlighted that the reason for his defeat could not have been the harsh "elements" in Russia, the "stihii" [bad weather] as the Romanian translator explains, but the battles led by the Russian army, who deserved all the credit, since Russia received no help from its allies.

***Dictatorul (împăratul) franțozesc**, cu mîni cu picioare căuta mijlociri de a se întoarce înapoi din Rossia și (...) se trase înapoi din Moscva. Napoleon voi să pună vina pre **stihii (elemente)** cum că ele sînt pricina pierzărilor lui, însă și fără de ger de frig și fără de foame franțăzeștile Armadii prin cei rău vătămați Ruși fură bătute. (...) Așadară se cuvine Rossiei acea laudă, cum că potrivnicului pustiitoriului neamului omenesc, în locul acela, unde toate arăta, **că Rossia n-au avut întru ajutori și alte însoțite puteri**. (78-79)*	*Der **französische Dictator** gab nun plötzlich alle Rettungsmittel (...) entfloh er von Moskau. Napoleon wollte **die Elemente** zu den Ursachen seiner Niederlagen machen; aber auch ohne Frost, Kälte und Hunger würde die französische Armee dem Rachschwert des tiefgekränkten, hart beleidigten Russen nicht entgangen sein. (...) So gebührt also Rußland der Ruhm, dem Feinde, dem Verwüster des Menschengeschlechts, in einer Lage, **wo es auf Unterstützung fremder Mächte nicht rechnen konnte**. (87-88).*

For Alexander I, military success was a sign of renaissance, as he assumed the role of the leader and reformer not only for Russia, but for the entire Western Christian world. After the burning of Moscow, the tsar turned to faith, replacing philosophy as the source of his ideas about ethics with the teachings of the Bible (Wortman 2013: 155), as proven in the analyzed text by the numerous phrases related to his gratitude to God: "să dăm rugăciuni de mulţămită a tot putearnicului Dumnezeu căci au izbăvit ţara noastră din mîna groaznicului şi tarelui potrivnic" (91). ["let us pray and thank God almighty for saving our country from the hands of our strong and fierce enemy".]

Conclusions

The three texts that made the subject of our analysis, although different in intentionality, in structure and in style, provide the Romanian historiography with a coherent vision of Russia as the new-comer in the world politics that could break the despotic reign of the Muslims and bring the Romanian Principalities under the protection of a Christian Enlightened monarchy. Peter, Catherine and Alexander, Eastern Orthodox monarchs praised by the Enlightened scholars of the West are celebrated in the Romanian translations as saviours and divine gifts for Russia but also for the Principalities, figures that can bring together the different strains of culture, from the Byzantine tradition and the Western secular culture, that blend and mix together in this region and give a coherent view and a straight direction towards cultural and political emancipation. The cultural transfer is thus particularly interesting, since it highlights an entangled route of knowledge and ideology circulation. In its way, through multiple subsequent translations, the texts and ideas mutate, transform and blend together with the particular tradition of the target culture in order to create a textual basis relevant and useful to its recipients.

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ms. 2353 BAR. *Viaţa marelui Petru, aftocrator a toată Rosia, părinte patriei, adunată din multe pomeniri în Franţa şi în Olanda, ce s-au dat în doaua tomuri, iară mai pre urmă s-au tălmăcit den limba italienească în limba grecească cu toată nevoinţa de chir Alexandru Cantelariu, iară după cea* *grecească s-au tălmăcit acum la înţelegerea rumânească de dumnealui Matei Fărcăşanu, biv vel şatrar, la anii de la Hristos 1749/ Life of Peter the Great, emperor of all Russia, father of his land, selected from many writings from France and Holland, drafted in two tomes, then translated from Italian into Greek by Alexander Cantelariu and from Greek into Romanian by the merchant Matei Fărcăşanu, in the year 1749 a.D*.

ms. 49 BAR. *Viaţa Marelui Petru, Samoderjeţ a toată Rosia, scrisu-s-au această carte, ce se săvîrşeşte în 6 cărţi, cu toată cheltuiala Preasfinţitului şi iubitoriului de Dumnezeu, episcopal Sfintei şi Dumnezeieştii Episcopii Huşului, chir Inochentie, în zilele prealuminatului domn şi oblăduitori a toată Ţara Moldavii, Io Constantin Mihail Racoviţă Voievod. S-au scris la sfînta Episcopia Huşilor, leat 7264, iar de la Mîntuirea lumii 1756 mai 1/ Life of Peter the Great, autocrat of all Russia. This work was drafted in 6 books, at the expense of the Holy and God-loving bishop of the Holy Episcopacy of Huşi, Inochentie, in the days of the glorious ruler, protector of all Moldavia, Constantin Mihail Racoviţă Vaivode. This was written at the Holy Episcopacy of Huşi, in the year 7264 or 1756 a.D., the 1st of May*.

ms. 3161 BAR. *Istoria ruşilor şi viaţa Marelui Petru, monarhul ruşilor, şi vitejiele lor. Cartea politiei ruseşti şi vitejiile ruşilor, a monarhului Petru şi altor împăraţi şi stăpînitori […] la ano 1788, aprilie 20 Braşov/ History of the Russians and the life of Peter the Great. The book of the Russian state and of the Russians' braveries, of their monarch Peter and of other emperors and rulers […] in the year 1788, the 20th of April, Braşov*.

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ms. 3102. *Ecaterina al doile. Istorie adunată a împărăţii rusăşti, dinceputul ei pîn la anul de acum împreună şi scriere împreguru a tavricescului hersonescului ostrov şi a oraşului Hersonii. Tălmăcită de pre limba nemţască pre limba grecească apla la anul 1787 şi de pre aceasta pre limba moldovenească cu cheltuiala ieromonahului chir Inochenţie, egumenul sfintei mănăstiri Pîngăraţiului şi scrisă de logofătul Ioniţă Chira la anii 1788/ Catherine II. A compiled history of the Russian empire, from its beginning until this year, together with a description of the Crimean Peninsula and of the city of Kherson. Translated from German into Greek in the year 1787 and from Greek into Moldavian, at the expense of the hieromonarch Inochentie, prior of the holy Monastery of Pîngăraţi, written by the logothete Ioniţă Chira in the year 1788*.

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Berlin secretar-expeditor, şi Mărirei Sale celui pre dreptate şi moştenitoriu craiu al Borusiei Fridrih Vilhelm III închinată. Iară acum întâiu pre românie prefăcută şi tipărită cu chipul împăratului. La Buda, în Crăiasca Tipografie a Universitatei Ungariei, 1815/ The description of the rule and character of Alexander I, emperor of all Russia. Written by I.D.F. Rumpf, imperial secretary from Berlin Directorate, dedicated to his Holiness, crown prince of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm III. For the first time translated into Romanian and published with a portrait of the Emperor, at Buda, in the Publishing House of the Hungarian University.

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THE SEA AND ITS NATIONAL AVATAR IN ROMANIAN ROMANTIC LITERATURE: FROM THE SMALL TO THE GREAT UNION

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Abstract: *The following paper analyses the emergence of an imaginary of the sea in Romanian Romantic poetry. As Dobrudja and the Black Sea were integrated into the Romanian state rather late, after the War of Independence, it is not until the 19th century that we can speak of a visible literary and cultural presence of the sea, in particular of the Black Sea. A 'mare nostrum' of the Ottoman Empire for most of the mediaeval and modern period, the Black Sea is assimilated into the national imaginary mainly due to Vasile Alecsandri's re-imagining its space from the perspective of ancient history and a translatio imperii to the East. Through Ovid and his cultural legacy, Romania and Romanians are symbolically viewed as the descendants of the Roman Empire in the backward, orientalized Balkans. Though not writing in particular about the Black Sea, Dimitrie Bolintineanu's collection "Florile Bosforului"[The flowers of the Bosphorus] introduces the image of the sea as the exotic Other. Mihai Eminescu, whose unconscious image of the sea overlaps with that of his native forest lakes, takes over the national idea from Alecsandri, and in "Doină" [A doina], circumscribes the national borders to the Black Sea and the Dniester.*
Keywords: The Black Sea; Romantic poetry; national identity; the Balkans; the Forty-Eighters.

Is there a Romanian imaginary of the sea?

In an article published in *Dilema Veche*, Adrian Romilă contends that any imaginary of the sea develops on the basis of a long-established familiarity with the space of the sea and is articulated "by its constant use as a vital and oneiric element" (2021). Although geographically close to the Black Sea, throughout the Middle Ages and the modern period, Romanians, living in small principalities often dependent on the whims of the Sublime Porte, were more economically and socio-politically dependent on rivers such as the Danube and the Dniester. For a long time, the Black Sea had been a *mare nostrum*, the internal lake of the Ottoman and later of the Russian Empire. However, starting with the 19th century, with the opening up of the country towards the West and a newly-acquired taste for voyaging, as well as with the development of the concepts of nation and nationhood, an imaginary of the sea is being slowly articulated, and after Dobrudja becomes part of the Kingdom of Romania in 1878, this imaginary takes shape around a new reality: the Black Sea.

As Sorin Antohi remarked in *Romania and the Balkans*, the Black Sea and Dobrudja did not play any important role in shaping Romanian identity until the 19th century (2002). The foundational narrative of the Romanian people as descending from the Dacians and the Romans, with Ovid as a tutelary genius, is in reality a Romantic myth of the Forty-Eighters, later developed and shaped by several historians, of which the most notable was Nicolae Iorga.

In the 18th century, while the Transylvanian School, whose obvious political aim was advancing the rights of Romanians and gaining cultural and religious autonomy inside a multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire, emphasized Latinity at all costs, the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, under the Sublime Porte's suzerainty, were ruled by Phanariot princes, whose administration achieved "the Balkanization" of the two principalities, "a process by which the political system, societal structure, everyday life, high and low culture are brought closer to the Levant" (Antohi, 2002). Further, he contends that "[i]t is precisely this legacy of the Phanariot century that constitutes for most Romanians the core of their self-identity dilemmas, controversies, and crises" (Antohi, 2002). Since the process of modernization (closely connected to nation-building after the Small Union of 1859) involved creating stronger ties to the West as well as repudiating what was perceived as the backward Oriental mentality, Romanian self-narratives oscillated between celebrating and rejecting their Balkan roots and traditions in the process of 'self-colonization'60 that entailed adhering to Western values, attitudes and mentality. Therefore, in the long process of nation-building during the 19th and 20th centuries, Romanian identity shifted from Balkanization to de-Balkanization and re-Balkanization, as a result of (often) divergent policies which favoured either a rapprochement or a distancing from the Oriental / Levantine / Balkan traditions.

60 Self-colonization, as theorized by Alexander Kiossev in *Notes on Self-Colonizing Cultures* is the process whereby certain (national) cultures become conscious of a lack at the core of their identity and thus "import alien values and civilizational models by themselves" and "lovingly colonise their own authenticity through these foreign models" (1995: 2). These cultures can be often found, Kiossev argues, at the periphery of Civilization: they are neither central enough, nor too backward and so their uncertain status is productive of a certain anxiety which then prompts them to adopt the values of what they regard as a 'superior' culture. Romania can no doubt be classified among such countries – first and foremost on account of its peculiar geographical location, "at the Gates of the Orient", a border country, neither here not there. This location prevents Romanians from being able to identify completely with the Oriental or the Balkan element, while at the same time implies being perceived by Western Europeans as a kind of 'Orientalized' Europeans.

As for the Black Sea, its history, as Adrian Romilă notes, is "much poorer in events and mythical accounts" (Romilă, 2015: 105) than the Western marine histories or that of the "huge Mediterranean", as this sea was essentially only "a source of raw materials for the coastal states" (105). Moreover, Romanians "have never had the vocation of great journeys and neither were they great ship-builders, though maritime trade had flourished during numerous periods"[61] (105). Though the imaginary of the Black Sea is scarce in the epic pirate histories that constitute the topic of Romilă's fascinating study on *Pirați și corăbii. Incursiune într-un posibil imaginar al mării* [Pirates and ships. A journey into a possible imaginary of the sea], the sea itself has nevertheless awakened "poetic, intimate, geographic nostalgias" (2015: 105), turning into a poetic, literary and cultural topic. This is understandable, Romilă argues, for two reasons: the modern Romanian nation had little or no time for day-dreaming, and it gained access to the sea only later, in the second half of the 19th century, when it became politically independent.

Since Dobrudja and the Black Sea had been areas formerly belonging to the Ottoman Empire, with a long history of international trade and ethnic mingling, it comes as no surprise that they are integrated into the Romanian cultural imaginary quite late and also with some difficulty. It takes time until they are assimilated into the shifting Romanian self-identity and once incorporated, they turn into an ideological battleground. The study of the relations between the production of a Romanian Black Sea space and national self-identity[62] is central to the understanding of any Romanian imaginary of the Black Sea: as Romilă observed, the marine history of the sea is in itself insufficient, rather scarce in facts. On the other hand, an essential "characteristic of the pontic space would be its ideological modelling" (106): although for Romilă this modelling takes place at the "intersections and consequences of the European political and social ideas" (106), the imaginary of the sea is shaped in the crucible of nation-building. In a nutshell, the Black Sea space becomes a symbollic battlefield where different ideas of the nation and of what constitutes 'Romanianness' (a bone of contention between westernizers and nativists/ autochtonists) confront and contest each other. This is the main reason why the cultural and literary images and

61 All the translations of the Romanian literary and critical sources are mine.

62 In sociology, the term "self-identity" is frequently used to refer to the modern processes of self-identification, which turn from passive identification with existing structures in traditional societies to a "reflexive project of the self" (Giddens, 1991: 5), as Anthony Giddens defines modern self-identity in *Modernity and Self-Identity*. The distinction between "national identity" and "national self-identity" is therefore not one of substance, for the sources of identity remain the same, but resides in the processual nature of the latter, which implies more agency and entails less reliance on traditional structures. To put it shortly, "identity" is a given, "self-identity" a choice.

representations of the sea in general (and of the Black Sea in particular) are often contrasting, even from the very beginning, in the Romantic literature of the Forty-Eighters from Wallachia and Moldavia.

The sea and its avatars in Romanian Romantic poetry

Thus, in the relatively short history of Romanian literature, the Romantics were the first to approach the topic of sea and use it as a literary motif. Among them, Dimitrie Bolintineanu stands out as the one who made extensive use of the motif in his poems. One of the first mentions of the sea in Romanian literature may be lost to the average modern reader. In "Dorința" [The desire], written in an orientalized language which indicates the exotic theme of the poem, a young lady is dreaming of a wealthy seraglio, from whose high windows she would like to look upon the "deniz", on whose "polished waters", the girl wants to sail with her Ottoman court. This happens long before the modern revolution, before any idea of the emancipation of women, so the girl's most ardent desire is "To be a happy slave, / [...] Even a favourite of the sultan, / And mother of a Șehzade" (Bolintineanu, 1905: 130). This first image of the sea is connected to what Romilă called "the oneiric element"[63] (Romilă, 2015: 111), for the sea brings with it all the legendary wealth which attracted the pirates: earrings and rubies, gold slippers and purple veils.

Yet it is not the Black Sea that constitutes the watery poetic universe which fascinates Bolintineanu, but the Propontide (an ancient name for the Sea of Marmara) and Bosphorus, the place "where art meets nature / To form the most ravishing background" (Bolintineanu, 1905: 111). In his authorial note to the entire collection, Bolintineanu details his fascination for this particular landscape, putting it down to the Romantic Byronian concept of beauty as *coincidentia oppositorum*[64]:

> "The Turks call the Bosphorus: *Bogaz bogassi*. Through this canal the Black Sea communicates with the Propontide or the Sea of Marmara. It has a length of almost 40 kilometres and its width varies from four to one kilometre. The shores of this canal are famous for their picturesque beauty, for the delightful gardens stretching along the shores and on the neighbouring hills […].
>
> There is nothing more beautiful in the world, as seascape, than this strait. Here nature has a particular quality, that of never tiring the eyes looking at it. The infinite variety of the pictures produces this phenomenon. Thus every moment brings

63 In his *History of Romanian Literature*, Călinescu calls it "an enchantment" (2003: 219).

64 In "She Walks in Beauty", Byron plays with the contrasts of light and darkness (the Renaissance chiaroscuro) to define Romantic beauty: "She walks in beauty, like the night […] And all that's best of dark and bright / Meet in her aspect and her eyes" (2005: 315).

> something new, either in the design or the colours of this magic picture. The sky, under the influence of the air currents running between the two seas, as well as the shores so varied in their shapes contribute to this eternal battle between shadows and sun rays, and bring forth the great variety”[65] (1905: 398).

The collection “Florile Bosforului” [The flowers of the Bosphorus] includes poems inspired both by his exile, after the failure of the 1848 revolution, when he first escaped to France, then sailed from Vienna to Bucharest on the Danube, headed for Constantinople and further south-east, until he reached Egypt, and by his journey, as an advisor of the new prince of the United Principalities, Alexandru Ioan Cuza, to Constantinople. Ostensibly written under the influence of French Romanticism – “Florile Bosforului” had been inspired by the Orientalism of writers such as René du Chateubriand, Gérard de Nerval and Théophile Gautier – this poetic collection has, nevertheless, a distinct Balkan air, given Bolintineanu's familiarity with the customs and atmosphere of the Ottoman Empire. It appeared both in Romanian (1865) and in French (1866) – together with other poems – in an anthology entitled *Brises d'Orient. Poésies Roumaines (traduites par l'auteur lui-même)*.

The orientalism of an already 'orientalized' writer coming from the Balkans bears the mark of self-reflectivity and betrays a rift at the core of identity. “The flowers” are of course, in a Romantic vein, women who embody the exoticism of the Orient. They live in the seraglio, are kidnapped from Eastern European or Near Eastern countries, and often turn into the object of male desire and female envy. Some of them fall prey to the intricate plots in the palace, are strangled, thrown into the sea water, or stabbed to death for infidelity. They illustrate the submissive status of the Oriental woman, who becomes an object of pleasure and desire, a mere ornament one can dispense with at will. By celebrating the beauty and graces of these women, Bolintineanu appears to support the status quo of an empire which was already disintegrating: “the sick man of Europe”, as the Ottoman Empire

65 Here is Bolintineanu's original text: “Turcii numesc Bosforul *Bogaz bogassi*. Prin acest canal Marea Neagră comunică cu Propontida sau marea de Marmara. Lungimea lui este aproape 30 kilometri, și lărgimea lui se schimbă de la patru la unul. Malurile acestui canal sunt celebre prin frumusețea lor pitorească, prin grădinile delicioase ce acoperă malurile și dealurile vecine [...] Nu este nimic mai frumos în lume, ca priveliște, decât această strâmtoare. Natura aici are o calitate particulară, aceea de a nu obosi niciodată ochii ce o privesc. Varietatea infinită a tablourilor produce acest fenomen. Astfel, fiece minut aduce ceva nou, sau în desen sau în colorile acestui tablou magic. Cerul, sub înrâurirea curentelor de aer ce-și comunică cele două mări, precum și malurile atât de variate în formele lor, grădinele, stâncile, văile, contribue la această luptă eternă între umbre și între raze, contribue la nașterea marii varietăți” (1905: 398).

was generally referred to at the time. On the other hand, in his observations on the shortcomings of Ottoman society, he criticizes the Islamic view on the subordinate status of women, noting that it was one of the causes of the generalized poverty of Islamic families on the margins of the empire (1968: 94). Idealization – catering to the Romantic taste for the exotic – and pragmatic realism – springing from his acquaintance with the neighbouring socio-cultural space merge stereotypes and cliches with useful insights of the reality of the Other.

The poems in the collection tell stories of Romantic love, beauty, treachery and death in a language which one of his commentators compared to a lake "on which float unassimilated forbidding neologisms" (Păcurariu, 1961: xxxv). At least that is the impression of the modern reader; after the literary language had been shaped by late Romantics like Eminescu, it is difficult to go back to the linguistic orientalism of Bolintineanu, whose language, nevertheless, was true to that of his age, full of what we perceive as barbarisms today: words of Greek and Turkish origin. The descriptions of "the flowers" are certainly very colourful. Each item of the complicated paraphernalia that adorns the women from the seraglio is identified and poeticized: the yashmak, the 'feregea' (a type of kaftan, made of silk or fine fabric, worn by rich women over their dress), the salwars and 'geanfez', a very thin taffeta material, the 'dalga', a silk tunic adorned with tassels, the 'selimyie', a silk fabric patterned with different types of flowers.

The legendary riches of the Orient are alluded to through the frequent mentions and comparisons with precious gems and materials: thus Esme is white as a pearl, her hair is like ebony, her mouth red like a ruby; apart from this, she holds her hair in place with a diamond pin (1905: 99). Nature participates in this show of Oriental luxury as well: the night pours "waves of gold" into the sea (1905: 100) or falls like a "necklace of rubies" (Bolintineanu, 1905: 114), the moon rises "like a silver necklace" (102) or "with a golden face" (103), the blue dome of the sky is pouring "flowers of gold" (110) or is polished with "gold and rubies" (110). The women in the seraglio (the 'hanim') smoke the hookah, and even play with daggers. Also, for more colour, the Bosphorus often appears in the poems under the toponym Bogaz (the generic Turkish name for strait). The sea, as well as its women, appear as the Oriental Other: a desirable Other, which seems to contradict its author's revolutionary socio-political programme. This apparent contradiction is in fact part of the stigma of 'self-colonization': the volume was written mostly to cater for the tastes of a Western (or westernized) audience.

This is why it was often criticized – and marginalized, for that matter – during the communist period: it seemed a bit odd and out of character for the revolutionary poet66 and author of *Legende istorice* [Historical legends] to concern himself with the luxury and languor of the seraglio, the 'hanim' and the thousands rich fabrics which their shalwars and veils were made of. Yet among “the flowers” and bayaderes, Mehrube, a young woman kidnapped from the Carpathians, stands out as an example of love and sacrifice for one's country: although singled out to become the Sultan's favourite, she chooses death over the luxurious life of the harem. At least there is some resistance to the overall reification of women: Romanians are not only beautiful, but also patriotic.

The Black Sea space emerges as a background for incipient nationalism in another Romantic poet's work. Vasile Alecsandri was one of the key figures of the Romanian 1848 revolution, Romania's first minister of foreign affairs after the union of Moldavia and Wallachia and one of the founders of the Romanian Academy. Although Antohi notes that it took Eminescu's poetic genius “for the Black Sea to be first inscribed into the poetic imaginary” (Antohi, 2002), my contention is that it was Alecsandri who first circumscribed the Black Sea space into a national Romanian imaginary. It was less visible, however, in Alecsandri's work, due to his overall poetic sensitivity for the element of the sea: he wrote extensively about the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara and Bosphorus, and the Adriatic.

It is true that before Alecsandri, the national idea had been symbolically connected to a ship and its voyage in a poem authored by Cezar Bolliac, another Romantic poet and 1848 revolutionary. When the first Romanian ship was launched in 1834, he dedicated a poem to the event, “La cea întâi corabie românească” [To the first Romanian ship]. In it he took the ship as a witness of the Romanian history, geography and culture, a messenger meant to disseminate this knowledge among what Bolliac calls “the free nations” of the earth: “Tell them that your people knows no treachery / That its trade is young, and it has no rules” (1950: 133), “Tell them that your land is a generous country / Not rich in crafts, but with a sunny weather”, “That it has large forests with lots of wood / And its mountains carry great wealth” (134). The enumeration of the country's positive attributes (great natural wealth, sunny climate, peace-loving people)

66 In February 1848, Bolintineanu, together with other Romanian intellectuals, took part in the French Revolution in Paris; afterwards he participated in 1848 Revolution in Bucharest, only briefly successful, and brought out the newspaper “The Sovereign People”, which promoted the cause of Romanian independence. After the Revolution was crushed by the Ottoman forces entering Bucharest, Bolintineanu went into exile. In 1857 he and other Forty-Eighters prepared the Union of Moldavia and Wallachia, and after the Union, he was appointed – again briefly - Minister of Foreign Affairs, and then Minister of Education and Public Instruction. In this latter quality, he founded the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy in Bucharest.

gradually develops into the idea of independence. Thus at the end the messenger-ship is poetically addressed and entreated to give testimony about the Romanian national ideal, liberation from the Ottoman Empire:

> "Beautiful ship, go, go, take flight!
> Run unto remote shores, and herald
> That a people who live won't die so easily!
> That although tyranny can kill a man;
> It cannot end a nation's life;
> Eventually justice will forever prevail." (134).

However, it was Alecsandri who gave depth to theme of the national ideal. A westernizer and admirer of France, Alecsandri was also among the first to illustrate the dilemma of Romanian modern identity in one of the poems from the collection *Ostașii noștri* [Our soldiers]: "Balcanul și Carpatul" [The Balkans and the Carpathians]. He turns the Balkans into a symbol of backwardness, fanaticism and Oriental cruelty and the Carpathians into symbols of liberation from Ottoman oppression. Both of them stand at the border of the Danube, confronting one other verbally (the Balkans, proud of their age, threaten the Carpathians to wipe them, together with the animal and human environment they support, from the face of the earth; in reply, the Carpathians warn the Balkans that their age has passed, humanity has entered a new era, in which there is no place for them in the "book of the world"), then physically, through two eagles flying high and attacking one another (Alecsandri, 1967a: 323-324). The motto of the Balkans is "slavery", while that of the Carpathians is "freedom": no wonder that in the end "the preying eagle from the barbarian Balkans" falls down, defeated by the Carpathian eagle, to the sound of freedom "singing on Danube's banks" (325).

It is quite interesting that Alecsandri uses "freedom" (the Romanian word is *neatârnare*, signifying freedom, independence or autonomy) as a rhyme for the sea (*mare*)[67]. Eminescu, whose rhyming vocabulary was generally more complex, and more varied than Alecsandri's, chose other words: *mare* [sea], in all its declination forms – plural, genitive – rhymed with *uitare* [forgetting], *depărtare* [distance], *cărare* [path], *scânteiere* [shine], and *suflare* [breath] (Dumitrescu, 1972: 50). The poem was completed five days after Mihail Kogălniceanu, Romania's prime minister at the time, had read the Proclamation of Independence in the parliament, on May 9th, 1877.

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67 Here is the quotation in Romanian: "Și vrei, Balcane gârbov, eu să mă-nchin la tine? / Dar n-auzi cum te râde și Dunărea și Marea? / Deviza ta-i sclavia, a mea neatârnarea! [And you, hunchback Balkan, want me to bow down to you? / Can't you hear laughing at this both the Danube and the Sea? / Your motto is slavery, mine is freedom!] (1967a: 324).

In another poem, written three years before "Balcanul și Carpatul", Alecsandri infuses Trajan's Wall[68] with a symbolic meaning, re-imagining the earthen wall which crosses the space between the Danube and the Black Sea as a line "uniting two horizons", and stretching

> "[…] like a furrow whose gigantic track
> had been dug, during the first century, by an ideal trireme,
> Or like the loosened rope of the huge arch
> worn by Decebal, the great monarch, in his battles against Rome"
> (Alecsandri, 1967c: 67).

The glorious Roman legions, together with the Dacian leaders in their chariots of gold are invoked as the legendary ancestors of the young Romanian nation: they are the two horizons which delineate the making of the nation. The educational value of the poem is supported by a long authorial note, detailing the organization of the Roman army, the types of ships they used as well as their arms and uniforms. Although historians do not unanimously agree on who were the exact builders of the fortifications known today as Trajan's Wall, they date as far back as the early medieval period, not to the first century A.D. Thus, the Romans and the Dacians claim the area between the Danube and the Black Sea for their descendants, represented in the poem by Murgilă the shepherd, playing his pipe – in 'mioritic'[69] fashion – next to the dog and "a herd of gentle sheep" (Alecsandri, 1967c: 69).

Alecsandri's last (and least successful) play focuses on Ovid, the Roman poet exiled to Tomis: believers in the national idea, all the Forty-Eighters stressed the Latin origins of the Romanians, to differentiate themselves from the neighbouring Slavic peoples. *Ovidiu* [Ovid], according to Mircea Anghelescu, had been inspired by Alecsandri's reading of B.P. Hasdeu's *Istoria critică a românilor* [A critical history of the Romanians], in which Hasdeu used Ovid as a source of information about the distant past of the inhabitants of the territory between the Danube and the Black Sea. But, where Hasdeu strived to be only a historian, Alecsandri turned into a visionary. His Ovid befriends two Getae, Sarmiza and Getor, and receives a crown of laurels after helping the Getae reject an attack of the Sarmatian

[68] Valul lui Traian (Trajan's Wall) is the name given to a type of fortifications (vallum) found in Romania, Moldavia and Ukraine. In Romania, there are three lines of fortifications (earthen walls) extending between the Danube and the Black Sea.
[69] Vasile Alecsandri was the first to publish the folk ballad "Miorița" [The ewe] - which later became one of the enduring symbols of Romanianness - in a slightly altered version compared to what Alecu Russo, his friend, had entrusted him.

tribes. At the end of the play, before dying, the Roman poet articulates a vision of the future in which Rome falls prey to the barbarian invasions, while the sacred fire of Latinity is going to be carried on by a people born in the East:

> “Oh, I do see and tremble, for time comes with a force
> To change Rome's sacred glory into a heap of ruins.
> And how, from far away the barbarian flood
> Increases, sweeping away the altars of the gods...
> I see Rome dying!... Alas! Rome is no more!
> Its power? Only myth! Its history? A fairy-tale!
> It was, its name and glory now wiped out,
> Oh, I see so much, so much, that I cannot express...
> I am so terrified... the words stick in my throat […]
> But wait... The heavy cloud is gone... light shines again
> Centuries pass... Oh! Wonder... Here in the East
> The sapling, son of Rome, will turn into an oak,
> And Istros will inherit the great name of Tiber.
> A new Rome will arise, a new world will be born.
> My grave will open... and from it in the future
> A long flood of life will come and bear fruit. […]
> Oh, Gods, no! The Latin nation will never die!”
> (Alecsandri, 1920: 139)

Thus, the Roman poet becomes the cornerstone upon which the Latinity of the Romanians as a nation is constructed. As the followers of the great Latin empire, they are endowed with a special mission among the barbarians of the East: that of carrying on the glorious name of Rome. No wonder that in 1862, when the administrative and constitutional union of Moldavia and Wallachia was completed under the rule of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the new prince chose Romania as the official name of the country. It was all part of the Forty-Eighters' national dream. Alecsandri's play is also among the first examples[70] of what might be called a literary protochronism, involuntary perhaps, as it had been inspired by Hasdeu, famous for his Dacianism.

As Theodore Ziolkowski noted in *Ovid and the Moderns*, Alecsandri's play established the exiled Ovid as the “tutelary genius” of Romanian literature and culture and as a “symbol of its cultural continuity since classical antiquity” (Ziolkowski, 2005: 115). After Dobrudja became part of modern Romania, the first Romanian literary magazine which came

70 The Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga also composed a five-act dramatic poem called *Ovidiu* [Ovid] in 1931, which, similarly to Alecsandri's play, ends with Ovid's prophetic vision of the rebirth of the Roman civilization in the Danubian-Pontic space.

out on 15th September 1898 was emblematically entitled *Ovidiu*: apart from a long dedication to the Roman poet, "this glorious figure of Roman classicism" (Vulcan, 1898: 1) featuring on the first page, it also included a poem, "Ovidiu în exil" [Ovid in exile]", penned by the chief editor, Petru Vulcan. Among the many objectives of the magazine, candidly stated in the editorial, Vulcan contends that "it is the desire of our love for the country to contribute […] to the strengthening of the Romanian nation and the merging of the heterogeneous elements with the Romanian soul (1)".

Alecsandri's poetic work is also the first to articulate what one might call a Romanian imaginary of the sea, modelled on the French Romantics, in particular on Lamartine's poetic work. As a Romantic poet, he is possessed by what the literary historian George Călinescu called "the demon of tourism" (2003: 259). Alecsandri, a lover of the sun, of the wide expanse of the sea or the ocean, travelled a lot, especially in winter: to Italy, Spain, France, yet also to Constantinople and even to northern Africa. He kept records of these journeys and wrote a diary about his journey to Africa, which he sent to his brother with a dedication for his niece. On leaving France, he put down his musings about the sea he was crossing:

> "I have journeyed on the sea many times, and whenever I left the shore I felt a deep longing for my family and my country rising in my heart. In the first moments of departure, I am overwhelmed by a profound sadness which brings discouragement with it in my soul and a painful feeling which makes me believe I will never see the shore and the people I love ever again, yet soon the cool breeze on the sea, the soft rocking of the ship and the expanse of the horizon gives rise to a change in my thoughts and brings me complete satisfaction. Then I seem to turn into a new being, my spiritual powers increase and I feel I finally find myself in the true element of my nature.
>
> The infinite of the sea and the sky, between which I find myself, lend wings to my imagination and prompt it to roam their spaces. Then, like a cheerful bird, it flies into the clear sky, over the boundaries of the horizon, plunges into the depth of the sea, looks for remote and unknown lands and tries to penetrate the mystery hidden at the heart of the waves!
>
> Only few satisfactions can compare with the priceless contentment I experience at the beginning of my sea journeys, when I feel I am thrown out of the usual way of the world!" (Alecsandri, 1975a: 164-165)

The sea occasioning this meditation is the Mediterranean, about which Alecsandri also writes that "nothing is as beautiful, attractive, nothing inspires thinking with a greater delight than looking at the wide expanse of the blue Mediterranean" (qtd. in Călinescu, 2003: 260). He dedicates a long poem, in three parts, to his beloved sea, which he compares to an "infinite sapphire", a "royal robe / Falling to the earth", an "emerald nest" (Alecsandri, 1967b: 73) and "ethereal mirror / Of the clear sky" (75). His writing is not so complimentary when it touches the Black Sea, though. On embarking on the ship meant to take him to Venice (where he was going to be reunited with his lover, Elena Negri), he spends two hours with some friends "in pleasant conversation, swearing to rescue one another in case we get wrecked on the Black Sea" (Alecsandri, 1975b: 63). It is the same image of the stormy unfriendly sea which has endured through centuries ever since Strabo, when the Greek colonists had baptized the Black Sea Pontus Axeinos (the inhospitable sea). Yet in spite of his ardent declaration about the joys of travelling by sea, Alecsandri often entertained fears when crossing it: he dedicated a poem to the captain of a ship who had managed to get them safely through a storm. Journeying by ship to Constantinople and sailing along the Bosphorus in a kayak, he dreams of Oriental love in the manner of Dimitrie Bolintineanu:

> „The beautiful Biulbiuli
> Who sweetly sings at night
> On the shore at Kandili" (Alecsandri,1984b: 88).

However, after his lover Elena Negri dies in his arms on the ship travelling back from Italy to Moldavia, somewhere near the Golden Horn, the sea turns stormy and dark, mirroring the inner turmoil of the poet:

> "Yet suddenly the rough wind, blowing with despair
> Turns the face of the sea into frightening mountains
> And when the lightning strikes now and then, one
> Can see the poor boat crushed on the vast expanse"
> (Alecsandri, 1984a: 113).

Although a lot has been written about the sea as metaphor in the poetry of Mihai Eminescu (1850-1889), the Romanian national poet, it must be noted that its use is a generic one, a Romantic prop which points to different, and often contradictory realities: life, love and death. The most recurrent image of the sea is that of the waves: its surface and shore, as Ion Dumitrescu notices, may remind one of a forest lake, a natural object with which Eminescu had been familiar ever since childhood (Dumitrescu, 1972: 25-26). In his essay about the Mioritic space, which he identified as the unconscious spatial horizon of the Romanian culture – one might even say the Romanian national landscape - and its stylistic matrix, Lucian Blaga explained that in Eminescu's poetry the undulating structure of the Mioritic space (a rhythmic space of ups and downs) is rendered not so much through valley and hill, but through the image of the undulating sea, the waves[71] and their rhythmic movement. He also contended that, in contrast to other Romantic poets, Eminescu does not use the sea as a metaphor of the infinite, but rather as a symbol of the eternal rocking movement of the waves: "For Eminescu, the sea is neither an occasion to get lost into the infinite, nor a symbol of some stormy dynamic, but a symbol of undulation, of rocking, a symbol of a certain melancholy feeling of destiny, with an inner rhythm like a succession of ups and downs (Blaga, 1969: 246).

Blaga's suggestion may be true for the generic use of the sea metaphor in Eminescu's poems, yet it is certainly not true about Eminescu's first impression of the Black Sea. In 1882, as part of a treatment programme for varicose ulcer, Eminescu went to Constanța (on the site of the old Greek colony of Tomis) for a heliomarine cure which lasted 10 days. He found accommodation at Hotel d'Angleterre, in a room which overlooked the sea. In a letter to his lover, Veronica Micle, he wrote that his first impression of the sea was that of "an infinite in perpetual motion" (Eminescu, 2018: 504). He also admitted that, having been there for only two days, he had not "seen it in all its facets, as it is ever-changing in its colour and movements, this being the reason why some authors compare it with Woman" (504). Since he had been a student of philosophy (among others, such as geography, logic, natural sciences, physiology and even legal medicine!) in Berlin and attended C.V. Althaus's lectures on Hegel's philosophy (Pavel, 2020: 242), there is little doubt that Eminescu was referring to the Hegelian view of the sea as a feminine, unstable and treacherous element[72].

Writing further about Constanța[73], Eminescu remarked, in a typical Romantic vein, that: "A terrace on the high shore offers a beautiful view over the whole expanse of the sea, and when the moon is over the water, it throws a shining pallor, which floats over on one side of the water. The rest stays in

71 Here is part of Blaga's argument: "In Eminescu's subconscious we can notice the presence of all the stylistic determinants which we have discovered in the layer of our folk spirit, only in a different dosage and constellation due to the individual factor. That horizon of the undulating space is not symbolized in Eminescu's poetry so much by the image of the 'plateau', as by the image of the 'sea' and 'water'. The undulation, the waves, the rocking – these are among the most frequent elements in Eminescu's poetry" (1944: 246).

72 Here is Hegel's notion of the sea in *The philosophy of history*: "For the daring who encounter the sea must at the same time embrace wariness — cunning — since they have to do with the treacherous, the most unreliable and deceitful element. This boundless plain is absolutely yielding — withstanding no pressure, not even a breath of wind. It looks boundlessly innocent, submissive, friendly, and insinuating; and it is exactly this submissiveness which changes the sea into the most dangerous and violent element" (2001: 108)

73 In his letters to Veronica Micle, Eminescu often uses the Turkish name of the city, Chiustenge (Kustenge).

darkness, and at night the sea deserves its name of black" (Eminescu,2018: 504). Thus darkness and night are connected to the blackness of the Black Sea, serving to enhance its mystery.

Another interesting observation of the poet is that "looking at the sea is quite calming, especially for a stormy soul" (504). Maybe this is why, in his testament-poem "Mai am un singur dor" [One wish alone have I], where Eminescu expresses his wish to be buried by the sea, the "rough chant" which "roars with passion" (Eminescu, 1970: 268) is, next to pastoral elements (the forest, green branches, the moon sailing through the fir-trees, the cow-bells), an integral part of the poet's way of imagining a peaceful death. Apparently, this poem held special significance for Eminescu, for he wrote four versions of it: the other three are called "De-oi adormi" [If I were to fall asleep], "Nu voi mormânt bogat" [I do not want a rich grave], "Iar când voi fi pământ" [And when I am earth], in December 1883. The wish for a peaceful death, followed by the return to the familiar landscape of his childhood, runs like a red thread through Eminescu's poetry: he had also expressed it in a poem written in 1866, "Din străinătate" [From abroad]. After reminiscing about the beauty of his native land, in the last stanza he admits that even death, were it to happen within that landscape, would bring "a sweet quiet" and "in blissful dreams would take me to the clouds" (6). The difference between the 1866 poem and the 1883 versions of "Mai am un singur dor" is of course that in 1866 the Black Sea did not belong to Romania and thus, it did not feature in Eminescu's poem, where the poet's most ardent desire is for the "darkness of the forest, poetic labyrinth" (5). As a supporter of the Conservative party, Eminescu was also an active journalist, often arguing in favour of what is now called "ethnic nationalism". Therefore, my contention is that, although the metaphor of the sea is not directly linked to any kind of nationalism (as it was in Alecsandri's *Ovidiu*), the presence of the sea in Eminescu's poetry is connected to his idea of the nation. More particularly with his Russophobia: I find it quite interesting that in the same year when he published "Mai am un singur dor" and its three versions, he also composed the famous "Doină" [A doina], a poem in the folk metre, with xenophobic accents, where he placed the borders of Romania "From the Dniester to the Tisa", and "From Hotin and to the Sea" (Eminescu, 1989 [1884]: 175), directly attacking the Russians whom he perceived as a threat to the integrity of Romanian territory. During the communist period, although Eminescu was favourably viewed by the regime, "Doină" was invariably crossed out from his poetry volumes, as it would have offended the Soviet regime. It finally appeared in print, and this is again illustrative for Ceaușescu's revisionist nationalist policy, in 1989, in a reprint of Eminescu's princeps edition of his *Poesii* [Poems] (1884).

Like Ovid, the sea turns into a familiar topic for poetry, although most authors deal with it in a conventional vein. Duiliu Zamfirescu, for instance, entitles his collection of poems from 1899-1918 *Pe Marea Neagră* [On the Black Sea], yet only the first poem, "Pe malul mării" [On the sea shore] takes the sea as an obvious topic: a meditation of the infinite of the element, bringing with it new hopes for love and "eternal faith / in the future" (Zamfirescu, 1919: 5). The choice of the title is rather symbolic: the year is 1919, soon after the Great Union, when Transylvania became part of the Kingdom of Romania. One poem is dedicated to the newly annointed queen, and another to the Roman legionaries whose heroic virtues Romanians have inherited: thus the title of the volume works as a reminder of historical continuity – from the small to the great union – with the sea prefacing the symbolic addition of yet another territory to the body of the nation.

From Bolintineanu to Eminescu, in less than half a century, the imaginary of the sea makes a U-turn, from the Oriental, exotic Other to an essential space for the definition of national self-identity. This 'sea change' is slowly taking place after the integration of Dobrudja into the national territory of Romania. It was first articulated by Alecsandri, who 'invented' Ovid as the tutelary divinity of a Romanian national – and Latin culture. The Black Sea turns thus into a space of imagined historical continuity between the ancient Roman Empire and the new Rome in the East. Through the Black Sea and Ovid, assimilated to a preferred Latinity, Romania symbolically extracts itself from the space of its Balkan roots and starts looking towards the West.

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THE FUNERARY PRACTICES FROM THE END OF THE BRONZE AGE AND THE BEGINNING OF THE IRON AGE IN THE SOUTH-WEST OF ROMANIA AND THE RELATIONS WITH THE SOUTH OF DANUBE

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Abstract: *The socio-anthropological approach to the funerary practices proves a tight connection between the religious beliefs and the funerary practices. However, it is hard to be evidenced only through the funerary discoveries most of the time. The study of the funerary space structure reveals several possibilities for interpretation, provided the necropolises are researched thoroughly. In the analysis made on the funerary practices, there are often used notions, such as that of a social person, understood as a variety of situations (age, social rank, gender etc.), or social energy consumed during the development of a funerary practice. In this manner only, hypotheses can be issued regarding the social structure if it considers that the funerary space can also be seen as a confirmation of the social identity. The funerary practices can "codify" information related both to the social structure and ideology, thus to the collective mentality of those communities. Different attempts have been made to sketch the religion of the prehistoric communities, using the funerary discoveries for this purpose. To the north of the Danube, in the south-western side of Romania, the funerary practices used to be characteristic for the end of the Bronze Age, which implied the cremation of the dead and the depositing of the remains into a pottery vessel that played the role of an urn. This was buried along with one or more adjacent vessels and sometimes clay statuettes. Among the archaeological discoveries available in the actual stage of the researches, the Gârla Mare type is evidenced, which belongs to the wider area of the incrusted ceramics groups situated on one side and another on the middle inferior course of the Danube. Most of them come from the necropolises of cremation in an urn, being known only a few discoveries of settlements. At the beginning of the Iron Age, a different funerary practice can be noticed, i.e., the building of tumuli and the depositing of the offerings in vessels, on the bottom of them. The disappearance of the plane necropolises, starting with the 12th century BCE and the appearance, in the same period, of the tumular constructions because of the richness or the quantity of the social energy invested in them suggest the appearance of new forms of collective representation, a change in the collective mentality. Furthermore, as a tendency to affirm the social identity, the funerary tumulus can be pointed out.*

Keywords: funerary practices; the anthropological research; south-western of Romania; late Bronze Age; the beginning of the Iron Age.

The socio-anthropological approach of the funerary practices, starting with the 20th century, allowed the understanding of the funerary behaviour diversity to be followed by the more nuanced knowledge of this type of archaeological discoveries. The funerary ceremony takes place on several stages that are indissolubly related to each other, stages that, in their turn, are related to the rites during which the communities observe certain rules strictly (Gennep, 2001: 32-47). A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, analysing the primitive societies, asserted that "the religion was an essential part in the establishment of a society. The forms of the religion and of the social structure correspond to one another" (Radcliffe-Brown, 2001: 152). This opinion is relatively close to the conception that G. Dumézil developed. Analysing the mythology that he considered specific for the population that belongs to the Indo-European linguistic family, he tried to demonstrate that "the ideology" of a society reflects the structure of its social organization, meaning that the mythical figures from the Indian, Iranian, or Roman pantheon reproduce the tripartite system that we find in the social organization represented by the religious, warrior and economic functions (Dumézil, 1995).

There is a tight connection between the religious beliefs and the funerary practices but, most of the times, this is hard to be evidenced only through the funerary discoveries. There have been made different attempts to sketch the religion of the prehistoric communities, using the funerary discoveries for this purpose. Taking into consideration the complexity of the phenomenon, the reserves regarding the veracity when thinking of such hypotheses, we are entitled to assert that the information on the religious beliefs of the period that is analysed here reveals only the external forms of the spiritual manifestation. Starting with the First Iron Age, the Carpathian and Danube space is characterised by few of the funerary discoveries. Other types of funerary practices could be assumed that do not allow the preservation in time of the traces, such are the dispersing of the cremated remains, or the exposure of the dead bodies (Vulpe, 2008: 287-272).

The archaeological, anthropological, and ethnographic research showed a great variety of death related rites. We can exemplify, presenting the description of a funerary ceremony at the Bororo tribe, reproduced C. Lévi-Strauss, in *Tropice triste/ Sad Tropics*, where there can be noticed both the novelty of the ceremony and the fact that the deceased had another type of ritual because he did not belong to that community.

> ”When I arrived at Keyara, somebody had just died; unfortunately, the indigenous was from another village. Thus, I could not enjoy the privilege of assisting to the double burial that consists of firstly

> depositing the body in the middle of the village, in a pit covered with branches, in which it is kept until it rots for then to take the bones and wash them in the river and paint and embellish them with feathers before they are submerged, in a basket, onto the bottom of a lake or a running water" (Lévi-Strauss, 1968: 242).

It was this change of ontological status that the death involves, through association with the death and the resurrection of nature, that made possible the use, in certain passing rites, of the ritual death symbolism. The rites are more complex as it is not just about a natural phenomenon, but about a change of ontological and social regime. Ritual practices provided by this event are meant to lighten the parting for the deceased safely from this world to guide him to the World beyond, and to protect him of the evil spirits and furthermore to ensure him the inclusion on the other land. At the same time, rites are being carried out to restore the moral and social balance of the family and the wider community (Ceaușescu, 2019: 15-22).

To some people, only the ritual burial confirms the death, the person not buried according to the custom is not thought to be dead. To others, somebody's death is acknowledged only after fulfilling the funerary ceremonies and, if the deceased's soul was accompanied by rituals to their new house, into the dead realm, they would be welcomed by the dead people community (Eliade, 2000: 139).

An important aspect in the primitive community religion is the cult for the ancestors. As referring to it, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown showed that: "The rites which the members of the group attend are connected to their own ancestors, including the offerings and the sacrifices as well… The social function of the rites is obvious: receiving a solemn and collective expression, the rites reaffirm, renew, and rebuild the feelings which the social solidarity depends on" (Radcliffe-Brown, 2001: 152-153). It was considered, even by some socio-anthropologists such as H. Spencer or J. Frazer, that the fear of death would have generated the primitive religion. Even if such ideas cannot be totally supported, the French anthropologist C. Rivière was certainly right on addressing the importance held by the cult of the ancestors.

> The ancestors "even worshiped or often promoted to the rank of privileged intermediaries between man and divinity, appeared, among other things, in the death and funerary rites and were manifesting through invocations…through offerings, individual or familial, through libations and sacrifices made in previously determined places, all having the purpose to gain the benevolence form the other world. This cult belongs to a conception that implies the idea of a social arrangement continuity and a cyclic renewing of life" (Rivière, 2000: 32).

The archaeological research from the last decades has shown and theorised the fact that the funerary deposits can "codify" information related both to the social structure and to the ideology, thus to the collective mentality of those communities. To this regard, in the analysis made on the funerary practices, there are often used notions, such as that of *social person*, understood as a variety of situations (age, social rank, gender etc.) that define the identity of a community which the individual belongs to, or *social energy* consumed during the developing of a funerary practice (Bailey, 2002: 23-27; Tainter, 1978: 105-141). Discussing the problems related to the social status representation in the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age, shows that the main source of information is the study of the necropolises. "With their help, we are able to have an appropriate image on the social statute of the buried people and, implicitly, to try to reconstruct the organization system for the society which the individuals come from. To this category of information, there are added other pieces regarding the beliefs of the studied social groups, reflected in their funerary customs" (Vulpe, 2010: 366).

The study of the funerary space structure reveals several possibilities for interpretation, provided the necropolises are researched completely (seldom done objectively). In this manner only, hypotheses can be issued regarding the social structure, if it is to consider the fact that the funerary space can be also seen as a confirmation of the social identity.

Among the archaeological discoveries that are available in the actual stage of the researches, the *Gârla Mare* archaeological culture (the Middle and Late Bronze) is evidenced, which belongs to the wider area of the incrusted pottery groups situated on one side and another, on the middle and inferior course of the Danube (Lazăr, 2017: 7-15). The presence of this type on the actual territory of several river-side states, determined the archaeologist from those countries to present, under different names, the same archaeological phenomenon, namely the Romanians called it Gârla Mare, the Serbians Dubovac-Žuto Brdo and the Bulgarian Novo Selo or Balej-Orsoja. It is obvious that Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare types are concentrated along the two Danube banks, in a geographical area delimitated approximately on the west by the Belgrade area, and on the east, by the river-mouth of the Olt meeting the Danube.

This archaeological culture was defined and studied especially on the basis of the necropolises, the settlements being less researched, fact that did not allow the elaboration of a clear stratigraphic succession that would allow a division on three phases. The evolution phases are, in most of the cases, delimited especially on typological criteria. Through the rich and varied ornaments, associated with certain types of vessels, the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare type pottery gains a distinct individuality. From the richness of forms, we mention the amphorae (actually some large vessels) with a long and trapezium-shaped neck, moulded in one, two or three levels, cups with one or two lugs, porringers with the mouth shaped in three or four corners or with pedestalled, double or aviform vessels. Between the river-mouth of Morava and Moldova Veche, a regional aspect was found, which was named Dubovac-Žuto Brdo by the Serbian archaeologists (Tasić, 1974: 464-465).

An important presence on the entire areal are the anthropomorphic statuettes that can have a rich ornament but can also be undecorated. Such special items were found in tombs of cremation in urn at Balta Verde (Berciu, Comşa, 1956: 255-489), Cârna (Dumitrescu, 1961), Vajuga-Pesak, Orsoja (Dzhanfezova, 2010: 9-15) - the southern Danube etc. Both on the pottery and on the statuettes, there can be noticed decorative motifs realised through incision and stamping that were afterwards incrusted with white paste. The most frequent motifs are the spirals, the zigzag lines, the garlands, the meanders, the triangles, and the rhombuses, but also the simple or concentric circles. The bronze objects discovered in this area are quite few, except for a small number of adornment items deposited into the tombs, most of them could not be certainly attributed.

In Romania, the most important discoveries were made in the areas of Ostrovu Corbului (Hänsel, Roman, 1984: 188-229), Balta Verde, Mehedinţi County and in the south of Dolj County, around the moors of Ghidici (Nica 1995: 236; Lazăr 1999: 19-37), Cârna (Dumitrescu, 1961) and Bistreţ (Chicideanu, 1986: 7-47). The most well-known sites from Bulgaria are at Balej (Georgiev, 1982: 194-196; Shalganova, 1995: 291-308), where there was dug a settlement with four levels of dwelling and the necropolis with over 300 tombs of cremation in urn from Orsoja (Dzhanfezova, 2010: 9-15) or the older and newer discoveries around Novo Selo (7).

The Gârla Mare type discoveries, the cremation necropolises from the south Danube were reconsidered by Tatiana Shalganova (Shalganova, 1994: 185-195; 1995: 291-308) who believed that, in Bulgaria existed two chronological horizons, the first represented by the classical phase of the cultures with incrusted pottery, and the second by the grooved pottery, specific for the Early Hallstatt. Using the stratigraphic data that had been obtained in the settlements from Balej and from Vidin - "Peştera Magura", but also the analogies with the similar discoveries from Serbia and Romania, the author tried to capture the interval from the incrusted pottery of the Bronze Age to the one from the First Iron Age, characterised by the presence of the grooved decoration.

The cremation in the urn necropolis from Cârna, Dolj County, dug in the half of the last century by Vladimir Dumitrescu, exemplary published in 1961, has until recently been the only archaeological station from this cultural group that was researched and published integrally, from the entire region (Dumitrescu, 1961). The material of this monograph constituted the base of the latter efforts of internal periodisation for the Gârla Mare culture, facilitating the chronological parallelisms with the archaeological zones and cultures from the immediate neighbourhood.

Bernard Hänsel, using different criteria, proposed a new periodisation for the Cârna necropolis (Hänsel, 1968: 235, 239-142), when discussing the chronology of the Vatina and Dubovac groups. The author established five pottery forms that he considered he would be able to date certainly, with the help of some bronze items from other tombs that contained the same type of vessel. Through the statistic method that he used, the author considered the situations when certain types of vessels appear in small numbers irrelevant (the double or aviform vessels) and also the double or triple tombs. Although he observed that the dividing in three phases of the cemetery from Cârna is not confirmed by the planimetrical study, Hänsel thought that there could not be made references to an ordinate disposal of the tombs.

In his work from 1976, Hänsel takes the debating regarding the chronology and the periodisation of the Gârla Mare culture again, thinking that his affirmations from 1968 could be also confirmed by the discoveries from Balej (Bulgaria). The end of the Gârla Mare culture was considered synchronous with the end of what he called the second horizon of the bronze hoards, being situated around 1100 B.C. (Hänsel, 1976: 62).

The discussions about the necropolis from Cârna were again considered by Ion Chicideanu (Chicideanu, 1986: 7-47) who had objections regarding Hansel's periodisation. Using the statistical-combinatory analysis, he came to the conclusion that the necropolis was unitary chronological, but divided into two areas, the eastern one (36 tombs mostly with meander decorated pottery) and the western one (with 80 tombs and preponderantly grooved materials). Therefore, the necropolis would be unitary from the chronological point of view, constituting "a phase – the Cârna phase – of the Gârla Mare culture", the two areas, divided in two parts, would reflect the organisation of that community as being one made of four kindreds, according to an exogamic dualist system. Using this opportunity, the author also showed that in the north Danube area, the Gârla Mare culture was followed by the Bistreţ-Işalniţa group that makes the transition towards the Iron Age. It should be pointed out that this kind of approach regarding the structure of the necropolis from Cârna might favour the reconsideration on the duration of this site, with implications on the effective time length of the entire group of necropolises to which, because of the great number of discovered tombs, it is attributed a chronological interval of few centuries (see below), without being necessary.

During the last years, Christine Reich has had a new attempt of periodisation for the Cârna cemetery, starting from a proper typology, based on the combinatory analysis of the decorative forms and motifs, realized by ordering the ceramic inventory from 49 tombs. She considered that the cemetery had developed on three funerary parcels, belonging to three numerous families, for each part corresponding tombs from the four chronological stages, the older tombs being situated in the middle of each area. The author emphasized that it cannot yet be mentioned a decoration specific for each family or groups of tombs (Reich, 2002: 159-179)

A major contribution, realised through the critical analysis made to the older and newer discoveries of the Gârla Mare type, but also to the definition of the cultural and chronological placing of those sites, is the work recently published by Monica Șandor-Chicideanu from the middle and inferior Danube area unitary, from both banks of the river Danube. The author placed the culture Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare in the interval situated between approximately 1650-1250/1200 BCE, followed by the Bistreţ-Işalniţa group that is considered the one that ended its existence around 1100 BCE (Şandor, Chicideanu, 1986: 209-213).

The above discussed that the incrusted pottery might represent one of the most rich-ornamented pottery of the Middle and Late Bronze from Europe, due to the decoration technique (incision and incrusting with white paste) that allowed the creation of various motifs. The observation made by Vl. Dumitrescu is worth mentioned, being contained in the published the report on the chemical analysis regarding the white paste used for incrusting from the decor of the Cârna - "Balta Nasta" vessels (Dumitrescu, 1961: 160). Unfortunately, less exploited in the studies dedicated to this group of necropolises, is the discovery according to which the white substance used for filling the incrusting decor was made of a paste that contained cremated "bones dust", assumingly human. The importance of this information, regarded from an anthropological perspective, for the interpretation of the funerary cult ideology is certainly worth considering. To evidence the importance of such analyses that will support the archaeological research, there must be mentioned the recent results obtained after the analysis of the "so-called ashy content" from the ash-places of Noua type, when there can be cited the sedimentological studies, recently made in such "ash-places" from Basarabia that proved to be rich in calcium carbonate and phosphates, but not in ash resulted after wood combustion (Kaiser, Sava, 2006: 137-172).

It appears that a unity of forms and decorations can be identified, preserved for a specific reason by the communities that lived both on the right and the left bank of the Danube. Analysing the ornamental motifs, the way in which they are associated on the vessel, but also their frequency, one can notice differences amongst the several groups of discoveries. Understood in this manner, the variations may reflect the group identity of these communities. Using this procedure, there might be eventually noticed the grouping of the different zonal communities which this big "family" of the incrusted pottery is made of. This theme could be enlarged but it might divert us from the objective of the present work.

In the 1980s, on the occasion of the digs made in the area Bistreţ – Cârna, Ion Chicideanu identified a cultural group that the author chronologically placed during the interval of the 13th-12th centuries BCE and that he called Bistreţ – Işalniţa (Chicideanu, 1986: 7-47). That group was thought to occupy the Danube meadow, from the Gorge to the mouth of Olt River and would represent the last manifestation of the Bronze Age in that area, being contemporary, in Banat, to the second phase of the cultural group Cruceni-Belegiš and preceding the appearance of the Vârtop type grooved pottery. The mentioned author considered that this pottery group appeared after taking some western influences of Cruceni-Belegiš type on the Gârla Mare local cultural fund. Ion Chicideanu reunited a series of discoveries of pottery items in the Bistreţ-Işalniţa group, similar to those from the eponymous stations.

Later, Monica Şandor-Chicideanu added other discoveries to the list from 1986, previously considered to belong to this cultural group (Şandor-Chicideanu, 2003: 30). Thus, in Bulgaria, the most famous discoveries added to this type are the three cremation tombs from Makreš Grobiščeto (Dzhanfezova, 2010: 17-18) and the site from Gradešnica (Georgiev 1982: 187-202), and, in Serbia, the tombs from Vajuga (Korbovo-Pesak) and Usije-"Grad" (Şandor-Chicideanu, 2003: 256). It is noticeable that, most of the times, the funerary discoveries of Bistreţ-Işalniţa type are situated in the same places where there were before the Gârla Mare type necropolises.

During the entire period of the middle Bronze, and especially in that of the Late Bronze, there can be seen an intensification regarding the presence of the southern influences, either from the Mycenaean world, or, in a wider aspect, from the Aegean-Anatolian area, which are noticed in the cultural manifestations from the Carpathian and Danube space. There ought to be mentioned the decoration from the pottery of several cultural aspects, but there should as well be evoked the ornaments from different metal or bone items etc. Starting with the end of the Bronze Age, the spreading of some decorative forms and motifs from the areas of the Tei and Zimnicea-Plovdiv cultures can be seen in the south, situation observed better at Kastanas, on the valley of the river Axios and at Assiros (Hochstetter, 1982: 99-118). The Gârla Mare elements (assumed to be from the late phase) and Babadag I were also attested in the level VII B 2 from Troy, their presence being sometimes interpreted as a result of some expansions, not only as cultural influences. The shifts of the populations from north to south might have occurred (an inverse direction confronted to that of the cultural influences propagated in the first half of the Bronze Age). To what extent these discoveries reflect massive incursions or people shifting from the north-Danube spaces or whether they are just simple occurrences of some elements of material culture due to distance exchange is, for now, impossible to establish. Yet, there has to be noticed, in this context, the fact that from Kastanas to the Southern Carpathians, in a period previous to the level Troy VII B 2, a larger area had already been shaped, defined especially through the spreading of the *kantharos* type vessel, frequently met in all the cultures of the Late Bronze from this wide region (Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, 2010: 281-282).

In Oltenia, the presence of such *kantharoi* is also seen in the Govora group (Verbicioara IV-Va) and rarely in the Gârla Mare area, and in Muntenia, in the late phases of the Tei culture and in the area of the Zimnicea-Plovdiv type pottery. Nonetheless, the area of that ceramic type is not extended much to the west of the river Olt, but it encompasses Muntenia especially and the south-eastern region of Romania. Once the spreading of the grooved pottery, that is dependent to a certain type of forms, goes beyond the eastern line of the Olt River, the forms characteristic for the anterior stage disappear.

To what extent the western current contributed to the genesis of this grooved pottery horizon, is still difficult to identify. Yet, the events from the entire Carpathian and Danube space do not necessarily suggest a significant migration. The local development seen in the typology of the pottery from some necropolises, as we have mentioned before on addressing the evolution of the pottery forms in the series of urn fields of Cruceni and Bobda type, does not plead for the population movement (for example the bearers of the Cruceni-Belegiš culture towards east), but it more likely reflects the adopting of the grooved decoration style, a phenomenon characteristic for a large part of Europe during this period.

At the beginning of the Iron Age, a different funerary practice can be noticed, namely the building of tumuli and the depositing of the offerings in vessels, on the bottom of them. Built with the obvious purpose of exposing the social status, both through the social energy consumed in the building of it and through the quantity and the quality of offerings, the tumular tombs are thought to have this function of representation of the social status in the literary sources as well (Vulpe, 2010: 352).

From the analysed period, in the north of the Danube, tumular constructions that incontestably contain tombs in the traditional meaning of the word have not been found. The situation from Vârtop presents similarities, but on a smaller scale, with the tumulus from Susani. The tumuli from Vârtop (Lazăr, 2011: 49) has the round or oval shape, on a beaten earth-made base had been placed the vessels, surrounded, and covered with big river stones, built up as a vault, over which the earth mound was built.

Among stones and vessels, few calcined bones have been found (which were not analysed and were lost meanwhile).

The attributing of the calcined bones, found in the Vârtop tumulus, to a cremated human body is just hypothetical in the lack of some osteological analyses. The lack of the bones, due to the soil acidity, is possible and it was met especially in the case of the inhumation tombs. However, it is known that the burned bones have an increased resistance to the acidity of the soil, particularly if they are deposited in urn. In these conditions emerges the question if somehow those tumuli represented another type of archaeological monument, other than that called "tomb", for their funerary function. Obviously, the total lack of the bones makes us think about the cenotaphs, but it is possible to talk about a special character deposit, with cultic role, of course.

In the tumulus from Susani, there might be a similar situation, such is the lack of a certitude regarding the human bones (there had not been found calcined bones and discovery of a skeleton in a certain area of the tumulus cannot be attributed to the Hallstattian period) (Vulpe, 1995: 81-88). There is no evidence concerning the function of the tumulus from Susani, the opinion expressed by the authors of the dig, according to which it is a funerary monument, is based only on analogies and the logic of the interpretation. Yet, it is obvious that the discovery has a cultic character (this is the first interpretation given at the UISPP Congress from Belgrade, in 1971) and it is very plausible to be related to the funerary practices, but it is not necessary to be regarded as a tomb in the proper meaning of the term that implies the deposit of the dead body.

At the same time, we notice the discoveries from Libotin, Maramureş County, where underneath the vegetal soil, in which there were found many pottery fragments, it was observed a black-grey layer, thinner to the ends and thicker in the central part where it had 0.35-0.40 m. On this base, in four places, there were agglomerations of earth mixed with coal, ash, animal calcined bones and stones (Kacsó, 1990: 79).

Different dimension tumuli were identified in "Togul Nemţilor" spot (Kacsó, 2011), at Bicaz, Maramureş County, in the region called "Ţara Codrului". The investigation, carried out in one of the tumuli, proved that they date from the same period, as those from Lăpuş, phase II. It needs to be mentioned that the discovery is near the place where two big bronze deposits were found. The discovery, made almost 50 years ago, of the tumuli from Lăpuș, Maramureș County, and the attributing of a funerary signification, that of *tombs*, and, therefore, of "necropolis", has not been considered questionable so far.

This situation has to be explained, by analysing the necropolis from Lăpuş, since it needs to be seen how the funerary practices can undergo changes, moving from the individual representations to collective representations. At Lăpuş, in an initial phase (Lăpuş I), there are attested cremation tombs (calcined bones) accompanied by a rich ceramic inventory and metal weapons and adornments (Kacsó, 1990: 79-98). The situation of the phase II tumuli is more complex. Besides few funerary urns, discovered isolatedly, and containing calcined *human* bones, which were secondarily positioned in the structure of the tell, in the 10th mound, in the tumuli of this category, there were found, along with the calcined bones, charcoal and ashes, a significant amount of pottery (in T 20, fragments from over 10 000 vessels were found), intact pieces of clay, partially burned rocks, few metallic items, a lot of them extremely fragmented through breaking or melting. The analysis of the calcined bones from these tumuli proved to be of animal origin. The researchers that, in the past, studied this discovery, considered that the site, judging by the form and the position of the deposit, contained the remains after a funerary ritual (Kacsó, 2011).

Biba Teržan, analysing the same necropolis (Teržan, 2005: 241-261), tried to prove that its division in several zones reflects the distribution of the tombs on sex and social statute criteria. The western group would have belonged to an elite in which, first of all, there were evidenced the warrior burials (represented especially by weapons and vessels decorated with incisions and zoomorphic busts or with prominences), but especially women (the tombs with clothes items and big grooved vessels). The southern and eastern group, having a more modest inventory and objects related to the processing of the metals (moulding valves, tools), would represent a social segment related to the metal processing profession.

Recently, with the help of the geomagnetic prospective, there have been identified, at the basis of the tumuli explored so far, wooden and clay constructions, in the shape of a basilica with the top apse oriented towards north-west, a situation met in the case of T26, explored from 2007 to present. This discovery can suggest the existence of some “mortuary houses” (of *Totenhaus* type), or sanctuaries. Furthermore, there is not necessarily a contradiction between the two aspects of the two constructions; their functionality can be merged. Geomagnetic prospection was carried out in other tumuli too, which had been unexplored, identifying similar constructions, some of them of remarkable dimensions (Kacsó, Metzner-Nebelsick, Nebelsick, 2012: 457-475).

From the same HaA period another interesting discovery appears as well at Konopište (Popović, 1998: 147-153), near Mala Vrbica (the south Danube, Serbia). Here, it was discovered an oval-shaped stone structure that had larger dimensions and density in the western side, in the eastern side displaying especially gravel. In a pit, situated in the west of that zone, there were found animal bones, a piglet skeleton, complete and fragmentary vessels (porringers, large bitruncated vessels, with short neck and turned-up edge, a *pyraunos* type vessel, a double vessel, decorated with grooves and prominences), all of them having analogies in the Vârtop area. The cultic character of the discovery is obvious, as it is the resemblance to the situation from Vârtop, noticing at the same time the symbolic content that both discoveries bear.

Even if we go beyond the studied zone, the tumulus from Meri, Teleorman County, in Muntenia, needs to be mentioned as it presents many analogies with the discoveries from Vârtop. Here, it was researched the tumulus with the diameter of 17 x 20m, height of 1.80m and oval shape. In its centre, there had been deposited four vessels placed directly on the antic soil. At variable depths (1.80-1.50m), there had been discovered bones disposed in many groups. Near the human bones, there were placed animal bones, as well, namely deer, ox, and horse. At the basis of the mound, there had been deposited a bronze object plated with gold and an iron knife. The pottery from here resembles much to that of Vârtop. The porringer with the lip arched inwardly is decorated with four knobs and a garland ornament placed inside the vessel. We also find here other two items met at Vârtop, the double vessel and the oven vessel (Moscalu, 1976: 77-86).

On addressing the type of archaeological monuments, the tumulus from Meri resembles that from Susani. Few differences though exist, such as the smaller quantity of pottery, the missing fire purification and more reduced dimensions are. Nonetheless, the decorative motifs on the vessels (the star-shaped groove) and the square shape of the glass from Meri, reflect western influences. Emil Moscalu recognised the lack of Tei IV elements from the repertoire of pottery inventory forms in this tumulus and believed that it appeared in the later Gârla Mare fund. Altogether, he considered that the origin of the tumular monument can be connected to the situation from Transylvania or with the western regions. A great similarity is also present between the pottery from here and the Gáva type pottery, as well as the Cruceni II type material. The origin of the pottery decorative style from the Meri tumulus seems to originate in the western areas.

Characteristic for the end of the Bronze Age, the incineration in plane necropolises was predominant in the studied sites. A. Vulpe considered that the reappearance of the tumulus, this time as a princely tomb at the beginning of the Iron Age, was due to some southern influences. Such funerary monuments had been mentioned in the Aegean world since early Helladic, with other examples occurring during the Mycenaean period. At the same time, the princely tombs with domes (Kuppelgräber) are in fact related to the tumular type. On the other hand, the fire purification is also known in the southern area, but only in the burial graves (Vulpe, 2010: 352).

The disappearance of the plane necropolises, starting with the 12th century BC and the appearance, in the same period, of the tumular constructions, as those from Susani, Lăpuş, Libotin or Vârtop with the richness of offerings and/or the quantity of the social energy invested in them, suggesting the appearance of new forms of collective representation, determine us to also believe that there was a change in the collective mentality. This change, in its turn, does not automatically and mandatorily reflect variations in the social structure.

The prehistoric man, as a social person, was firstly identifying himself with a certain social structure, real or imaginary, based on gender, kinship, origin relations, social or symbolic hierarchy, being the promoter of a particular type of symbolic capital (Lazăr, 2021: 126-140). We must mention that this diversity of the social statutes, activated differently during life, has led to the observation that the ethnic affiliation does not represent a major element in the archaic societies, but it is connected to ritual practices, possibly related to the cult of the dead, certainly, in a symbolic view. The funerary practices constitute themselves a symbolic expression and the tombs with a poor funerary inventory are not always the expression of an economic decline. They can sooner be the expression of a religious ideology that imposed the observing of some social rules and did not reflect the economic standard.

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ADAPTING POLITICAL COMMUNICATION TO TECHNOLOGY. CASE STUDY: EVOLUTIONARY ASPECTS ON SOCIAL NETWORKS IN ROMANIA

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Abstract: *In recent years, studies on social networks have begun to become more and more numerous in the literature, with scientists showing a real interest in an influential analysis that they have on societies. Social networks are tools through which political candidates have the opportunity to distribute their political message during election campaigns, as well as outside them, to a growing audience. A very strong connection has been made between technology and communication, outside of which we, as individuals, can no longer exist, the virtual space managing to exploit communication in all its aspects. Online political communication, an easily accessible form of manifestation that attracts disinterested political groups, offers the possibility of avoiding information bottlenecks for citizens by changing content in real time, with low information costs, which means a real advantage for politicians.The importance of social networks in political communication is even greater as its role is the main channel of communication and occupies a special place in election campaign strategies. The present study aimes to analyze the phenomenon of social networks in terms of the benefits it offers to politics, through an online political communication with content transmitted in real time, without time limit and with low costs.*
Keywords: social networks; political communication; online Facebook; social media; election campaign.

1. Introduction

Technology is the dominant element of the 21st century in all respects, and progress is required in all areas of activity. The communication is no exception to this rule, especially since the electoral campaigns of the last two years have been carried out in an atypical way, if we analyze the phenomenon from the perspective of the sanitary pandemic that the whole of humanity is facing.

As a vast and complex phenomenon, in a continuous change and adaptability, generating new contexts, but without being an exclusive concept of today, political communication imposes new opinions, aspirations and beliefs in order to change electoral attitudes andar behaviors (Bărbieru, 2021: 97). Trends in the use of artificial intelligence and algorithmic data are nowadays a great opportunity, but also a real challenge in adapting to the new realities of these times (Larrondo-Ureta, Meso-Ayerdi, 2022: 43).

There has been a very strong connection between technology and communication (Tareen, Adnan, 2021: 130), outside of which we, as individuals, can no longer exist, the virtual space with its social networks managing to exploit communication in all its aspects. With the advent of new technologies, our lives have changed radically, and today's world is no longer the same as tone in which many of us were born (Esser, 2019: 1125). We have become increasingly concerned with finding information on the Internet, interacting on social networks, or documenting ourselves through virtual libraries. Traditional media (newspapers, radio stations, television stations and news agencies) have been key tools in influencing society in the age of mass communication, exerting their influence in building the agenda and public debate, in shaping public opinion or even in taking of political decisions. Even with great influence, the digital environment, first with the Internet, then with social media, has changed the conditions and dynamics through which the media system exerts influence on society (Casero-Ripolles, 2018).

2. Objectives and methodology of the study

The study demonstrates the evolution and adoption of social networks in online communication in the Romanian political environment of the first manifestations of the phenomenon so far. As an irreversible process, the transformation of social networks into the most relevant tools of mass communication could not go unnoticed by political strategies. In order to attract as many votes as possible, the online public was considered an essential factor in communicating political information and messages. However, a simple online presence cannot guarantee success, so political communication strategies have been developed, adapted to social networks and able to attract as many supporters and voters as possible.

Understanding the importance of social networks in political communication in Romania, in election campaigns and abroad, as the main objective of our study, is demonstrated with the help of qualitative and quantitative comparative analysis. It compares the most important electoral moment in which social networks acted as a decisive factor and generated upheavals at the time of voting, through qualitative analysis, and follows the evolution of political communication through the social network Facebook, as the main network in the disemination of the political message, by quantitative analysis.

3. Analytical and theoretical framework

In recent years, studies on social networks have begun to be more and more numerous in the literature, with scientists showing a real interest in studying the influence they have on society (Semetko, Tworzecki, 2017).

Social networks have been defined as a group of Internet-based applications that create both the making of and exchange of content generated by various users (Kaplan, Haenlein, 2000: 60; Trejos-Gil, 2021: 82), with two-way communication targeting and a increased participation, or as digital channels of communication between people or between people and information with several personalized, fast and convenient ways (Katz, Barris, Jain, 2013: 12). Basically, the emergence of social networks has moved from traditional media, in which the message was transmitted through a certain channel to the receiver, with limited and one-way feedback (the message of a politician is transmitted to the public through written media, audio and video), to an interactive model with an active audience. In the online environment, political messages must be power (Vlăduțescu, 2020: 316) and constructed in such a way as to attract voters effectively, and in order to achieve their ultimate goal of creating an emotional connection with the voter or a potential voter, they must meet a number of characteristics: be clear, credible, concise, relevant and contrasting, address the target audience and, last but not least, repeat themselves constantly. These features do not only belong to the online environment, but there is no doubt that in the online environment they can be applied much better than in any other environment.

Through the development of social networks, communication experienced the fastest development compared to everything it had known before (Vlăduțescu, Ciupercă, 2013). In 2011, in a study published in the "Sfera Politicii", Ionela Carmen Boșoteanu, making an analogy between communication and the Internet, said that:

> "It has rarely been a medium with such a wide and effective potential to significantly change the form of communication as the Internet. With the characteristics of cyberspace, Web and information highway, the Internet connected the world through a common denominator, *virtual space*, which gave it what McLuhan called the content of a *global village*" (Boșoteanu, 2011: 47).

Wikipedia defines social media as a group of devices based on a device, built to facilitate communication between Internet users and for the exchange of content – text, photo, audio-video – between members of trusted social groups. Today, social media plays an extremely important role in our lives, with recent studies concluding that an increasing number of people use the internet for both social and informational reasons, and the frequency of use is also increasing (Newman, Fletcher, Kalogeropoulos, Levy, Nielsen, 2017: 12-17).

Research has shown that through social media, users have much greater control over information, can decide on its content and express their opinions in a timely manner, the transmission of information is more efficient and, perhaps most importantly, the public involves also in the area of politics (Gainous, Wagner, 2014: 6).

The great success of social networks is also due to the low financial costs. In recent years, due to these low requirements and the emergence of applications on mobile phones, the number of social network users has increased significantly. By 2020, there were over 3.6 billion users (with a global penetration rate of 54%), and their number will increase to 4.41 billion by 2025, according to Social Media & User-Generated Content (Statista, 2021). Since direct interaction is no longer necessary, the traditional way of communicating people has been radically changed by the advent of social networks. The distances, no matter how great, do not hinder any communication, the communication, including the political one, being realized permanently, if we analyze the phenomenon from the perspective of time. Among the social networks, the most popular in October 2021 are Facebook, with 2,895 million users, YouTube with 2,291 million users, WhatsApp with 2,000 million, Instagram with 1,393 million, Facebook Messenger with 1,300 million users, Weixin / WeChat with 1,251 million, TikTok with 1,000 million users. Among those with fewer users, Twitter has started to gain a lot of popularity (463 million users in October 2021) (Statista, 2021), which in the near future could mean a migration of communication, including of political communication to this channel. So far, it has not had a major impact on political communication (Rotesi, 2019: 26).

The current form of online communication through tablets and smartphones allows an impressive number of users to take an active part in the political debate, with social media becoming the main channel for transmitting the political message (Alizadeh, Saeidabadi, Khajeheian, 2021: 167). Politicians have understood that the inclusion of new technologies in the campaign strategy is essential in increasing the chances in front of the electorate (Magin, Podschuweit, Haßler, Russmann, 2017: 1707). Basically, they realized that the social media phenomenon and the way it works offer the political environment advantages difficult to imagine a few decades ago.

Social networks transmit information faster than ever and allow communication from any electronic device and at any time, the time restriction being removed. Regarding the political communication made through social networks, we note that there is a direct interaction between politicians and voters (Hedman, Sivnert, Kollanyi, Narayanan, Neudert, Howard, 2018: 1). For presidential candidates, for example, social media is the ideal place to promote themselves and interact directly with citizens (Ceccobelli, 2019: 12), without the filter of traditional media. Unlike traditional media, social networks have the ability to introduce the stories of candidates in the general consciousness. At the same time, they have a direct effect on the news, at the moment the professional journalistic organizations are inspired by these channels (Kelm, Dohle, Bernhard, 2019: 3), all the more so as they also have the capacity to influence the discourse of the citizens themselves.

In a study published in 2016 by Rune Karlesen and Bernard Enjolras on candidates in Norway, the authors conclude that almost everyone believes that social networks are important for political campaigns, for creating political content, for reaching as many voters as possible and to mobilize party supporters:

> “Social media is a popular campaign channel for parliamentary candidates in Norway. In 2013, more than 80 percent of the surveyed candidates used social media in their campaigns. In addition, the significance of Facebook has increased considerably. Facebook is considered far more important in 2013 than social media were in 2009. This also reflects that more candidates used social media in 2013 than in 2009. Candidates who used social media in 2009 considered it important then as well” (Karlesen, Enjolras, 2016: 345).

Also, 40% of respondents viewed social media as important in showing their personal side, thus becoming more humane in front of the electorate, such an exposure being quite difficult to achieve through traditional methods.

Social networks not only have the ability to publicize communication in various ways, but also to redistribute power by transforming the government-citizen relationship, with citizens having more opportunities to participate in politics (Yan, 2021: 108). At the same time, they have the ability to influence relations in political parties, allowing candidates from the territory to reach the voters in a more independent form from the central party (Karlesen, Enjolras, 2016: 339), offering them new opportunities for promotion and attracting voters. On the other hand, social media has expanded the space or spaces in which political actors can launch their political message effectively for a very wide audience, but has also developed the typology of actors to interact and negotiate in political communication (Casero-Ripollés, 2018). The communicative landscape is much more competitive than before the Internet and is dominated by new forms of participation in the democratic process. In a hybrid system of political communication, it is more than obvious at this time that only candidates who gain influence on social media are able to create a synergy between traditional media channels and new channels (Karlesen, Enjolras, 2016: 338).

Social networks are also important for parties and candidates who do not have enough funds to support election campaigns in the classic form. Basically, the appearance of this form of online demonstration was a real chance to promote politics for them, to attract the electorate and to reduce the gaps with the big parties or well-known candidates. Online political communication is an easily accessible form of manifestation, which attracts disinterested political groups, offers the possibility to avoid information bottlenecks for citizens by changing the content in real time, with low information costs. Paid channels or online advertising are used to support the main channels, but also as stand-alone tools.

Google's browser makes links to political sites through a multitude of links at the same time that social media ads come to support the materials distributed on the platforms – posts, pages or websites. Targeting criteria are used, and materials are targeted to the right people or target groups. Messages are sent through Sidebar ads, recruits are made, candidates' Facebook pages are promoted, followers are increased, they are redirected to external pages, while Timeline ads apply to organic content and are an important component in the strategy of an online election campaigns. YouTube ads cover those who use this channel as a target audience, as is the case with Twitter, a channel used mainly by young people. Another use of social media networks is that they are not only used as tools to convey a political message. They also allow you to analyze voters' feedback in real time, but also to measure visitors' feedback by using measurement parameters – number of views, traffic at different times, most visited pages, visitors' locations (e.g. in analyzing the urban environment versus the rural environment), the actions on the pages, the interactions, the number of people to whom the posts were displayed, but also the activity from the pages of the candidates or opposition parties (Bărbieru, 2021: 102).

4. Pioneering of online political communication

Social networks are the tools through which political candidates have the opportunity to distribute their political message during election campaigns, as well as outside them, to a growing public. They represent platforms for two-way communication, for direct interaction with their supporters, for disseminating information, raising funds and mobilizing voters.

The president who made the most of socia networks was Barack Obama in the 2008 presidential elections. Also known as the First Internet President of the United States, he used Facebook and Twitter to communicate his political messages and goals. Erik Qualman believes that these have played a major role in mobilizing Americans to vote because the highest number of voters in the last hundred years has been recorded (Momoc, 2021: 109-110). Basically, the 2008 campaign provided the perfect opportunity to demonstrate the usefulness of social networks in politics, as communication tools, without replacing the political message or strategy, but as an important part of the campaign strategy.

Although the Internet was used as a tool for political communication in the US presidential campaign in 2000, when Bush and Al Gore staff's created online content through simple websites for the online consumer population at the time, the 2008 presidential campaign is important because of the major changes brought about by social media tools, the emergence of Web 2.0 and the launch of Facebook (2004, open to the public in 2006), YouTube (2005) and Twitter (2006). Starting with this campaign, social networks are playing an increasingly important, extensive and meaningful role (Kelm, 2020: 8), with communication becoming interactive, two-way and giving everyone the opportunity to be both active participants and content creators (Hwang, 2016: 8). Some online tools had been used before, for example in 1996, when Bob Dole encouraged his voters to visit his site. It is considered that this is the moment when the use of the Internet in political communication came to the attention of specialists in the academic field, but also to the attention of the media. Basically, Dole's announcement was a symbol of the beginning of the expansion of the Internet in the electoral process, but also in politics in general. It has been estimated that 29% of American citizens have used this tool to gather the political information they need (Gibson, Ward, 2000: 301), and since then we can consider that traditional tools of campaigning and political communication have been added the online component, obviously in a form of pioneering, operational through the candidates'campaign sites (Bărbieru, 2015: 42).

To win the election, Barack Obama used all the tools that could lead him to victory, so he fully embraced the huge potential that social media had at his disposal, using technology and social media as an integral part of his campaign strategy. Unlike his predecessors, Obama not only used the Internet to disseminate campaign and candidate information, but developed a concept hitherto unknown to politicians, namely his involvement and voters' involvement in the active game of his election as president. Basically, he developed a segment of online supporters, a segment that in the opinion of many was decisive for his arrival at the White House:

> "From the beginning, Obama understood the importance and potential of social media as a tool for political communication and campaigning. He hired Facebook co-founder Chris Hughes to revolutionize his new media campaign and provide expertise to the various social networking

> platforms that resonated with the millennial generation that has always been connected to technology. His campaign was also the first to include a New Media Department that *was responsible for everything beyond the Internet besides technical areas*, according to Obama's chief digital strategist, Joe Rospars. Obama's smart and pioneering use of Web 2.0 technology has allowed him to reap the benefits of social media" (Hwang, 2016: 10).

In order to be able to communicate his political message and to attract different age groups or people with different socio-professional interests, Obama and his team understood that a variety of social platforms are required. Permanent contact with voters was also important, and the potential offered by social media in this regard had not been previously exploited by anyone. Thus, he regularly shared family photos, from his campaign rallies or highlighted through his Facebook page his favorite sports activities. All this overshadowed his opponent, who seemed quite boring. All the online actions taken by Obama's team counted impressive numbers for that moment. By election day, YouTube videos mentioning Obama totaled 1.9 billion views compared to 1.1 of his opponent, and if the exposure had been made through the media, with TV airtime, the costs would have amounted to $ 47 million for Obama and $ 1.5 million for McCain, according to analysis by the TechPresident blog (14).

Practically, since 2008, social media has become an important tool of political communication and election campaigns. Just as television helped Kennedy in the 1960s, the Internet is now helping Obama, who is considered the politician who paved the way for politics in the online world. He relied on *Facebook* pages, *YouTube* channels and personal websites, managing to combine in his campaign strategy two directions – the old (traditional) and the new (social media) (Bărbieru, 2015: 44-46). The innovative way proved to be the winning formula in its political battle, and social media claimed a place that grew and developed in each subsequent campaign, regardless of the country in which it manifests itself as an integral part of the political game. At the same time, it is the year in which the mentalities of political communication, campaign techniques, but also politicians have changed. Politicians' attitudes towards voters have also changed, although not immediately. Social media has become a very serious strategic point for election campaigns in the next period, especially since a simple online discussion could become a discussion watched by the whole planet (Bărbieru, 2020: 133). The presence of politicians on social networks has become a necessity for both elected officials and voters, with new media contributing to a better knowledge of the candidate by the electorate.

5. Manifestation of political communication on social networks in the Romanian political space

5.1 Statistical data

In Romania, there has been an increasing display in the online environment, especially in the last period, when the health crisis accelerated this process. In May 2021, according to Ookla, a company specializing in internet speed testing, Romania ranked 4th in the world (and first in Europe), after Singapore, Thailand and Hong Kong, in speed for fixed internet and 34th for mobile internet, and the report published by the National Authority for Administration and Regulation in Communications indicated 5.5 million fixed connections and 19.5 million mobile internet connections (practically more than the country's population) (Ujica, 2021).

In December 2021, the National Institute of Statistics made public the latest data on the internet connection in Romania. Approximately 8 out of 10 households (80.8%) had access to the Internet at home, the higher percentage being registered in urban areas (86.9% compared to 73.1% in rural areas). Making a comparative analysis, we notice a slight increase compared to 2020 when 78.2% of all households had access to the Internet (84.8% urban, 69.7% rural), the rate being increased by 2.5% in the same year compared to 2019 (82.5% urban, 66.8% rural). By age groups, the growth of Romanian internet consumers has been constant. For the year 2021, the percentage of internet users between 16 and 34 years old was 98.4% compared to 96.6% in 2020, and in the category 55-74 years old, 70.5% compared to 65.4% in 2020. The number of those who used the Internet less than 3 months was only 1.5% for 16-35 years and 13.5% for 55-74 years (INS, 2020: 1; INS, 2021: 1-2).

The adoption of the online environment in Romania was increasing in 2021. The New Media Adoption research, conducted by the media agency Spark Foundry, a member of Publicis Groupe Romania, between September 8-15, 2021, shows that Romanians used the online environment to a greater extent compared to previous years. Facebook continued to be the most accessed social network (93% of respondents) by all age groups, with a higher share for people over 55 years old (98%) (G4Media.ro 2021).

5.2 The shyness of the beginning on social networks in political communication

Although access to the Internet was limited, online activity had been felt since the end of the last millennium by the growing demand in the field of online commerce and entertainment. However, in a short time social media has become the most exploited means of mass communication with a special impact on societies, implicitly also on Romanian politics. An initial manifestation of local political communication in the virtual space took place through blogs, the aim being to mobilize supporters and voters, but also to provide the necessary space for topics to debate for voters.

Among the Romanian politicians, the first to create a personal blog was Ioan Mircea Pașcu in 2006 (Pătruț, 2011: 60), being the first to understand that he can increase his notoriety through this tool. Subsequently, there is a development of the blogosphere in Romanian politics, politicians understanding the important role that blogs played in political communication. It took quite a short time from the appearance of the first blog of a Romanian politician to the appearance of several hundred blogs with a political theme. Thus, in July 2009 there were already 350 blogs, of which 132 were from PSD, 113 from PC, 90 from PDL and 87 from PNL (60).

In the 2008 parliamentary elections, the blog was used in political communication and in the transmission of the electoral message online by the most active of Romanian politicians. They are timid uses, however, even if this tool offered the possibility for any politician or political party to use it, due to the small investment, and to compete democratically in the virtual environment. At the same time, the social network Facebook begins to be used in political communication in Romania. The first uses were made in the 2008 parliamentary campaign and 2009 presidential campaign to promote politicians and attract voters.

We note the involvement of social networks in the presidential election campaign in 2009 in a somewhat more dynamic way. From this moment, politicians begin to transmit to the electorate and supporters certain electoral information, such as the places where they could be seen, the events they participated in or the electoral messages they supported (Boșoteanu, 2011: 50). Basically, it is the campaign in which the local competitors used Facebook, simultaneously with the campaign sites and blogs, but also with the video sharing sites. The large increase in internet users, especially in 2007, when in August there were just over 5 million users, and in November there were already 7 million, led Romanian politicians to consider that this electoral pool could not be bypassed (Momoc, 2011: 39). However, the interaction between politician and voter as we know it today was not widely used, the interventions in the comments posted were without much involvement. Internet users were

> "too little encouraged to develop a frequent, coherent and direct dialogue, the interactivity not being always symmetrical and prompt. At the same time, the control of the messages worked, and the candidates lacked consistency and speed of response. On the other hand, the Romanian parties and their presidential candidates focused on providing online information about their history, biography, organization and positions on current political issues, through

> newsletters, campaign documents, press releases and party news, while general references, even to the Romanian political system or an electoral procedure, were missing. The only one who posted the electoral procedure on the campaign site was Kelemen Hunor" (Boșoteanu, 2011: 54).

New technologies were used in the 2009 campaign, but in an empirical way compared to what we know from the current campaigns. The electoral debate was not a sustained one, the candidates did not debate political ideas or projects and did not respond to the comments of the citizens. The online environment was used to send messages of self-promotion, attacks on political opponents, to mobilize voters and to avoid awkward debates (Pătruț, 2015: 130).

If the year 2011 meant 85 Romanian parliamentarians with an account in the social network Facebook, the most popular of them being Crin Antonescu (16,210 fans), Elena Udrea (9,000 fans) and Nicolae Robu (5,000 friends), starting with 2012 it was recorded a dynamic in the use of social networks for the Romanian political space, the referendum for the dismissal of the president turning into a real online effervescence with supporters and opponents, with praises and attacks, distributed photos and comments or distribution of political information, especially towards the end of the campaign (Pătruț, 2014: 249).

Social networks are beginning to stand out as vectors of political communication for the Romanian political scene in 2012, the start of the offline and online campaign, both for the dismissal of the president and for the parliamentary elections at the end of the year, being taken at the same time this year. Not only the campaign teams adopted this new trend of political communication, but also the voters, especially since some of them belonged to the new generation – the net generation. Thus, the idea of an online political relationship was beginning to take shape, with a greater inclination towards cooperation and the creation of political content, especially in the Facebook network, the most popular at that time for Romania.

Candidates have increased their visibility through social networks, their presence in the virtual environment and the transmission of the political message through these tools following the trends of increasing the use of networks as a means of mass communication. However, social networks were not yet used to their full potential in political communication, but rather aimed at a political PR tool through which candidates and political parties promoted themselves through election texts, photos from campaign events, rallies or meetings with voters.

5.3 Romania and the key moment in the use of social networks in the political space

Like America, Romania had a key and novel moment in 2014, when social media played a key role in the presidential election. At that time, social media was the instrument determined in the reversal of the situation between the two rounds of elections, the effect produced was unexpected and to be taken into account for all future elections. The mobilization of the diaspora on social networks was decisive in the appointment of the president. At the same time, the main way in which the future president and his campaign staff attracted voters was the online campaign, with a well-thought-out social media strategy. It was the moment when the social networks in Romania managed to go far beyond the traditional channels – TV, radio and print media. The convergence of Facebook, television and mobile telephony meant a huge mobilization in favor of mass voting, and the election result led the political class to understand the major importance of social media in disseminating the political message and using these tools in election campaigns. Basically, it was the best lesson that the entire political class in Romania received.

The presidential elections in Romania in 2014 were the result of social networks. Facebook, the social platform preferred by Romanians and available to both candidates equally, where the ideological struggles took place and where the ideas of the governing program were exposed, attracted the young electorate (Covaci, 2015: 90).

With less political experience at the national level than his opponent, with certain communication difficulties in political discourse, as well as with a permanently displayed rigidity and sobriety that usually do not catch much in the young electorate, Iohannis won the presidential election with an election campaign conducted mainly online, on social media, and only secondarily using traditional campaign techniques. He was the first politician in Europe to exceed the 1,000,000 fan mark on his Facebook page, surpassing Merkel, Hollande or Sarkozy. His growth was rapid, considering that in the first round he had about 500,000 fans, on election day about 850,000 (ahead of its opponent, Victor Ponta by just over 825,000 fans), and immediately after the election, on November 28, he reached 1.2 million fans. Using social media tools with great skill he has become very popular on Facebook with millions of reactions (likes, shares, comments). Thus, he totaled approximately 3 million likes, over 500,000 redistributions and 100,000 comments, well above his opponent (Sasu, Androniciuc, 2017: 462).

His online campaign had a very well thought out social media strategy, and the target group of voters was that of young people aged 18-35 in urban areas, a group quite difficult to vote for through traditional methods. Thus, a virtual campaign was created for this age segment, having the certainty that only in this way they can be mobilized for the vote, many of them being without political concerns and sympathies (Bărbieru, 2015: 47).

According to some analysts, the diaspora, through social networks, with images transmitted in real time from the polling stations, tipped the balance decisively towards the future president. Basically, it was the moment when electronic solidarity proved its speed and the power to amplify certain feelings, people synchronizing themselves in experiencing similar emotions (Covaci, 2015: 91). The "major importance of social media in increasing the public participation of the online public and the dissemination of the political message through users of social networks" that could be used as main vectors of communication during election campaigns became evident (Bărbieru, 2015: 47).

In future election campaigns, and not only during the campaigns, political competitors, candidates and parties have paid special attention to social media in political communication, turning them into the main channels of electoral communication, with different strategies created around them, so that the political message can reach as many voters as possible, young and old alike.

5.4 Social networks are becoming commonplace for political actors and the public

In the 2016 local elections, the candidates moved much more online, but did not give up the traditional forms of conveying the political message. It is noteworthy that television has lost its primacy in political communication. This time being on social networks has become a necessity for all candidates, and online has become an important part of the political communication strategy, the Internet becoming indispensable for both the Romanian political class and voters.

Facebook has become the most valuable means of interaction with voters for all political actors in Romania. The party that made the most use of this social network to spread its mobilizing messages was USR (Save Romania Union). A few years after the 2016 local and parliamentary elections, we can say, without any reservation, that only through the traditional techniques of political communication this party would not have managed the performance of becoming the 3rd largest party in such a short time (it was established on July 1, 2015 as USB – Save Bucharest Union, and on August 21, 2016, together with two other small formations, it became USR – Save Romania Union). At the same time, for this political party the importance of the social network Facebook is all the greater as its financial and human resources were incomparably smaller compared to the big parties of the moment, PSD and PNL.

The most popular political party on Facebook was PNL with about 250,000 fans, followed by PSD with 67,000 and USR with 62,000. Analyzing the response of users in the parliamentary campaign, with an average of about 2,000 likes per message and a total of over 85,000 likes, PNL was the leader. At the same time, it was the party that generated the largest volume of discussions, with an average of 230 comments among online users and used the most campaign videos (Facebook's new online political communication tool). PNL also generated the most popular post, with 32,186 likes, 3,425 shares and 4,256 comments (Sasu, Androniciuc, 2017: 463-464).

Making a comparative analysis between the presidential campaign of 2014 and the parliamentary one of 2016, we notice that the online voters had a lower interest, but the reason is political because, in the evolution of the post-December elections in Romania, the presidential ones received more and more attention from the part of the voters. On the other hand, in 2016 the social media campaign aimed more at disseminating political information / messages and getting acquainted with candidates and less at mobilizing voters.

For 2019, we will analyze the European Parliamentary elections, especially since they represent the elections that generate the least interest for Romanian voters. At the level of January 2019, there were 9.8 million Facebook users in Romania, according to ZeList. The total number of pages was 83,097, of which 43,417 were active pages. The total number of posts in the analyzed interval was 1.65 million, and the comments on the public pages amounted to 4.38 million (Agerpres 2019).

From the analysis of political communication during the election campaign through social networks for the three main parties (PSD, PNL, USR) we see that Facebook has retained the privilege of the main social network through which the political message has spread in the Romanian political space. PNL also kept its upward trend, its page having the most fans – 293,677, which generated the most reactions (comments and redistributions – 72.9% of the total reactions). USR rises to second place with 126,466 fans, and PSD reaches 86,541 fans (Tasențe, 2019: 54). The party that managed to capture the largest number of fans on its page is USR, from about 62,000 to over 126,000. The dissemination was also made to social groups whose members included users who were not necessarily fans of a political party, thus increasing the credibility of political information. The online communication was led by the National Liberal Party on the page of which 105,000 redistributions were made, followed by USR with 48,000 redistributions and the Social Democratic Party with 13,000 shares (55). To all this are added the reactions on the pages of politicians (candidates or not), which, depending on the notoriety of the politician, can considerably exceed the reactions on the page of the party.

As an online campaign strategy, PNL focused its communication on the statements of the candidates and the president of Romania, PSD on videos with electoral events, statements by President Dragnea and the achievements of the government, and USR on attacks against PSD. PNL and USR mobilized their online electorate very well, but also the segments of the public not interested in voting. The biggest gain belongs to the USR, which this time managed, through social networks, to mobilize social media users who had previously been absent from voting. Those who were disinterested were also mobilized through social networks, but they wanted to give a negative vote to PSD.

In conclusion, in the 2019 European elections, Facebook played a decisive role in designating the winners. As in 2014, when those who understood the need to mobilize social network users won, in 2019 those who understood how to better mobilize their online audience won.

In 2020, the Covid 19 pandemic forced political parties to show up online more than ever, but the practices were nothing new to anyone – neither political actors nor voters. On the social network Facebook, still preferred by Romanians, the election campaign was structured and planned in advance, specific posts were made according to a predetermined schedule, and increased visibility was cascaded by amplifying a post with a specific content through other subsequent posts with similar content. Videos uploaded directly to the platform and embedded in posts were used for greater exposure. The electorate has never known better information during the election campaigns than now, but we consider that it was absolutely normal in the conditions of the health pandemic, but especially in the evolutionary conditions that we synthesized in our study.

The year 2020 did not offer us anything spectacular on election day, as happened in 2014 or 2019, when there were upheavals generated by social networks. Consequently, we will not discuss the political communication on social networks this year in detail because we consider that we do not bring anything new to the study. We only mention that the adoption has been increasing and, out of the desire to provide the reader with the most up-to-date information, we will use some data to support our theory collected at the end of March 2022.

As already mentioned, the role of social networks is the same both during election campaigns and between election campaigns. Online communication is always done, and social networks have become the main channel where political information is disseminated. Basically, they are indispensable and irreversible.

In order to demonstrate the adoption mentioned in the previous lines, following the analysis of the Facebook pages, we notice that on March 30, 2022, the President of Romania has the most fans on his page, approaching 2 million (more precisely 1.8 million), PNL maintains the first place among the party pages with 477 thousand fans, followed by USR with 274 thousand and PSD with 188 thousand fans.

As for Twitter, we find that the adoption of political communication is very slow. At the moment, the channel is preferred by more young people, precisely because of its exposure to political issues to a lesser extent than other networks. However, we exemplify and retain 235,820 followers for Klaus Iohannis, 5,481 for USR, 3,332 for PSD and 605 for PNL. For PNL, the last posts we found are from May 25, 2019, the Twitter account seems abandoned, hence the small number of followers. From the research on the accounts of politicians, we also noticed a few followers, as well as an exposure of political messages with a rarer or very rare frequency to some of them or accounts where nothing has been posted for months, even years.

Conclusions

The importance of social networks in political communication is even greater as its role is to be the main channel of communication and occupies a special place in election campaign strategies. The health crisis that humanity has been facing for the last two years supports this hypothesis, with election campaigns taking place in a very large percentage in the online environment, of course with its limitations and advantages. The present positions social networks as the main channel of political communication, and political actors who do not understand and do not use it cancel all their chances in the electoral competition. Basically, they become invisible to the masses of voters. We note that the emergence of social networks has changed the relationship between elected officials and voters, with citizens having the opportunity to take an active part in the political life of states. Through social networks, the political message is disseminated and debated incomparably more than traditional methods, the users of social networks being also vectors of political communication, of influencing the masses, but also content creators, not only consumers.

An advantage for the political environment is that the online environment retains a lesser feeling that the population only matters to politicians every four years, as is the case in traditional media. The reason is extremely simple to understand – in online political communication is done at any time, without temporary limitation. Politicians address the masses or individuals much more easily during election campaigns, but also between election competitions. Online communities are much more numerous now than in previous years, and politicians can interact with their voters throughout their term. As an open spaces, the social networks contributes decisively to political communication and interaction, but also to the emergence of political ideas. Electoral behavior of voters has also changed –

now it is a type of electorate more educated, more active, more demanding, always up to date with news, accustomed to online media or interpersonal communication through messages. It has thus become mandatory for politicians to adapt and for their political messages to be made in line with the demands of this type of electorate.

We believe that future electoral strategies will be built exclusively on social networks and the online environment will open up new opportunities for politicians to redefine their political communication, to make it more effective and to gain as much social influence as possible.

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Translation Studies

PARERGONALITY, PARATRANSLATION, AND TEXT-AS-HOUSE IMAGERY: SIX ROMANIAN-LANGUAGE EDITIONS OF OSCAR WILDE'S FAIRY-TALES

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Abstract: *This paper focuses on the mediating role paratexts perform in the transmission of a text from one culture to another. Our case in point is a series of (re)translations of Oscar Wilde's fairy tales into Romanian (published between 1911 and 2018), with their respective allographic paratextuality (prefaces, postfaces, translator's foreword, introduction, glossaries, author biographies, dedications etc.). The paratexts are examined with a view to distinguishing between those which allocate authority to the translated text and those which undermine it. Architectural metaphorics will be resorted to, for a better illustration of the relation between text and paratext. If, according to Kant (1987[1781]),* pareregon *is to* ergon *what columns are to buildings, and if, when it comes to books,* parergon *is a (near-) synonym for* paratext, *the text-as-house imagery proposed here is meant to encapsulate the way books assemble their (para)textual contents for the reading public.*
Keywords: *parergon*/ paratext; (para)translation; Oscar Wilde; (sub)liminality; discourse; translator's visibility/ voice.

Preliminary Remarks

The in-depth analysis of Oscar Wilde's fairy tales in Romanian translation, which we undertook a few years ago in an attempt to anatomize the main stages of (Wilde's) retranslation history (see Hăisan, 2022), may have been, in the beginning, concerned with texts mainly, but soon enough, as is often the case, it inevitably led to investigating a sum of extratextual issues as well. The very fact that the Romanian versions of Wilde's tales happen to come in all shapes (vertical rectangular, horizontal rectangular, or square), sizes (very large or very small, with copious illustration and commentary or none at all), is, in itself, an argument in favour of reconsidering this translational continuum from the point of view of what

Danielle Risterucci-Roudnicky likes to call "peritextual hybridity" (Risterucci-Roudnicky, 2008: 15).

It is, therefore, the peri-/ paratextual side of the translations that we will examine in what follows, drawing on a corpus of six Romanian editions of Wilde's stories published between 1911 and 2018. For symmetry's sake, we selected three versions published before and three published after 1989 (but this is not strictly a matter of "before and after the fall of Communism" – two of the versions being published when Romania was still a kingdom, namely in 1911 and 1937). The contribution essentially discusses the extent to which these translations are acknowledged in peritexts (implicitly touching upon the translators' *visibility*, in Venuti's 1995 terms), as well as the extent to which the peritext may influence the reception or interpretation of the text. A qualitative, descriptive analysis of peritextual material will thus be carried out. Central to the approach is Genette's 1997 theory of paratextuality applied to translated texts – a conjunction which, thanks to a research group at the University of Vigo, bears the name of *paratranslation* (see Yuste Frías, 2012) – but, in actual practice, we will rely on an eclectic translatological model encompassing an assortment of allegedly disparate elements.

While we can no longer speak of an actual shortage of studies on paratexts in translation (see, among others, Watts (2000), Tahir-Gürçaglar (2002), Pellatt (2013), and an entire issue of *Palimpsestes* discussing "préfaces et paratextes traductifs"), this is a matter still (or forever) worth debating, if only for the fact that, as Theo Hermans puts it, "[i]n any given translation there is a latent gesturing towards additional possibilities and alternative renderings" (Hermans, 2007: 61). It is the intrinsic ancillarity of translation that spawns supplemental, collateral annotations or exegesis.

What the present paper aims to do is built upon text-as-house imagery in order to make sense of the allographic paratexts under scrutiny. To this end, *paratext*, *peritext*, and *parergon* will be used (sometimes interchangeably) throughout the paper, although Genette (1997) sees the peritext as a specific kind of paratext, while *parergon* is a complex enough concept to be dismissed as a mere synonym of *paratext*. After all, albeit different, the three terms do share an important semantic core. If, according to Kant (1987[1781]), *parergon* is to *ergon* what columns are to buildings, and if, when it comes to books, *parergon* has come to designate the paratextual elements accompanying a given text, we propose to extend Kant's analogy by applying architectural metaphorics to editorial parerga. Genette himself (1997) likened paratexts to *seuils* [thresholds], and Borges (q. in Genette, 1997: 4) to vestibules, so clearly this kind of imagery encapsulates most vividly the way a physical book organizes and mediates its contents for the reading public.

The importance of analysing paratextual elements should never be underestimated, as they always provide "useful clues about the conditions under which translations were produced and consumed" which, in turn, unveil "the general socio-cultural forces giving shape to translation" (Tahir-Gürçalar, 2002: 58, 59).

After outlining the conceptual framework and the corpus, in the former part of the paper, we will analyse, in the latter, the relation between text and paratext in six Romanian versions of Oscar Wilde's tales (among the few which contain a paratext worth considering, paratranslation-wise). Architectural terms such as *tympanum*, *(crypto)portico* or *stoa* will be resorted to, if purely metaphorically, for a better illustration of the said relation.

Back-translation (from Romanian to English), either written between brackets or as footnotes, is always mine.

From Liminality to *Parergon*. From Paratext to Paratranslation

There are important semantic shifts in the evolution of *liminality*. At first (Lat. *limen*, *liminis*), it designated as concrete a thing as the entrance to a house (and by extension the house itself). When it started to be used figuratively, it also took a temporal sense (namely, the beginning or the ending of a process or activity). Little by little, it came to denote barriers between two fields or spheres: a blockage in the middle stage of a rite of passage (in anthropology), or a threshold for conscious perception (in psychology). With time, "modern language has retained the sense of indeterminacy and in-betweenness rather than the clear-cut notion of separation or demarcation. The liminal is basically unascribable, undescribable, neither here nor there." (Gadoin & Ramel, 2013: 5).

The concept of *parergon*, construed from the prefix *par*- and the root *-ergon* (Greek for "work"), had a similar progression, and is now equally described as "neither here nor there." The literal meaning of the ancient Greek term ("beside, or additional to the work") gradually changed from "supplementary issue" to "embellishment" or mere ornament. In literature and philosophy, *parergon* is often used to refer to secondary works of a given author (see, for instance, Arthur Schopenhauer's 1851 volume entitled *Parerga und Paralipomena* – in layman's terms, "appendices and omissions" – meant as additional readings offered to experts and neophytes alike). In visual arts, *parerga* are secondary elements in artworks.

It was Immanuel Kant, however, who ironically brought *parergon* back into spotlight by mentioning it in a sort of footnote ("elucidation by means of examples") in his *Critique of Judgement* (1987[1781]):

> "Even what we call *ornaments* (parerga), i.e., what does not belong to the whole presentation of the object as an intrinsic constituent, but [is] only an extrinsic addition, does indeed increase our taste's liking, and yet it too does so only by its form, as in the case of picture frames, or drapery on statues, or colonnades around magnificent buildings." (Kant, 1987: 57)

If Kant assimilated *parerga* with those ornaments which appeal primarily to the senses, Derrida, on the other hand, cited them when describing a relation of the essence in his wider theory of deconstruction: namely that between the frame and the framed, the core and the periphery, the inside and the outside. As pointed out by K. Malcolm Richards, "[n]either inside the work nor outside the work, the *parergon* follows a logic of "both/ and/ neither/ nor" that complicates the "either/ or" logic of Western metaphysics that Derrida criticises for its reliance on static structures that crumble because of their rigidity." (Richards, 2008: 32). For Richards himself, *parergon* (whether in texts or in visual culture) is inherently parasitic, as it corrupts the purity of the *ergon*:

> "Corrupting the façade of purity covering the *ergon*, the *parergon* reveals the subjective interests vested in the time-bound structures we more commonly think of as works of art and literature. [...] Labels are one such *parergonal* agent. Outside the work and the frame of the work, they often give a viewer information concerning the work. They help to identify who the artist is, what the title of the work is and what the medium of the work is, as well as often the dimensions, who the work belongs to and when the work was made. While not internal to the work, information gleaned from labels often frame part of our experience of the work. [...] The signature is another *parergon*. Neither inside the work, nor outside the work, the signature offers another phenomenon resistant to the everyday ordering of the world by inside and outside." (Richards, 2008: 36, 37, 42)

While Richards does not refer specifically to books, the implication is readily apparent. He may well discuss labels and signatures, while other authors address titles (see Pirinen, 2013), forewords, epigraphs and prefaces (see Trotter, 2013: 258-259), but ultimately it all comes down to and draws on Genette's groundbreaking work on paratexts. Although the French literary theorist confined his research to literature, it is equally relevant when it comes to other types of text, whether translated or not. Liminality as in-betweenness and leverage of the *parergon*/ paratext over the *ergon*/ text, as implied by Genette, show us there is an important red thread uniting these concepts, to the point of near-synonymy:

> "It is an 'undefined zone' between the inside and the outside, a zone without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned toward the text) or the outward side (turned toward the world's discourse about the text), an edge..." (Genette, 1997: 2)

A zone not only of transition, but also of transaction, the paratext is the place where strategy is put into practice. Having "spatial, temporal, substantial, pragmatic and functional characteristics" (Genette, 1997: 4), it is bound to have a profound influence on the reader. Genette lists four functions of paratext (93): to designate or identify, to describe the work (in terms of content and genre), and to lure the reader into reading more (more than the text says or more texts like the one advertised) – none of the functions being completely innocent, irrespective of whether we deal with authorial or "allographic" (264) paratext. The latter ostensibly allows a greater variety of co-authorship (translators, critics, specialists etc.), but it still cannot escape the publisher's overrule or last word: what remains is for the paratext to negotiate the "otherness" (see Watts, 2000) signalled by the translated status of the text.

Both illocutionary and perlocutionary, the *pararegon*/ paratext is thus a locus of abeyance, of indecision, of expectancy and expectation. Formally, it is supposed, much like the translator, to serve two masters: the source text/ author/ culture (thus ensuring a better reception) and the readers (thus contributing to a more pertinent reading of the source text/ author/ culture). What Genette says about the original assumptive authorial preface, that it should do two things: "to get the book read" and "to get the book read properly" (Genette, 1997: 197), is no less true when it comes to allographic paratexts. Some para-/ peritextual items, however, are more connotative than others. For Valerie Pellatt, for instance, the prefaces and introductions appear to be the least impartial, the least denotative, yet they are also the ones meant to "prime" (Pellatt, 2013: 3) or guide the reader.

Although not all the editions analysed here contain prefaces, there is no doubt they generally stand out as the peritextual element par excellence. Prefaces frame and acknowledge, suggest and explain. For Rodica Dimitriu, there are three specific roles translators' prefaces play: explanatory, normative/ prescriptive, and informative/ descriptive (Dimitriu, 2009: 195). For Marella Feltrin-Morris, there are only two:

> "Translators' prefaces are posited here as spaces of individuality, which, much like the interiors of a house, offer countless design possibilities, to the point that translators, unaccustomed to such largesse, are often tempted to reduce the range of options to two basic floor plans: a) a confession booth; b) a bunker. The former

> collects all admissions of guilt and inadequacy with respect to an unmatchable original text. [...] The latter is hardly more appealing, as it implies that an invitation for a translator to speak is equivalent to a need to defend one's choices, and therefore, a need to turn an otherwise attractive setting into a shelter against possible attacks. It becomes obvious that the persuasive attempt on the part of the translator is based on the assumption that the reader is a priori hostile to, or in the very least skeptical about, the translator's methods and possibly even their credentials." (Feltrin-Morris, 2016: 39-40)

Whether it is a site of valorisation (*captatio benevolentiae*) or of its opposite (*excusation propter infirmitatem*) (see Letawe, 2018: 39), the translator's preface or notes will (almost) always be an invaluable source of information and illumination.

The Corpus and the Context

Oscar Wilde's fairy-tales, translated and re-translated ever since 1911, can currently be found in Romania in a variety of forms and shapes: hardcopy, digital copy, online versions, vinyl records, e-books, CDs or audio-books (as far as the channel is concerned), in thematic collections or anthologies, as single-tale books or complete editions, in monolingual or bilingual volumes, and, as stated above, in vertical rectangular, horizontal rectangular, square, very large, medium or pocket-book form.

Given the dual nature of Wilde's tales, which are commonly classified as *children's literature* but actually target a much wider range of public, few of the Romanian editions are transparently aimed at very young readers (except when recommended, on the front cover or the title page, as part of the school bibliography). Most of the editions after 1989 came out for purely commercial reasons, which is why they do not contain any relevant paratext (no prefaces, no footnotes, no illustrations). From this point of view, if we were to anticipate the text-as-house imagery we aim to rely on, they all resemble the rather austere Bauhaus architecture[74], which privileges functionality of design and the "less is more" ethos.

In selecting our corpus, we took into account such classic criteria as representativeness (see Charaudeau, 2009), pertinence, availability, and variety. The six editions under scrutiny belong to two different ages (three being published before, and three after 1989) and to different stages in the evolution of the Romanian language, culture, and mentality. They are the

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[74] *Bauhaus architecture* is the product of an influential German school founded by Walter Gropius (1883-1969) in the early twentieth century, meant to help reconstruction after World War I.

only ones (of a total over 30 Romanian versions) with a relevant *parergon*/ paratext (prefaces, postfaces, translator's notes etc.), analysable in terms of translator visibility. The list contains:

- Dimitrie Anghel's 1911 version of *The Fisherman and His Soul*, with a destabilizing postface by C. Stere;
- Al. T. Stamatiad's 1937 (indirect) translation of a selection of Wildean tales, with a *parergon*/ paratext which not only encompasses, but practically overwhelms the *ergon*/ text;
- Ticu Archip's 1967 edition, with a heavily indoctrinating preface by Vladimir Colin;
- Agop Bezerian's 2000 bilingual edition, with a "confession booth" introduction (we rely here on Feltrin-Morris' 2016 label);
- Laura Poantă's complete 2015 edition, with an important paratextual side (foreword, translator's notes, a.s.o.);
- Magda Teodorescu's 2018 translation, fitted with a composite paratext which clearly aims at an adult reader.

When examining them, we took into account the different linguistic norms as well as the historical context. If up until the end of the Second World War there was a constant preoccupation with diffusing the classics and making books available to the masses, in socialist and then communist Romania (1947-1989), it is common knowledge that classic (translated) books were often subject to censorship.

However, books were not only "purged" but also infused with flamboyant propaganda. In this respect, Ioana Popa (2010) speaks of a "bipolarisation" of concerns, while Brian James Bauer suggests a vacillation between extremes: "Translation under communism was largely shaped by the tension between xenophobia and internationalism. [...] The regime exercised censorship at virtually every stage of the publication process." (Bauer, 2011: 9). On the other hand, after 1990, the Romanian editorial landscape changed dramatically and a lot of new publishing houses appeared, many of which launching children's collections or simply providing affordable editions of the books listed in pupils' bibliographies. Each edition of Oscar Wilde's tales will thus be considered in its respective context.

1911: D. Anghel/ C. Stere

Pescarul şi sufletul său (literal rendering of Wilde's title, *The Fisherman and His Soul*) was published in 1911[75] by Minerva, a publishing house of some repute. The title page reads „Biblioteca Minervei" [Minerva's Library] and provides minute details on the publishing house, including the

[75] The first Wildean text ever translated into Romanian is, in all probability, *Salomé*, a play originally written in French. The translator's name is Zaharia Bârsan.

address, after the fashion of the time („Institutul de Arte Grafice şi Editură, Bulevardul Academiei 3, Str. Edgar Quinet 4, Bucureşti”). If, according to Gérard Genette, “on the cover the author’s name may be printed in varying sizes, depending on the author’s reputation” (Genette, 1997: 38), the fact that this edition practically flaunts the translator’s name (allowing it to be written in letters of comparable size to those of the author’s) shows the fact that Dimitrie Anghel (now seen as a minor Symbolist poet) enjoyed the necessary popularity and credibility to be placed side by side with Wilde. It also shows the ways in which translators were treated at the time: if already famous, their names competed with the authors’ (though decidedly not all of them were explicitly mentioned on the cover); if not (yet) famous, they were simply not mentioned anywhere.

This very small pocketbook (10 x 16 cm), with front and back covers so thin that it is hard to call it a paperback, contains just the story the title announces and no illustrations. There is, however, a substantial postface (79-105) signed by C. [Constantin] Stere (Romanian writer, jurist, and politician). In order to draw his readers in, Stere uses courtroom rhetorical strategies, in sharp contrast to the poeticity and delicacy of Anghel’s translation. First, he avoids and delays naming Wilde directly, the antonomasia in the title („Petroniu veacului al XIX-lea” [Nineteenth-Century Petronius]) being preserved as such in the former part of the postface (although the postface begins on page 79, it is barely on page 84 that Wilde’s name is explicitly mentioned). Secondly, he uses a lot of rhetorical questions, plenty of exclamations and suspension marks (for instance: „Vă aduceţi aminte de *Petroniu* din romanul *Quo vadis* al lui *Sienkiewicz*?” [Do you remember Petronius, from Sienkiewicy’s novel, *Quo Vadis*? – original italics emphasis]; „Mustrări de cuget?” [Any remorse?]; „Şi deodată un groaznic crach!...” [And all of a sudden, a terrible crash!]). The meaningful pauses he creates by means of punctuation, as well as the gradual, deductive reasoning, make up an oratory redolent of Caţavencu’s from Caragiale’s *O scrisoare pierdută*[76] [A Lost Letter].

Once the identity of his nineteenth-century Petronius is revealed, Stere proceeds to seemingly glorify Wilde’s achievements, aesthetics and

[76] I(on) L(uca) Caragiale (1852-1912) was a Romanian playwright, short story writer, theatre manager and journalist who left behind an important cultural legacy. His most famous plays (three comedies – *O noapte furtunoasă* [A Stormy Night], *O scrisoare pierdută* [A Lost Letter], and *Conu’ Leonida faţă cu reacţiunea* [Master Leonida Facing the Reaction] – and a tragedy – *Năpasta* [The Misfortune]) are considered a classic, timeless expression of Romanian drama as their bitter criticism of Romanian society is stilll relevant today. Nae Caţavencu, one of the characters of *O scrisoare pierdută* (1884), is a politician who tries to get ahead by blackmailing the city’s prefect and his (married) mistress with the publication of a compromising love letter. His demagogic, highly affected political speeches contain one humour-engendering (thus memorable) line after another.

philosophy. To this end, he offers profuse quotations from *De Profundis* and a number of other Wildean essays. After this falsely defensive part, he continues more and more offensively. The demagogic diatribe finally comes to an end when all the previous adulation is overthrown with a disarmingly simple argument (namely, that of divine retribution). The scandalous trial, the abominable accusation of crime "against nature," the chains, the imprisonment, the utter poverty (having to sell his false teeth to survive and borrow clothes) were nothing but comeuppance that Wilde got in the end (says Stere) for his bohemian life, for "his selfish and spiteful theories"[77] and his concept of "cultivated idleness"[78]. A twist at the end of the postface finds Stere half-heartedly recommending Wilde as a great poet and a "victim of life's hardships"[79] who somehow earned some literary recognition (above all, it is suggested, by way of repentance).

As suggested elsewhere (Hăisan, 2022), the two pieces making up the small volume presented here (namely Dimitrie Anghel's translation and Constantin Stere's postface) send mixed messages to the reader: on the one hand, Anghel's earnest rendition of *The Fisherman...* can be considered a (further) reading incentive; on the other, Stere's postface, while certainly informative, is sermonic enough to discourage the reader from ever reading anything written by Wilde. By disparaging the author, Stere forges a specific (unattractive, distorted) image of the source culture.

It should come as no surprise that Stere's text was placed after the translation (like a *granny flat* – a slightly smaller, self-contained apartment built at the back of the main house) and not before. Genette mentions the "curative, or corrective function" of the postface (Genette, 1997: 239) and the fact that it addresses a reader "who is no longer potential but actual" (Genette, 1997: 238); it is precisely this postposition of the text which makes it more relevant and more effective for the reader. Like some kind of Cerberus, Stere prevents the readers from leaving Wilde's text until they have understood the author properly. The informative side of the *parergon*/ paratext, though considerable, is outweighed by the normative/ prescriptive side, which is too ostentatious to be subliminal and is therefore downright liminal.

Philosophically and tonally, the *framed* (Wilde's text in Anghel's translation) and the *frame* (Stere's postface) are like addorsed elements commonly seen in heraldic decorations found on capitals or decorative sculptures: symmetrically placed back to back. The disproportionate amount

[77] The original text: „teoriile lui egoiste şi duşmănoase".
[78] The original text: „trândăvie elegantă".
[79] The original text: „victimă a vieţii".

of space Stere's postface occupies as compared to the actual text is highly evocative of *saltbox houses*[80], one-storey high at the rear and two at the front.

1937: Al.T. Stamatiad

Pagini din Oscar Wilde (Povestiri feerice şi morale) [Pages from Oscar Wilde. Enchanting and Moral Stories] is a book which was built step by step, with successive revisions and enlargements, by Al.T. Stamatiad[81], until obtaining the so-called "final" version. We thus have a 1919 version (*Poeme în proză* [Poems in Prose], published by H. Steinberg in Bucharest), then a revised edition published by Cultura Românească, in 1927, then the one we analyse here, "reviewed and enlarged for the second time"[82] – which came out with the same publishers in 1937 – and another, in 1946, (*Cântecul din urmă: Poeme în proză; Balada Temniţei din Reading*, Casa Şcoalelor) which, however, falls beyond the scope of our paper, as it leaves Wilde's tales aside to focus on poetry instead.

The volume in question is a tripartite assembly, containing first the poems in prose, then four of Wilde's fairy tales, and ending with a prose version of *The Ballad of Reading Gaol.* Even though Genette (1997) makes a distinction between paratextual elements within the book (peritext) and outside it (epitext), in this particular case, the editor seems to be folding *parergon* back into *ergon*. The book has reviews, recommendations, lists of prizes (which are normally a part of the epitext), astutely sprinkled throughout, making up a blatantly translator-oriented paratext. Here are a few examples:

- the back of the flyleaf and the fourth cover present a list of Stamatiad's previous writings (five volumes of poetry, two of prose, his one-act play, and four other translations, as well as the monthly magazine *Salonul literar* [The Literary Salon] he was directing at the time), but also a forthcoming anthology of Chinese poetry that he was planning;
- the two previous editions of the book are also highlighted at the beginning of the book, as well as at the end of it;
- the last pages of the book invite the reader to consult eight reviews of Stamatiad's works signed by major literary figures (Nicolae Davidescu, Perpessicius, Dragoş Protopopescu, Tudor Vianu etc.), together with some

80 "A colonial wooden-framed house with a sloping, pitched roof that originates from New England, USA. [...] This house style was popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and acquired its name from the resemblance to the inlaid wooden box in which salt was stored." (Ambrose *et al*., 2008: 222).

81 Born Alexandru Teodor Maria Stamatiade (1885-1956), the Romanian Symbolist poet, short-story writer, dramatist, and translator was set on popularizing foreign literature, and he received several awards for attempting it (like the Ion Heliade Rădulescu Award, in 1944).

82 The original text: „revăzută şi mărită pentru a doua oară".

critical notes by Mihail Sadoveanu on *Peisagii sentimentale* [Sentimental Landscapes], and Stamatiad's 1936 prize-winning book;

- almost all the pieces included in this volume are dedicated to some more or less influential personality of the time (the poems in prose, to Nicolae Petrescu, Perpessicius, A. Dominic, and Ioan I. Mărculescu, respectively; the Ballad, to N. Davidescu; as for the fairy-tales, they are dedicated to George A. Petre (a largely unknown name today), Al. Negură (poet and journalist), Şt. Şoimescu (a fellow-poet), and Mihail Sadoveanu, "the maestro," as he is called).

All these elements are obviously meant to powerfully reinforce the translator's authority and shamelessly advertise his other writings when, in point of fact, his translations from Wilde show he only had a scanty knowledge of English, and even if he resorted to a French intermediate version (as shown in the *Note şi lămuriri* [Notes and Explanations] section of the 1946 edition), the result only shows his French was not very good either. In short, Stamatiad's paratext is a far too overwrought presentation for such a modest achievement as his translations from Wilde.

Stamatiad seems very much at ease with "the cynical charge of self-promotion" (Venuti, 2003: 257), being, in Paloposki's (2015) words, an efficient, *avant-la-lettre* "extratextual agent". There are therefore at least three facts which point to the similarity between Stamatiad's book and a *terraced house*:

- he dedicated the translated texts to influential people of the time, in carefully wrought out cameos which separate the parts (terraced houses are rows of adjoining buildings, with each building having a wall built at every line of juncture);
- he repeatedly enlarged and revised the volume (terraced houses are often built that way, gradually, out of necessity);
- he paid equal attention to the front and the back cover (terraced buildings usually have a front façade and a rear façade).

What is more, Stamatiad's "front façade" (as it were) has an impactful "cornice": the fact that the front cover spotlights the translator's name, which is placed before the author's, on top of the page (as if it were a privilege for Wilde to have been translated by such a luminary as Stamatiad pretended to be) reminds one of the *tympanum* (from Greek and Latin words meaning "drum"), the semi-circular or triangular decorative wall surface placed over an entrance, often containing pedimental sculpture, imagery or (plasterwork) ornamentation. Beating the drum for the translator was probably necessary, to make up for the quality of the translation, yet this is a good example of excessive (undeserved) visibility on the part of the translator.

1967: Ticu Archip/ Vladimir Colin

The second edition of Ticu Archip's *Prinţul fericit şi alte poveşti* [The Happy Prince and Other Stories], was published in 1967 (Editura Tineretului, Bucharest), with black-and-white illustrations by Angi Petrescu-Tipărescu. The Happy Prince's unhappy, haunting face covers the entire first cover (B5 format). A first version had come out in 1960, with no preface and no illustrations.

The 1967 preface (5-8) signed by Vladimir Colin (1921-1991), a well-known children's author as well as science fiction and fantasy writer, begins very cheerfully, as it (initially) addresses children: "I am glad, dear children, that you will read Oscar Wilde's famous tales."[83] Soon after, the tone changes, as Colin reveals that neither the Happy Prince, nor Wilde, was ever happy, and we realize he suddenly stopped addressing children.

The preface relies on bio-bibliographical data: we are given Oscar Wilde's full name (Oscar Fingel [sic!] O'Flahertie Wills Wilde) and a few details of his life (such as being framed by enemies and ending in prison for two years). After enumerating a few other works by Wilde (*A Woman of No Importance*, *An Ideal Husband*, *The Portrait of Dorian Gray*, *A House of Pomegranates*, and *The Soul of Man under Socialism* – in this particular order), Colin proceeds to glorify socialist values, while vituperating Wilde's characters (even the Happy Prince, for his behaviour which mirrors the author's misconception that philanthropy can make the world a better place). The awfully propagandistic final conclusion comes as a mild shock:

> "The great merit of Oscar Wilde's tales is that they make us better realize the happiness of living in a world that is free from millers, chamberlains, councillors of the kind that decide the melting of the statue of the Happy Prince, in other words the happiness of living in socialism." (Colin, in Wilde, 1967: 7)[84]

Colin's preface perfectly illustrates the subtle yet tremendous role paratext plays: "a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text." (Lejeune, 1975: 45) It is like a *parergon*/ frame employed to "frame" readers (either into "socialist values" or into growing tired of them). On the one hand, perhaps the only way to have Wilde's subversive texts printed in Romania in the 1960s was by patching them up with equally subversive paratexts. On the other hand, this edition appeared at a time (1955-1970) described in terms of "ouverture controlée" [controlled opening] (Popa, 2010), and „multilateralitate şi echilibru" [multilaterality and

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[83] The original text: „Mă bucur, copii, că veţi citi vestitele poveşti ale lui Oscar Wilde".

[84] The original text: „Marele merit al poveştilor lui Oscar Wilde e acela de a ne face să preţuim fericirea de a trăi în lumea scăpată de morari, de şambelani, de consilieri de teapa celor ce hotărăsc să topească statuia Prinţului Fericit, fericirea de a trăi în socialism.".

balance] (Pruteanu, 1984 – referring to 1965-1984); instead, the ideological gap between text and paratext makes us believe otherwise.

Though blatantly dogmatic and clearly normative, Colin's (para)text is probably too far-fetched to be entirely believable. Not everything is as straightforward as it seems, half-hidden meanings lurk around every corner and paragraph. Like a *cryptoportico,* a semi-subterranean gallery which characterized the ancient Roman palazzo, designed to provide shade or used for storage of perishables, this preface might have been written to shelter Wilde's tales from the blade of censorship.

2000: Agop Bezerian

After 1989, and probably even more so after 2000, the translators' involvement in the paratextual side of their translations (along with their visibility) has significantly progressed. The bilingual volume *The Happy Prince and Other Tales/ Prinţul fericit şi alte povestiri* was published by Vestala in Bucharest in 2000, with illustrations by Liliana Jigău, a painter and freelance illustrator from Chişinău [Kishinev] (Moldova). This edition coordinated by Agop Bezerian contains all five stories in *The Happy Prince and Other Tales* (*Prinţul cel Fericit/ The Happy Prince*, *Privighetoarea şi Trandafirul/ The Nightingale and the Rose*, *Uriaşul cel Egoist/ The Selfish Giant*, *Prietenul cel Credincios/ The Devoted Friend*, and *Nemaipomenita Rachetă/ The Remarkable Rocket*). The sizeable paratext is made up of an Introduction, a text on Oscar Wilde, a bio-bibliographical sketch of Oscar Wilde and a "Vocabulary" list, with each tale being followed by a section of *Expresii şi sintagme* [Expressions and Syntagms]. On the fourth cover of the book, a few lines are meant to persuade the reader of the difficulty of Wilde's text, presented as a touchstone for any translator, but at the same time one of the best ways one could improve one's English.

In the line of the "confession booth" preface Feltrin-Morris (2016) speaks about, the introduction insists upon the "extreme" degree of difficulty Wilde poses in translation. The translator/ editor then proceeds to justify his option for a bilingual edition, meant as a working instrument for pupils and as a guide for literary translators. The text on Oscar Wilde details upon the author's origins (his father's medical profession, the 1864 accusation of indecent assault, and his mother's literary career), his colourful outfits, the over 80 conferences in USA and Canada, his marriage to Constance Lloyd, his job as a reviewer at the *Pall Mall Gazette*, his plays, his relationship with lord Alfred Douglas, his arrest and conviction, his exile in France (under the name Sebastian Melmoth), *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*, *De Profundis*, his death and burial in Père Lachaise, and his legacy to posterity (charm, humour, sensitivity, erudition, irony, and style). Bezerian also raises the issue of the target public of Wilde's tales, underlining that they should be taken as cautionary stories for grown-ups rather than as children's tales.

Unfortunately, the paratextual apparatus is not entirely useful (didactically speaking), nor is it fully practical: the section of *Expresii şi sintagme* [Expressions and Syntagms] is not necessarily a relevant selection of phrases (for instance, "the King's son was going to be married," or "but it is no matter now," or "then, he put on his hat," etc., phrases that are not illustrative of Wilde's style and could very easily be found in any dictionary).

The highly informative, all-pervasive paratext, designed specifically for didactic (and mercantile) purposes, resembles a *stoa* – "a long open building, its roof supported by one or more rows of columns parallel to the rear wall [...] which surrounded marketplaces and formed places of business and public promenade" (*Chisholm, 1911, n.p.). Stoae were the places where* Stoics gathered, taught and discussed their philosophy (Bezerian's edition, too, offers quite a lot to incite reflection on translation philosophy).

2015: Laura Poantă

Laura Poantă's 2015 version contains all nine of Wilde's tales gathered under the title of the first tale (*Prinţul fericit* [The Happy Prince]), but separately, some of the stories had been printed before (in 2003 and 2004, in bilingual editions). The large-format book (20 x 26 cm) with a glossy cover, in a cold shade of green, was issued by Paralela 45 (Piteşti). The colophon provides information regarding the book, including the originals which were used for the translation and the illustrations: drawings by Charles Robinson (1870-1937) and Jessie M. King (1875-1949) – something of a novelty, as none of the previous versions included such information.

There is also a two-page "Translator's Note" which first presents the author of the tales as a major Irish playwright whose intelligence, nonconformism, irony, humour, and permanent search for beauty are as obvious in his children's tales as in anything else he ever wrote. The foreword also draws attention to the double addressee of the nine tales originally making up two separate volumes, and to their fable quality. In the latter part of the text, the translator complains upon the difficulties she encountered in transposing Wilde's text into Romanian. The main challenges she mentions are Wilde's lush descriptions, the affected turns of phrase, the abundance of names of jewels, precious stones, furniture or fashion items, and other various linguistic traps. The translator justifies her choices (avoiding neologisms and using instead old-fashioned words, without being overly archaic) and expresses her concern about having somehow betrayed the original text as well as her hope that readers of all ages will enjoy reading her version of Wilde's tales. Again, the translator's paratext functions as a "confession booth" but equally as a "bunker".

While we can speak of a slightly ingratiating trait of the "Translator's Note", we also need to be aware of the fact that historically, as stated by Theo Hermans, "[p]refaces and dedications tend to a posture of self-deprecation and to understating the translator's personal sense of achievement" (Hermans, 1993: 96). An essentially *explanatory* (in Rodica Dimitriu's terms) preface, Laura Poantă's text functions like a bonafide *portico* (a colonnaded porch or roofed entrance to an ancient Greek temple) to her splendid translation of Wilde's fairy-tales.

2018: Magda Teodorescu

Included in the collection „Clasicii Literaturii Universale" [World Literature Classics], Magda Teodorescu's translation is accompanied by a preface, a "chronological table" and footnotes, all of which being the translator's allographic contributions.

The preface, entitled so as to paraphrase one of Wilde's most successful plays (in Romania, at least), namely „Importanţa de a fi copil" [The Importance of Being a Child], is a 16-page long text which begins with a rhetorical question on the virtual (im)possibility that a dandy such as Wilde, who advocated artificiality above anything else, should have ever written fairy tales. It then indicates his main incentives and sources of inspiration: William Morris' The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs, the Celtic legends gathered by Wilde's father, the Grimms' fairy tales, Andersen, Greek and Norse mythology, the Bible etc.

The translator/ editor also presents the context in which The Happy Prince and Other Tales was created and published, with Wilde begging for his old mentor John Ruskin's approval. An extract from a letter Wilde sent to Amélie Rives Chanler shows that Wilde meant his stories to be read by children and (childlike) men alike, from 18 to 80 years old. Teodorescu then offers a wide range of clues on how to interpret the tales, some of which in relation to the author's biography.

By far, the most academic of all prefaces ever written to Wilde's tales in Romanian translation, this paratext analyses each tale with competence and charm. Vulgar factuality (*The Happy Prince*), reverse utopia (*The Selfish Giant*), and Victorian manners (*The Devoted Friend*) are but a few concepts she juggles with, in trying to guide a mature, cultured target public. Various interesting details taken from *De Profundis şi alte scrisori* [De Profundis and Other Letters], which Teodorescu translated in 2003, are put to good account in this preface. The genesis of *A House of Pomegranates* is also discussed, along with the symbolism of the pomegranate, which serves as a unifying metaphor tying up all the stories in the volume.

A thorough and well-documented study of Wilde's works, the preface also contains some explanations for this or that translational choice (for example, the fact that she chose *Copilul-din-Stea* [The Child from a Star] to render *The Star-Child*, rather than the well-established *Copilul Stelelor* [The Stars' Child]) – which means it equally functions as a demarcation zone. The translator uses her persuasive skills to engage in the battle of defending whatever path she took in order to break away with traditional solutions.

Oscar Wilde's life and works are discussed in another text, which presents significant events in the author's biography (the year of birth, his studies, his first poems, his USA conferences, his marriage to Constance Lloyd, the birth of his sons, his activity at the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the publication of the tales and of his only novel, his imprisonment, self-exile and ultimately death).

Magda Teodorescu's paratext could be likened to a foyer (an intermediate area between the exterior and interior of a theatre or an opera house). Three types of foyers were apparently to be found in older French opera houses: one for the public, another for the ballet, and yet another for the singers. The foyers (see the Latin etymology: *focus* – "fire, domestic hearth") *were the only rooms where people gathered to warm up between the acts.* The great amount of information gathered and synthesized by Teodorescu is also bound to warm the reader up.

Concluding Remarks

Table 1 below presents synoptically the functions fulfilled by the paratexts of the six editions of Wilde's tales we analysed.

Year	**Translator**	**Functions of the Paratext/ Original Preface (as suggested[85] by G. Genette, 1997)**	**Functions of Translators' Prefaces (as pointed out by R. Dimitriu, 2009)**	**Architectural Metaphor**	**Bolstering [+]/ Undermining [-] Translation Authority**
1911	Dimitrie Anghel	indicative/ denotative + persuasive	normative/ prescriptive	granny flat, saltbox house, addorsed elements	**[-]**
1937	Al.T. Stamatiad	persuasive	normative/ prescriptive	terraced building (front façade, rear	**[+]**

[85] While these terms may not have been used as such in the English translation of Genette's *Seuils* (1997), we use them so as to mirror Rodica Dimitriu's 2009 terms. We thus employ *indicative/ denotative* for the function which deals with designating and identifying, *descriptive* (for describing the work, content, and genre), and *persuasive* (for luring the reader into reading more).

				façade), tympanum	
1967	Ticu Archip	descriptive/ connotative + persuasive	normative + informative	cryptoportico	**[-]**
2000	Agop Bezerian	indicative/ denotative + descriptive/ connotative + persuasive	explanatory + informative	stoa	**[+]/ [-]**
2015	Laura Poantă	indicative/ denotative + persuasive	explanatory	portico	**[+]/ [-]**
2018	Magda Teodorescu	indicative denotative + descriptive/ connotative	informative	foyer	**[+]**

Table 1. The Paratext of Oscar Wilde's Tales in Romanian: Functions and Metaphors

As can be seen, the function of the *parergon*/ paratext relating to the translation of Wilde's fairy tales got more and more complex as the years went by. The *parergon* of the earlier books under discussion seems to engulf the text; separate peritextual pieces, are sometimes artificially glued to the main text/ building, as in the case of the granny flat or saltbox house (see the 1911 edition of Wilde's tales), often undermining the stability of the whole. By contrast, the more recent versions display their paratextual sides in a complementary (not strictly decorative) sense (see the 2015 and 2018 editions, and the analogy with the functional, aesthetic, yet optional portico and foyer, respectively).

The translators' visibility also changed from strictly textual (1911, 1967) to paratextual (2000, 2015, 2018) and sometimes also extratextual agency (1937, and 2000, in part). If during the first decades of the twentieth century, the writers-translators used their symbolic capital to persuade readers, nowadays, even if translation continues to be a side activity, translators have taken important steps towards professionalisation.

In the 1911 and 1967 editions analysed here, the *parergon*/ paratext vigorously undermined the authority of the translated text (implicitly, too, the authority of the translator as an agent who facilitates the reception of a text into a given target culture).

The 1937 edition is paradoxical, in that it decorously (if overstated) puts a spotlight on the figure of the translator (namely, Al.T. Stamatiad), but in doing so, it actually helps validate a text which is nothing short of worthless. It is not the fact that Stamatiad's text was translated via French which counts (after all, direct and indirect translations of one and the same text were still in competition on the Romanian book market up until the 1940s); it has to do with the quality of Stamatiad's translation as a (literary) text in itself. As a matter of fact, in a review of Stamatiad's 1937 translation, literary critic Romulus Demetrescu found many of Stamatiad's translatorial choices "intolerable," "too stylized," and "inexact" (Demetrescu, 1938: 141, translation mine).

The 2000 Romanian version of Wilde's tales pays homage (be it somehow clumsily) to the difficult task fulfilled by a translator/ editor, whereas the 2015 and 2018 editions testify to the tremendous evolution over the years of the translator's status and agency from subservience to assertiveness.

There is also a clear progression of the *parergon*/ paratext from prescriptiveness and indoctrination to informativeness, and, as the analogy with architecture was meant to illustrate, there is balance in the relation between text and paratext in the more recent versions, unlike in the older ones. Far from being purely ornamental or downright (ideologically) destructive, their *parergon*/ paratext is a true keystone, locking all the textual "stones" into position.

If, before 1989, allographic prefaces only rarely referred to translations or translators, after the 1990s, translators started to take charge of prefaces, to grab hold of the paratext. They are no longer translators only, but often editors as well. And although, in doing so, they contribute to demystifying the "illusion of transparency" (Venuti, 1995), and to further destabilizing liminal spaces, it was high time they made their voices heard after a rather long period of silence.

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TRANSLATING ACRONYMS OF "DESIGNATED SURVIVOR" INTO ROMANIAN

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Abstract: *The present article is based on research focusing on acronyms, including their forms, spelling and punctuation in English, also discussing various, often contradictory, or ambiguous definitions for so-called "minor" word-formation options. We try to argue for a more lenient definition of abbreviations, acronyms, initialisms and alphabetisms, directing our attention towards certain technical features of acronyms (uppercase letters, with or without periods). The research database is taken from a popular TV series, "Designated Survivor", resulting in 276 unique acronyms, totaling 1,198 occurrences, which includes acronyms of 2 to 9 letters combined with numbers and specific symbols (hyphens and ampersand), and excludes common ones (DJ, TV) and Roman numbers (II, III, XIII). The most frequent English acronyms with at least 5 occurrences are considered (856), out of which the most popular 15 ones (a total of 664) are examined together with all their Romanian renditions. The conclusion section summarizes the findings, considering the aspect of "slippery" quality, yet interpreting the results from the perspective of overall consistency.*
Keywords: acronyms; subtitle; consistency; English; Romanian.

Introduction

Although the pandemic has been generally bad for worldwide economy, a certain area of mass media entertainment has been able to preserve its popularity, namely film industry. Home office resulted in more binge watching and videogame time, hence audiovisual translation keeps many practitioners busy. As a result, "[e]very day, we are exposed to subtitles in many different forms and formats" (Szarkowska, Díaz Cintas, and Gerber-Morón, 2021: 661), the authors having in mind both intra- and interlingual subtitling.

While there are countless studies on major linguistic aspects of translation and subtitling, we are interested in certain less productive word-formation processes, namely *acronyms* and *initialisms*, which is justified by their constant growth. The topicality of studying these specific shortened forms is elaborated by Bloom, who explains that "[t]wenty-first century language will change to reflect the demands of society and science", and electronic communication, has resulted in "a proliferation of initialisms"

(Bloom, 2000: 3). To put this into perspective, it is worth mentioning a study focusing on journal titles and abstracts, stating that "the proportion of acronyms in titles increased from 0.7 per 100 words in 1950 to 2.4 per 100 words in 2019" and "the proportion of acronyms in abstracts also increased, from 0.4 per 100 words in 1956 to 4.1 per 100 words in 2019" (Barnett and Doubleday, 2020: 1). Nevertheless, frequency corpuses typically underrate the frequency of acronyms (Izura and Playfoot, 2012: 869), and thus the importance of translating acronyms is also underrated.

Our starting point is that acronyms are inevitable in subtitles, as translators have to render the source language text, which typically contains acronyms (whatever the topic), as subtitle providers have long discovered the importance of compression on screen.

Even if the number of admitted characters per line has increased recently from 35 to 42 (Szarkowska et al., 2021: 664) due to popular streaming and subtitling services and software, little attention is paid to the 'super-compressed' initialisms, whose translation – in the overwhelming cases – is either doomed to a huge increase in number of characters (explicitation) or failure in rendering their meaning properly (i.e., borrowed terms). The problem has been signaled in various forms since the end of the 20th century, as Cannon (1989: 104–5) mentions that "[i]n just 75 years, the number of initialisms in numerous languages worldwide has exploded from tens of thousands to perhaps 800,000 recorded in dictionaries, besides those that are still unrecorded". This is possible, because acronyms are "part of our everyday vocabulary" (Izura and Playfoot 2012: 862), hence we witness the "emergence of a significant number of new acronyms" (Kuzmina, Fominykh, and Abrosimova, 2015: 549). However, a more detailed reasoning is described by Mattiello:

> "There are two main reasons for their proliferation. One of these, accounting especially for the use of acronyms and initialisms, is the need for a more efficient vocabulary in technical sectors, such as medicine, politics, law, and commerce… advances in computer science and technology brought with them a constant stream of new concepts and terms, the practice of abbreviating words (CAE 'Computer-Aided Engineering', DOS, HTML, mms) became increasingly convenient. The use of alphabetisms has been further popularised with the emergence of Short Message Service – itself an initialism (sms) – giving birth to neologisms". (Mattiello, 2013: 64)

This explanation may be completed with the 'faster lifestyle', leading to the previously mentioned rise in number of characters per line. The need to "conform to space limitations" (Soyer, 2018: 589) or "save time and space" (Ribes, Aranda, and Giba, 2010: 269) especially in "the scientific and medical communities… technical manuals and reports" (Mancuso, 1987: 124) is so prevalent now that the popularity of certain initialisms (e.g., *US, MIT*) has long "superseded the full forms" (Cannon, 1989: 103).

However, the phenomenon is not without issues. As Baue (2002: 486) explains, "[n]ow we are faced with a world of abbreviations, acronyms, aphorisms, euphemisms, and trite expressions that can be confusing and imprecise". The confusion may stem from the author's carelessness or overestimation regarding the potential readers' competence in deciphering acronyms: "they can confuse and alienate unfamiliar audiences, and even well-intentioned writers and speakers may overestimate an audience's familiarity with abbreviations" (Hales, Williams, and Rector, 2017: 22), and "some consider[ed] universally known may be obscure to others" (Ribes et al., 2010: 269–70), not to mention that certain acronyms are unknown among experts as well (Dróth, 2008: 24–25).

Taking all this into consideration, the conclusion is logical: reading a text full of acronyms becomes "unpleasant and even more difficult" (Soyer, 2018: 589) to which we should also add ambiguity: "the smaller the number of characters is, the more frequent ambiguity is" (Kuzmina et al., 2015: 551), well documented by (online) dictionaries, databases, glossaries and lists of acronyms. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the "nomenclature of biology, chemistry, physics and medicine expands daily, far more quickly than dictionaries are edited", thus the number of entries in "[s]cientific and technical dictionaries now rival traditional vocabulary dictionaries" (Bloom, 2000: 2). Still, the number of acronyms listed is only a fraction of the 'full repertoire', as they come into being at a pace that not even online sources can retain them, while some listed ones are already out of use. This is amply presented by Sánchez and Isern (2011: 312), who conclude that "it is very difficult to construct a general and up-to-date database of acronym-definition repository". Acronyms used in texts almost always require disambiguation (Jacobs, Itai, and Wintner, 2018: 527), which is "critical to the proper understanding of various types of texts" (HaCohen-Kerner, Kass, and Peretz, 013: 2133).

A quick search on ambiguous acronyms revealed that longer acronyms are less ambiguous than shorter ones: "AA stands for 266 definitions, AAA for 162, AAAA for 31, AAAAA for 5 and AAAAAA for 1, according to Acronym Finder" (Sánchez and Isern, 2011: 323), while a decade later the same webpage (*Find out what any acronym, abbreviation, or initialism stands for*, https: //www.acronymfinder.com/, January 30, 2022) offers 308 definitions for AA, 222 for AAA, 48 for AAAA, 6 for AAAAA and still 1 for AAAAAA. Seeing these numbers, it is easy to understand why Begg (2017, 261) mentions "epidemic", and the created acronyms are "likely to be meaningless, often ambiguous, sometimes unpronounceable, and ugly instead of euphonic" (Cannon, 1989: 103–4). The logical conclusion of these remarks is simple: "their overuse is to be avoided" (Panajotu, 2010: 165), although the author acknowledges on the same page that this is hardly tenable, as "standard communication… in nearly all fields of military English, e.g., air traffic control, consists mostly of an extensive use of abbreviations", which may be used effectively even by non-native speakers of English.

Definitions of shortened forms of words

Before presenting our research, discussing certain definitions is vital, such as *acronym, initialism,* and *abbreviation*. While these terms have already been used in our text, the quotes taken were carefully selected not to cause unnecessary confusion. Yet, many scholars highlight the unhappy state of these overlapping terms connected to the traditionally less productive word-formation options. As it is impossible to cover the entire literature, we will try to offer relevant definitions.

The starting point is that "scholars have defined these shortened or contracted forms of words and phrases in different ways" (Callegaro et al., 2019: 49), so they are "ambiguously labelled", resulting in "confusion, overlap and inconsistency" (López Rúa, 2004: 128). This inconsistency also includes that they are mixed with other 'satellite' terms considered either superordinate or subordinate, and sometimes used as synonyms: *shortening, truncation, alphabetism, clipping, blend* and even *contraction*, all belonging to "other types of word formation" (Carter and McCarthy, 2006: 482).

As for *abbreviations*, Kasprowicz (2010) highlights the fact that this term triggers "two parallel concepts", as it may refer to a more general "word formation process" (Cannon, 1989: 106), referring to all types of shortenings, and a concrete process (e.g., *p.* ← *page*).

On the one hand, it is the synonym of "shortened form and refers to basically everything that is a shorter form". Thus, there are scholars who use it as a "general term" (Cintas and Remael, 2020: 137) or "umbrella term" (Hales et al., 2017: 22) for *clippings, acronyms, initialisms* (Mattiello, 2013: 65), *shortenings* (Kortmann, 2020: 69), *blends* (Carter and McCarthy, 2006: 482), *contractions* (Cintas and Remael, 2020: 137) (Soyer, 2018: 589) (Cannon, 1989: 106) or *truncation* (Canon, 2016: 11). Indeed, all these word formation processes have one important common denominator: they use "less space than the word or phrase it replaces" (Cintas and Remael, 2020: 137).

On the other hand, the dictionary definition of *abbreviation* states that it is perceived as "a reduced form" or "a shortened form of a word, phrase, or symbol" (Trumble and Stevenson, 2002: 3), referring to "a shortened form of a word or a group of words" (Thomas, 2021: 467) or simply "a shortened form of a term" (Soyer, 2018: 589), out of which the first letters are preserved (CE, 2014: 19). Actually, we tend to think that the "misunderstanding and chaos in nomenclature" (Kasprowicz, 2010) stem from these permissive definitions, as the first letter or letter**s** ("one or several letters", Cintas and Remael, 2020: 137), and dictionaries add to this misunderstanding by exemplifying acronyms or initialisms with the label "abbreviation" (*BBQ, BC, FBI* or *FCC* in Trumble & Stevenson, 2002: 199, 933). The result is obvious: confusion about the relationship between these terms, which one is the "superordinate" or "subordinate term" (Mattiello, 2013: 65, Cannon, 1989: 107). However, it is sure that acronyms should be separated from abbreviations (Koelsch, 2016: 78, Kasprowicz, 2010).

The term *acronym*, "has remained maddeningly ill-defined for its entire existence" (Zimmer, 2010), or since it "was coined" (López Rúa, 2004: 110), partially due to imprecise definitions formulated in dictionaries and mainstream grammar books: "Like abbreviations, some acronyms are written with upper-case letters, others with lower case – and again some can be written in either way" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 1634). The term may refer to both acronyms and initialisms – as they share similar graphical features (only uppercase letters) –, most scholars agree that acronyms are pronounceable as a word (Hales et al., 2017: 22, Barnett and Doubleday, 2020: 4, HaCohen-Kerner et al., 2013: 2133, Zimmer, 2010), exemplified by *SIM, RAM,* or *FEMA*. More controversial definitions accept the combination of uppercase letters with numbers or signs and symbols (e.g., hyphen or ampersand), while others accept even combinations of uppercase and lowercase letters, as acronyms "are generally" characterized by uppercase letters (Ribes et al., 2010: 271, Cannon, 1989: 109).

The term *initialism* (Ro. *siglă,* Sp. *sigla)* is used for initial letters substituting the individual words (Bloom, 2000: 2), and the resulting (uppercase) letters should be "pronounced as separate letters" (Thomas, 2021: 467), not as a single word. However, these features are also controversial, as definitions of initialism may refer to either the very first letter of each word or (some of) the first letters (Zandrahimi and Afzoon, 2017: 193). Explanations may underline the importance of always capitalized spelling (Mancuso, 1987: 124, Hales et al., 2017: 22, CE, 2014: 18, *Dicționarul ortografic, ortoepic și morfologic al limbii române,* 2005: XLIII), but they typically include examples with mixed letters as well (e.g., sciences *kWh, MHz*). Moreover, there are cases when initialisms are accepted with exclusively lowercase letters as well (Thomas, 2021: 469), which are so common today that people hardly think of them as initialisms or acronyms (e.g., *laser*).

Yet, there are views that the uppercase letters signal that we are faced with an acronym or initialism (Bíró, 2007: 425), but to make matters worse, instead of disambiguation, a new term was introduced for clarifying this, namely *alphabetism*. This term only complicated the issue, as it was defined to be the superordinate term for both acronyms and initialisms (Quirk et al., 1985, López Rúa, 2002: 33, López Rúa, 2004: 117, Mattiello, 2013: 67, 82, Scarpa, 2020: 66), as it is "typically formed by taking the initial letters of the source words" (Kortmann, 2020: 69). In our view, this definition does not help substantially either in differentiating the previous terms or in convincing us that it may be used as a hypernym for them.

Technical remarks: uppercase letters, periods, space

Other distinguishing feature of both acronyms and initialisms is the lack of spaces and periods between the uppercase letters (Mancuso, 1987: 124, Cannon, 1989: 109, Bloom, 2000: 2, CE, 2014: 19, Thomas, 2021: 467), suggesting that "it is now a more direct part of the vocabulary" (Cannon, 1989: 111), while others explain this with contributing to a "cleaner typography" (Cintas and Remael, 2020: 138).

Unfortunately, lack of spaces and periods is not controversial either. For instance, military English is "not regulated" in this respect, and "[t]he latest trend is to introduce periods" (Panajotu, 2010: 164), although the same author acknowledges that "it is extremely difficult to change or modify a way of spelling already embedded in modem use". Another disturbing view is when acronyms and initialisms are distinguished based on the presence or lack of periods, arguing that initialisms "can have dots", or a much worse conclusion is that "four different spellings are also possible" (Mattiello, 2013: 83, HaCohen-Kerner, Kass, and Peretz, 2004: 59), having in mind uppercase letters (no periods, no spaces), uppercase letters (periods, no spaces), only first letter uppercase followed by lowercase letters (as a word), or fully lowercase letters in a single word.

As the more definitions are considered the greater the confusion, we will try to rely on more technical descriptions. In fact, there have been attempts to define acronym as "a word in which half or more of the characters are upper case letters" (Barnett and Doubleday, 2020: 1), or as "consisting of an uppercase letter, followed by 1–4 more uppercase letters, or by the & character and by a single uppercase letter" (Dannewitz Linder, 2016: 253). As for length, scholars "many authors establish a minimum length of 2–3 characters and a maximum of 9–10" (Sánchez and Isern, 2011: 313), although it may contain only one uppercase (Park and Byrd, 2001: 127), but usually rarely "more than 5 letters", and the most examples contain 3 letters (Yeates, 1999). In this respect, our decision was to include acronyms with two letters as well, as they might seem relevant, because "[t]hree-character acronyms are more common than two-character acronyms and four-character acronyms in both titles and abstracts" (Barnett & Doubleday, 2020: 2). Yet, it is important to remember that many scholars disregard two-letter acronyms (Callegaro et al., 2019: 55, Zahariev, 2004: 368, Cannon, 1989: 113, Izura and Playfoot,2012: 870).

Although we agree that this way the origin of the term becomes irrelevant, we also accept that there are cases when it is much more important the meaning and use of the resulting term than its labeling.

First, we accept that *abbreviation* may encapsulate all cases when the resulting term is shorter than the original, including *abbreviation*, *shortening*, *truncation*, *contraction*, *blend*, *clipping*, *acronym*, *initialism* and *alphabetism*. Secondly, based on technical descriptions, we use the term *acronym* for all cases when at least two uppercase letters contribute to the term, enabling us to recognize instances as different from regular words, and disregard the inconclusive differences between *acronym*, *initialism* or *alphabetism* presented earlier. Thirdly, the possibility for other word formation options to be listed among *acronyms* is preserved in case they contain at least two uppercase letters. As such, we are not interested in the origins of the acronym, and a so-called set of 'fuzzy categories' are favored (prototype theory, Rosch, 1975, Lakoff, 1987) with salient and less central examples for each word formation possibility. We have opted for these lenient rules for two main reasons. First, too strict ones will always generate sub-classes of exceptions. Secondly, a single uppercase letter is not enough to emerge from a text, as sentences typically start with an initial uppercased letter. Hence, we need at least a string of two uppercase letters with or without spaces and periods between them, and the two uppercase letters may be joined by a hyphen, en-dash, em-dash, or ampersand (Bloom, 2000: 1). Similarly, the string may be preceded or followed by numbers to visually excel among other words. This choice is close to Callegaro's rules, who also includes "capitalized abbreviations with at least two letters" and only "singular" forms, thus excluding instances with a final lowercase *s* (Callegaro et al., 2019: 54).

These "graphic abbreviations" of at least two uppercase letters (Mattiello, 2013: 72) warn the readers that they are special, condensed/compressed words, and their comprehension may need extra processing time. In our view, it is more important to decipher them correctly, both intra- and interlingually, thus the first stage is recognizing them (with the help of uppercases), followed by proper rendition. From this perspective, it is less important how we categorize them.

In conclusion, we will use the term *acronym* for all the previously mentioned acronyms, initialisms, alphabetisms or other word-formation processes that contain two uppercase letters in the arrangement described above.

Acronyms in "Designated Survivor"

Our research focuses on tracking all the acronyms in a rather popular American TV series entitled "Designated Survivor", a political thriller available on Netflix (https: //www.netflix.com/watch/80133832?trackId=13752289, January 30, 2022) with multiple subtitles (e.g., French, German, Romanian or Hungarian). The series received favorable ratings (*Designatet Survivor*, https: //www.rottentomatoes.com/tv/designated_survivor/s01 (87%), and https: //www.imdb.com/title/tt5296406/ (7.5), January 30, 2022), presenting the United States Secretary of Housing and Urban Development turning into the accidental President of the United States due to a terrorist attack. The series is among the best 200 Netflix series (*The 214 Best Netflix Series to Watch Right Now*, https://editorial.rottentomatoes.com/guide/best-netflix-shows-and-movies-to-binge-watch-now/, January 30, 2022) (#178, while "House of Cards" is #166, "Peaky Blinders" is #81, and "Money Heist" is #64).

The storyline builds on fictional events related to the political life of the USA, hence it involves the US government, military as well as more mundane issues, such as health and education. Thus, it amply offers acronyms of all types, predominantly connected to politics, government, administration, and military.

After having watched the entire series (3 seasons with 53 episodes, total running time around 2,400 minutes), we collected all the acronyms in the English transcript into an Excel file, followed by the Romanian acronyms. These were collected 'as is', which means that a few acronyms may be repeated, belonging to previous episodes (reminders of previous episodes).

As our definition of acronym is elaborated in the previous section, we only offer the statistics at this stage:

Designated Survivor (2016-2019), 53 episodes	**#**	**Frequency**
Unique values of English acronyms, except for the ignore list (*DJ*, *TV*, Roman numbers *II*, *III*, *XIII*)	276	5.21 new acronyms/episode (approx. one new in every 8')
Total occurrences	1,198	22.60 new acronyms/episode (approx. one in every 2')

TABLE 1. ACRONYM FREQUENCY

A more detailed breakdown justifies the predominance of three-letter acronyms, which is followed by two-letter acronyms, often ignored by researchers:

Unique	276	100%	Total	1,198	100%
2-letters	70	25.36%	2-letters	358	29.88%
3-letters	138	50.00%	3-letters	604	50.42%
4-letters	43	15.58%	4-letters	172	14.36%
5-letters	17	6.16%	5-letters	49	4.09%
6-letters	6	2.17%	6-letters	13	1.09%
7-letters	1	0.36%	7-letters	1	0.08%
8-letters	0	0.00%	8-letters	0	0.00%
9-letters	1	0.36%	9-letters	1	0.08%

TABLE 2. ACRONYM LENGTH IN "DESIGNATED SURVIVOR"

The data proves the insignificant number of acronyms with more than five letters; however, it is interesting to note that the only acronym with 9 letters (*ROSCOSMOS*) has 8 more occurrences with only an initial uppercase (*Roscosmos*, S02E12).

As scholars discuss the presence or absence of periods between letters, as well as other signs or symbols, the next table illustrates these findings:

Unique	276	100%	Total	1,198	100%
with period	26	9.42%	with period	127	10.60%
with &	3	0.25%	with &	8	0.67%
with #	13	1.09%	with #	15	1.25%

TABLE 3. ACRONYMS WITH PERIODS, SYMBOLS, AND NUMBERS

According to the table, around 10% of all occurrences contains periods, which proves the theory that periods tend to disappear in acronyms or acronym-like terms. Nevertheless, out of the 26 unique cases with periods 19 are also used without periods, which results in a disturbing inconsistency, as the choice seems to be made randomly, detailed in the next table:

Acronym	#	With periods	Without periods
U.S. – US	88	40	48
D.C. – DC	76	35	41
V.P. – VP	40	6	34
I.D. – ID	18	3	15
U.N. – UN	14	6	8
P.A. – PA	13	3	10
D.O.D. – DOD	10	2	8
C.E.O. – CEO	9	3	6
P.M.	**7**	**7**	**0**
U.S.S. – USS	7	2	5
I.V. – IV	4	2	2

D.A. – DA	3	2	1
M.E. – ME	3	1	2
R.P. – RP	3	1	2
S.U.V. –SUV	3	1	2
V.A. – VA	3	1	2
B.P.	**2**	**2**	**0**
C.O. – CO	2	1	1
C.T. – CT	2	1	1
O.R. – OR	2	1	1
P.D.	**2**	**2**	**0**
U.S.A. – USA	2	1	1
B.S.	**1**	**1**	**0**
M.I.A.	**1**	**1**	**0**
M.P.	**1**	**1**	**0**
P.R.	**1**	**1**	**0**
TOTAL	**317**	**127 (40%)**	**190 (60%)**

TABLE 4. ACRONYMS WITH(OUT) PERIODS

We have signaled in bold the entries with periods only, but entries with less than five occurrences are not to be considered relevant. It is visible that only *P.M.* is used consistently, which is the Latin abbreviation for indicating time (*post meridiem*, i.e., 'after 12 o'clock'). While scholars agree that Latin abbreviations are "traditionally spelled in small italicized letters, with dots in-between" (Kasprowicz, 2010), this is not the case, not to mention that various proofreading sites offer *PM*, *pm* or *p.m.* (Proofreading Academy, https: //www.proofreadingacademy.com/advice/writing-the-time-am-and-pm-or-a-m-and-p-m/), explaining that "[i]t is now rare to see periods placed after these abbreviations as in "A.M."; but in formal writing it is still preferable to capitalize them" (Morrison, https: //brians.wsu.edu/2016/05/16/am-pm/).

A final remark is the number of total occurrences per entry. Knowing that scholars include entries with at least three or more entries to be representative, we have opted for a minimum of five entries (Caon, 2016: 12, Jacobs et al., 2018: 522), as we deal with a TV series with many episodes. This means that we have counted 39 unique entries (14.13%) out of 276, resulting in 856 total entries (71.45%) out of 1,198 instances found. The 'top list' of most frequent entries will be discussed in the next section.

The Romanian rendition of English acronyms

The 15 most frequent English acronyms in "Designated Survivor" are categorized and discussed below:

Top	En.	#	Ro.	#
1	*FBI*	191	*FBI*	191
7	*CIA*	31	*CIA* [omitted]	30 1
10	*NASA*	26	*NASA*	26
13	*FDA*	17	*FDA*	17

TABLE 5.PURE BORROWING

The table contains four of the most popular acronyms, which were preserved throughout the Romanian subtitles of the series (pure borrowing). In these cases, no extra letters appear during translation, so omission was used only once. An interesting remark is that *FBI* already has suffixed versions in Romanian (*FBI-ul 'the FBI', FBI-ului 'to the FBI'*), which is typically a proof that it is on the way to be accepted in the standard Romanian vocabulary.

Top	En.	#	Ro. + backtranslation, remarks	#
2	*U.S. – US*	88	*SUA* [Ro. established equivalent] *american 'American'* *Statele Unite 'the United States'* [omitted]	56 15 1 15
4	*NATO*	42	*NATO* [Ro. established equivalent]	42
12	*DNA*	17	*ADN* [Ro. established equivalent]	17

TABLE 6. ESTABLISHED EQUIVALENTS

The next batch contains entries with established equivalents in Romanian, thus no whatsoever difficulty is observed in rendering them, except for the fact that omission is often observed in the case of *US*, as the context helps the viewers: *țară 'country', guvern 'government', procuror general 'district attorney', avocat 'attorney', sistem interstatal 'Interstatal system', Capitoliu 'Capitol', navă cargo 'cargo ship', bombardamente 'strikes', muncitori 'workers'* are easily placed in the proper situation.

Top	En.	#	Ro. + backtranslation, remarks	#
5	*V.P. – VP*	40	*vicepreședinte 'vice president'* [male] *vicepreședintă 'vice president'* [female] *vicepreședinție 'vice presidency'* [omitted]	25 1 5 9
8	*POTUS*	28	*președinte 'president'* *el 'he'* [omitted]	24 1 3

TABLE 7. VP AND POTUS

Although *VP* could have been a functional equivalent for *vice president* in Romanian, the translator(s) have never used this possibility, opting for the extended version (it is not rooted in the Romanian use). This method also enabled them to add the "feminizing inflectional suffix" (Jacobs et al., 2018: 521). As for the 'president', the successfully condensed American term is 'downgraded' to the general term, implying the US president. When omitted, the translators either give proof of creative interpretations, such as *post 'job', nominalizare 'nomination', candidatură 'candidacy'* (for *VP*), or make use of the Romanian grammar possibilities, such as the use of passive voice: *Ai fost desemnată… 'You've been appointed…'*.

However, a very smart omission was also detected, making use of the previously mentioned information about *POTUS:*

> *President Kirkman met with the leaders of the Congressional Black Caucus, and they threw their support behind the project…*
> *I gather you played a role in this.*
> *[chuckles] Guess I should've gotten mugged working for an important white dude years ago.*
> *It's kind of a good thing, no?*
> *I guess. If it's not just paying lip service to get the black vote.*
> ***You think POTUS would do that?***
> Ro. *Crezi că ar face așa ceva?*
> *'Do you think that (he) would do that?'*

The next table is proof of translation struggle: the translators alternate their methods (also labelled as procedure, strategy) by preserving the original term, localizing (e.g., *Washington*), offering synonymous terms (e.g., *pușcaș*) or giving proof of creative solutions in the case of *ID*. On the other hand, *DC* is preserved in addresses, company names (*DC United Gas*), or names of TV stations, signaled by indented characters in the Romanian subtitle (*DC News Daily, DC One*):

Top	**En.**	**#**	**Ro. + backtranslation**	**#**
3	*D.C. – DC*	76	*Washington* *Washington, DC* *capitală 'capital'* *DC* *poliția 'the police'* [omitted]	27 5 1 15 8 20
6	*SEAL*	33	*echipa SEAL 'the SEAL team'* *trupele SEAL 'the SEAL troops'* *pușcași marini 'the Marines'* *pușcaș 'Rifleman/Marines'* *SEAL* [omitted]	7 1 5 2 1 17
11	*I.D. – ID*	18	*identifica 'to identify'*	7

			identificare 'identification'	1
			confirmare 'confirmation'	1
			insignă 'badge'	1
			legitimație 'membership card'	2
			cont 'account'	1
			găsește 'to find'	1
			număr 'number'	1
			caută 'to search'	1

TABLE 8. MIXED APPROACHES

The last three acronyms are clear evidence for the difficulty of rendering acronyms in another language, thus we first discuss translation methods typically connected to acronyms, based on various scholars (Kuzmina et al., 2015: 552, Vid, 2016: 111, Dróth, 2008: 27, al-Qinai, 2007: 370, Cintas and Remael, 2020: 138, Hegyesi, 2008: 36, Al-Batineh, 2021: 50, Kasprowicz, 2010):

1. *borrowing* – with or without disambiguation; no disambiguation is needed in the case of globally known acronyms;
2. *transference* – the use of a "equivalent" acronym;
3. *transcription* – acronyms without correlative in the target language;
4. *descriptive translation* – when no target equivalent is available;
5. *transliteration* of proper names.

The last table displays a variety of methods, the translators visibly struggling with *NSA* and especially with *HUD*, as these are typically American-bound acronyms. Although it is noteworthy the fact that omission was hardly considered, the original terms lack consistency in Romanian. Fans of the series will inevitably spot these attempts, not to mention a dozen renditions for *HUD*, including two acronyms as well:

Top	En.	#	Ro. + backtranslation	#
9	*NSA*	27	*NSA*	16
			ANS (S02E17, S02E18) [created!]	2
			Agenția de Securitate 'Security Agency'	1
			Cel de la Securitate 'from the Security'	1
			Agenția Națională de Securitate	3
			'National Agency for/of Security'	1
			Agenția de Securitate Națională	1
			'National Security Agency'	2
			Servicii secrete 'Secret services'	
14	*HUD*	16	*Departamentul de Locuințe*	1
			Cei de la Locuințe	1
			LDU	3
			Locuințe și Dezvoltare Urbană	1
			LUD	1
			Ministerul Dezvoltării	1
			Ministerul Locuințelor	1

			ministru – *ministru la Locuințe* *ministrul de la Locuințe* *Ministrul Locuințelor* *ministrul Locuințelor și Dezvoltări Urbane.* *postul de la Ministerul Locuințelor* [omitted]	1 1 1 1 1 1 1
15	*CDC*	14	*CDC* *CCB*	8 6

The case of *HUD* is more than interesting, as on its very first occurrence (S01E01, 00: 23: 01,507), we have a very clear extension of the acronym:

> *Before being appointed Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, ... He ran HUD. They find affordable homes for people…*
> Ro. *Înainte să fie numit ministru al Locuințelor și Dezvoltării Urbane, … A condus LDU. Caută locuințe ieftine pentru populație,*

CDC only appears when health issues and epidemic are discussed, so the context may justify the pure borrowing of the American term, as Netflix viewers can stop the movie anytime and check up on the term. However, the consistency is lost when the Romanian acronym appears, which is not used whatsoever, even if based on the extended English version and re-created as an acronym. The closest equivalent we have found is *Centrul National de Supraveghere si Control al Bolilor Transmisibile* (*CNSCBT*, https://insp.gov.ro/centrul-national-de-supraveghere-si-control-al-bolilor-transmisibile-cnscbt/, January 31, 2022), which might be a functional equivalent instead of *CCB.*

A final remark is that the massive cumulation of acronyms is bewildering and frustrating (Begg 2017: 561), "alienating" and may "trigger feelings of ostracism" (Hales et al. 2017: 23), unless a possible joke is intended:

> S02E03, 00: 23: 54,099
> *Look, we have the CDC, HHS, NIH, FEMA--*
> *I don't think we can contain this with acronyms, Emily.*
> Ro.
> *Avem CCB, HHS, NIH, FEMA...*
> *Nu cred că-l putem opri cu acronime.*

Conclusions

We fully agree that "[q]uality is a slippery concept, notoriously difficult to define, pin down and measure" (Szarkowska et al., 2021: 662). As the authors admittedly take a "novel approach" by considering all stakeholders of a subtitle, we do not wish to offer subjective remarks on the quality of the Romanian rendition of the English acronyms, except for certain obvious and objective cases.

The most important one is consistency. Subtitlers should have in mind the specific feature of TV series, namely possibly repeating terms throughout multiple episodes, thus consistency in terminology is more than required for the sake of overall quality. Hence, we do not feel 'authorized' to discuss quality issues, except for cases of severe inconsistency listed below:

1. variation between the graphic image of acronyms, including both the source and target subtitles; while this is a clear issue of spelling, often with contradictory pieces of advice, a professional subtitler should unify them, irrespective of the source version(s);
2. we tend to think that creating new acronyms by the translator is hardly justified (the "burden" of the reader, (Bloom, 2000: 4)

To our surprise, the Romanian translators/subtitlers have not relied on omission very frequently, which is praiseworthy, knowing that "omissions are normally treated as errors" (Szarkowska et al., 2021: 663). Nevertheless, we should be more lenient with omissions in the case of acronyms, as they might be very troublesome in subtitles. In fact, there are few cases when the original acronym may be purely borrowed (e.g., due to globalization or Americanization, such as *FBI*, *CIA*, *NATO*, or *NASA*), and there is very little chance for the original acronym to have a similar (established) equivalent in the target language (*DNA*–*ADN*). The overwhelming majority of acronyms results in extended versions in the target language, when aiming at utmost comprehension. Therefore, the subtitling policy of main streaming service providers such as Netfix is important, as they establish certain standards, whether intended or not. If we accept that "good quality subtitles are those that allow viewers to understand the plot while comfortably following the onscreen action, without drawing unwarranted attention to themselves" (Szarkowska et al., 2021: 673), then acronyms should also fit in, without startling the viewer on seeing *hapax legomenon*-like terms.

Although we have monitored the combination of uppercase letters with hyphens and numbers, relatively few cases were detected: *AB-33* (2), *ABC7* (2), *AK-47* (1), *AR-15* (1), *GS-15* (1), *MiG-29KR* (1), *MI6* (1), *SB8180* (6), *SK1* (1), *SS-7* (1), *TWA 847* and *XL1200C* (1). None of them represents any translation challenge, thus it is worth considering their exclusion from further research.

While it is concluded that "the commissioner's style guides are systematically referred to by most professionals as their key reference document to achieve high-quality levels" (673), subtitlers should always have in mind intelligibility, and avoid "acronym diarrhea disorder (ADD)" (Begg, 2017: 561). Although mass media is responsible for many professional jargon acronyms turning to trivial (used in our everyday life, Rébék-Nagy, 2010: 196-97), few of them are actively known by the viewers. Therefore, advice on restricted acronym use is easy to find: extended words should replace 2-letter acronyms, acronyms difficult to read should be avoided or not used at all, similarly to those under three or five occurrences (Caon, 2016: 12, Soyer, 2018: 590), even if they may save a lot of character space in subtitles.

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INSTANCES OF (UN)TRANSLATABILITY IN ION CREANGĂ'S *AMINTIRI DIN COPILĂRIE/MEMORIES OF MY BOYHOOD*

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Abstract: *These days, writing about untranslatability may seem courageous, as more and more voices associate this issue with translation incapacity and, instead, advocate for creative remedies or even reject such an instance. This study does not deal with a contemporary novel, nor does it have to do with a powerful textual space. However, we believe that translation theories mainly focus on analyses of a certain category of languages, and raise questions of discrepancies between subordinate and dominant cultures, a tendency which derives from the proneness of the international publishing industry to favour certain languages and types of writing. We are not aiming for a debate around the subject of publishing politics or endeavours, but rather we try to cast some light on the ambitious project of rendering vernacular into a powerful language. This paper deals with the work of a great Moldavian storyteller who contributes significantly to the enhancement of expressiveness through linguistic characteristics that occur informally. We hypothesise that the vibrant vernacular writing "Memories of my boyhood" creates potential instances of untranslatability, due to significant differences between the Romanian variety and English, not necessarily in the linguistic inventory but rather in the cognitive structures of the readership. Therefore, the case study focuses on how source text and target text readers infer meaning from interjections and terms of address, originally belonging to the Moldavian modes of expression. Although the translators re-create these short utterances, due to a lack of a similar background from the part of the receiving culture, we witness a limitation on conveying their original intentionality, emotion and plethora of meanings.*
Keywords: untranslatability; vernacular; Ion Creangă; minor literature; pragmatic stylistics.

1. Introduction

Ion Creangă is one of the most distinguished Romanian classics and, even though his prose was very popular in the mid-twentieth century, his writings continue to be an important part in the academic curriculum taught in schools. Lately, some critics have started to reconsider his role in the mentality of our new generations and label him as an author from a distant era, one who belongs to a completely different cultural and historical horizon. However, despite these new-fangled observations, his remarkable style is still a window to understanding vernacular particularities and cannot be excluded from the Romanian literature evolution.

Creangă is the ideal rural narrator who fills his characters with spirit and creates a humorous regional style (Călinescu, 2001: 173). His writings reveal a lot of peasant lexicon and especially proverbs and sayings in a form of erudite refinement. The uniqueness of *Memories of My Boyhood* lies in the depiction of the Moldavian village life and traditional customs. Numerous countryside practices, childish pranks, religious beliefs, and teaching methods are brought to life while creating the symbolical picture of a peasant child's path toward maturity. Although the writer uses a vernacular language for presenting the reality, his approach is much stylized. If the rural narrator uses a limited number of means of expression, Creangă proceeds by accumulation, concentrating in a relatively limited space a diversity of means specific to the vernacular language: simplicity and syntactic uniformity, ellipsis, repetition, conciseness of expression and dramatization of the narrative (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, 1978: 561).

From a linguistic perspective, we should not consider Creangă's style dialectal, but vernacular, because he is a storyteller who obtains his material from country life and processes it like a peasant (Iordan, 1937: 71-72). The differences between dialect and vernacular lie in the phonetic and lexical nature of the language. The dialects of the Romanian language are territorial and have been separated from the common Romanian language, centuries ago, due to migration. The people who live on the Romanian territory speak the Daco-Romanian dialect. Vernacular is subordinated to the dialect and is characteristic to smaller regions. Every Romanian region: Moldavia, Wallachia, Banat, Maramureș, and Crișana, has its distinct vernacular language. The effect is that the expressions and words belonging to each of these rural environments are easy to understand by the inhabitants of any region of Romania.

The Moldavian author makes use of onomatopoeic words with a high degree of expressiveness that create outstanding and unique mental images through pronunciation. This language is enriched with idioms and fixed syntactic constructions engraved in the living memory of the Romanian people (Iordan, 1937: 73). The author's stylistic devices employ to the greatest possible advantage the rhythm of the speech. The breezy tone is unpredictable and suggestive, nurtured by all sorts of syntactic instruments, such as the stream of subordinate clauses, intensified with the help of adverbs and adverbial phrases (Tohăneanu, 1965: 454-455).

Memories of my boyhood was rendered into English by virtue of a joint effort from the part of the Romanian academic Ana Cartianu, and professor of Romance Philology and French Literature Ronald Carlyle Johnston. The translation was published in 1978, nearly a century after the original text, together with other stories and tales written by the Romanian author. In the foreword of the translated collection, the translators point out some of the challenges the peasant dialect poses in translation, an aspect which represents the starting point of our research. Among the lexical issues, the translators mention the names of agricultural tools, church service, religious rites, and superstitions. In looking for English equivalents, they mention the use of archaisms and dialectical words. However, footnotes have been used in the case of native words with no equivalent. Onomatopoeia and its relation to rhythm enhancement is also indicated as representing a chief problem. As for the Romanian proverbs and sayings, although they often have English corresponding forms, their meaning gets transferred to a different level. In the end, the translators conclude: "we have tried to preserve the spirit of the Romanian text, to give a translation easily accessible to the reader who cannot enjoy Creangă's incomparable art and tongue in the original" (Creangă, 1978: 7).

We should not disregard the individual experience of the Romanian author, as it is conspicuously manifested in his literary style. We speak of an author born and raised in an environment of illiterate peasants, at a time when priests struggled to convince people to send their children to school. He offers the experiences of a unique rural universe, in an absolutely exclusivist language. Few Romanian people who have not lived in the country understand all the forms in which this micro-culture is represented. This kind of specificity tends to increase the effort invested in understanding the text even for the Romanian readership, amplifying, therefore, the concept of untranslatability.

We aim to prove that the potential untranslatability, especially in the case of Ion Creangă's writing, captures more than just words; it refers to the utterly authentic language of a small community, with its particularities, pronunciation and syntactic errors, deriving from secular beliefs and practices. On several occasions, these delectable linguistic nuances cannot be rendered in the conventional form of the language of origin either, because Creangă is a specific type of peasant that writes in order to be listened to, and his prose makes use of the lively sprouts of speech, in order to gain brilliance and fully reveal its significance.

2. Critical aspects on the concept of untranslatability

The issue of untranslatability spurs interesting debates that carry philosophical views in the background. If, at the outset of translation theories, scholars offered a special status to the translation of literature, while making categorical statements in favour of untranslatability, nowadays the perspective is continuously evolving. Is it possible to have a universal theory that applies to every specific language and context? If we consider a case of untranslatability from one language into another, does that mean that the same would happen with every foreign language? Take, for instance, the Romanian word *mărțișor*, which refers to a small piece of ornament fastened to clothing and tied with a red and white braided thread, given as a gift to women and girls on the 1st of March, as a symbol of the spring arrival. This is an old custom specific to the Romanian territories, believed to have originated in the Dacian era. Thus, it is linked to social behavioural practices and deeply embedded in the Romanian people's lives, and, if it is to transfer it to a target language culture that has no similar background, it would be devoid of symbolism and feeling. However, in Bulgarian, Albanian or Macedonian, the word has a perfect equivalent, because the same cultural practice has been preserved by tradition. The question of untranslatability is thus very delicate, because, even if the word and its related custom can be explained, some readers may comprehend it more thoroughly than others. Could this mean that untranslatability should be considered from the perspective of readership, not from the point of view of the translators' interpretative competence? In the end, we should not disregard all three leading actors of the process: author – translator – reader.

Roman Jakobson was one of the first theorists to tackle the issue of untranslatability. He advanced the idea that "poetry by definition is untranslatable", because "the grammatical categories carry a high semantic import" and can only be creatively transposed (Jakobson, 1971: 265-266). But studies have shown that sometimes it is impossible to faithfully translate any literary text, simply because literature is a kind of emotional outburst that intertwines with the mental lexicon that each individual speaker possesses. This means language is not only dependent on grammatical patterns but it also carries semantic and pragmatic imports.

Untranslatability is an issue that appears due to TL linguistic obstacles and perceptual imbalances. The absence of interlinguistic correspondence is an index of the impossibility of translating. However, another common belief related to untranslatability is that it "begins in the source language", as a form of "a defensive attitude, in that it sanctifies the internal quirks and confusions of a language […] that may indeed be wonderful in the hands of a skilled speaker or writer, but hardly sacred" (Vinokur & Réjouis, 2018: 18). Indeed, the writings of the author selected for our research reveal a language devoted exclusively to the single use of the Romanian people. This language entails etymological layers, forms of orality and offers a window to the microcosm of traditional Moldavian life of the 19^{th} century.

Undoubtedly, creation is used in any act of translation, as translators mostly show their skills of interpretative choices (Venuti, 2008/1995: 13). Sometimes, it takes several attempts at finding the most suitable choice to transfer meaning, form and effects. Broadly speaking, some scholars argue against the very existence of untranslatability and describe the situation as a double-faced issue: "firstly, that the efforts that have been made to translate a passage so far do not constitute an adequate translation […]—but also, secondly, that no amount of further effort could ever produce one" (Large, 2019: 51).

We know that translation goes hand in hand with equivalence. But if we consider translation as an act of finding equal meanings, the only true equivalence can be proven in the case of an "invariable back-translation" (Chesterman, 1997: 9-10), which is not something that happens ordinarily. Moreover, the theorist argues that equivalence is unachievable simply because it suggests perfection, which we all know does not really exist. Therefore, translation should not be perfect, and, from the perspective of language use, "everything can be translated somehow, to some extent, in some way — even puns can be explained" (11).

In the case of idioms and fixed expressions, Baker (2018/1992: 74) draws attention to the distinction between untranslatable and "difficult to translate", pointing out that similar parallels may exist even between SL and TL expressions that apparently refer to different concepts, such as the Welsh translation "it rains women and sticks" for the English saying "it rains cats and dogs". It is not the specific items an expression contains but rather the meaning it conveys and its association with culture-specific contexts that determines the level of difficulty in translation.

World Literature is a modern concept, commonly associated with nowadays' translation practices, that accounts for the receptivity of foreign cultures, and thanks to which "contemporary world offers an extraordinarily vibrant and varied literary landscape" (Damrosch, 2003: 17). However, despite its positive implication for increasing literary consumption and cross-cultural understanding, the exploration of this concept has revealed that it is not just "writing that gains in translation" (288). It looks like, once again, the enthusiastic initiative of uniting happens to reveal substantial differences between how people create, imagine and address literature, which inevitably leads to separation. More and more scholars approach a distinction between linguistic influences across the globe, and prove that World Literature should not be viewed as an "autonomous development but as a compromise between a western formal influence (usually French or English) and local materials" (Moretti, 2000: 58). Furthermore, while examining the unequal relations between cultures, theorists notice a homogenous tendency in making the original text understandable and accessible, in other words, "reimagining what in the world the "world" in literature might be" (Apter, 2013: 196).

In a study conducted around the issue of World Literature, Taylor (2021: 22) proposes a redefinition of the theory, in the sense of changing the focus from rendering foreign words into another language to transposing concepts into other contexts. Although this is not some novel insight, the scholar emphasises the importance of working with "etymological and translational analysis and involving a broader circle of languages" (28). This philosophical insight advises researchers to think bigger than the language itself, and to expand the literary portfolio, in the end, to give greater scope to the particularities of untranslatability.

A highly debated work in the field is the *Dictionary of Untranslatables. A philosophical Lexicon,* edited in English by Barbara Cassin (2014), first published in French under the title *Vocabulaire européen des philosophies: Dictionnaire des intraduisibles.* According to its introductory section, the ambitious work gathers entries which compare and reflect on the variations across Arabic, Basque, Catalan, Danish, English, French, German, Greek (classical and modern), Hebrew, Hungarian, Latin, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, and Spanish languages. Despite its suggestive title, this dictionary philosophises upon the phenomenon of the tumultuous denotations related to some words, which makes it difficult for foreign languages to pick from and communicate. In Cassin's words, "To speak of untranslatables in no way implies that the terms in question, or the expressions, the syntactical or grammatical turns, are not and cannot be translated: the untranslatable is rather what one keeps on (not) translating" (Cassin, 2014: xvii).

In relation to the dictionary, Venuti bemoans the choice of considering the terms untranslatable, as the entries actually show their translatable character, by enumerating conspicuous possibilities, and concludes that "the translation analysis raises more questions than it answers" (Venuti, 2016: 188-189). Moreover, the American scholar associates this approach to the timeworn romantic idea that translations destruct and contaminate the original integrity of the text (198).

When it comes to untranslatability, there is no shortage of theories, most of which fall under the remits of different perspectives. From a lexical and semantic point of view, untranslatability deals with a lack of equivalents or insufficient implication in meaning. Culturally and historically speaking, the issue may be understood as a gap of knowledge and background that contribute to the production of meaningless concepts. Something viewed as extremely complex in a cultural space may be disregarded and insignificant when transferred to a different ideology. Whichever stance one takes, the possibilities differ on what may alleviate or impede the process of translation. Footnotes, explanatory additions, borrowing, are all strategies that make the untranslatable translatable. In Venuti's words "translating operates by building an interpretive context in a language and culture that differ from those that constitute the source text" (198), and we cannot undermine this fact. However, we believe that, from the point of view of target text readers' responses, their interpretations may lack experiential and emotional support. Hence, the pragmatic dimensions should not be denied or reduced from the phenomenon of untranslatability.

3. Instances of (un)translatability in Ion Creangă's *Memories of My Boyhood*

The chosen topic for this study is not a breakthrough in the analysis of Creangă's intricate work in translation. In 2014, Oana Cenac proceeded to establish the particularities of cross-cultural dimensions in the English translation of *Memories of my boyhood.* Starting from the hypothesis that "English, although familiar to the notion of peasantry, could not and cannot be aware of all 19th century Romanian social realities", the study enumerates the cultural and historical coordinates and their English treatment in form and meaning (Cenac, 2014: 159-161). The research also reveals different mediation devices. For cultural customs, objects or religious holidays, the translators chose either to keep the original words and to offer explanations at the bottom of the page, to find English equivalents and to associate them with further clarifications regarding the origin and the habitual practice of the Moldavian people, or to keep their original form and to add English plural inflections (as in the example *hora – horas*).

In terms of idiomatic phrases, proverbs and sayings, the study includes examples that prove two ways of rendering their meaning - literal translation for general language and adaptation for specific contexts, confirming thus the observations made in the translators' foreword (161-162). Another stylistic aspect taken into consideration by the researcher stands in the form of "archaic language patterns" and "figures of speech". Following a table that shows source text utterances and their parallel translation, the study concludes that, because of modern language devices, "the readers in the target language cannot 'taste' the 'flavour' of the Moldavian language" (162). As it happens, the selected examples represent substantial evidence of how certain difficulties have been overcome. So, what is it that makes Creangă's writing so exquisite for the Romanian readership and apparently cannot be reproduced in translation?

In approaching this subject, we do not want to rely on the translators' capabilities in rendering historical or cultural words or expressions, but rather wish to return to the intentionality of the original work. We cannot simply point at the translated version and consider it a mistranslation, because it proves an earnest effort at reproducing the natural form and meaning inherent in Creangă's speech. However, we were guided by several questions that are pertinent to both pragmatic stylistics and translation theory. Theorists note that pragmatics and literature merge from the perspective of the reader, who animates the characters and the plot through the pragmatic act of reading. "This is facilitated by the ability of readers to adopt a particular type of cognitive stance, the literary stance, that allows them to promptly access relevant background knowledge concerning literary texts" (Panagiotidou, 2014: 132). In other words, textual stimuli and the readers' background knowledge combine and give rise to the same private reading experience. But what happens when the text is transposed into a foreign context that does not share the same encoded information? It should not be hard to translate, if one uses the right strategies, and puts enough effort into interpreting or explaining the units correspondingly, but does the foreign reader actually understand how *colivă* tastes or how *doina* sounds? Does the foreign reader share the same emotions with the Moldavian peasant child, called *Nică*, who puts on a *țoală* ("rug" - TT: 39) and sings at the top of his lungs *Doamne miluieşte, popa prinde peşte* (Halleluja! God give grace, our priest has gone and caught a dace" – TT: 39)?

Driven by postmodern politics and ideologies, contemporary school of thought seems to disregard the existence of untranslatability, so this study tries to consolidate empirical evidence in proving that some literary texts are extremely instinctive and exclusivist in targeting specific readers. Creangă's writing style is shaped according to the rules of a minor language, even though it cannot be considered a type of dialect by definition, because Romania has only regional varieties (in Romanian, *graiuri*), but it does expose Romanian, which is the major language, to a structural depersonalisation. In what follows, we will present several linguistic structures that might stand as instances of untranslatability when viewed from the perspective of readers' comprehension.

Interjections

A first instance that we consider to be possibly untranslatable because of its emotional charge refers to interjections. These describe a use of pitch, characteristic to a speaker or dialect, and their iconic nature lies in their tremendous symbolical potential, as they can evoke images and arouse feelings in the addressee, thereby conveying an emotional state at the same time.

In Creangă's speech, interjections substitute or accompany the predicates and create, through their phonetic structure, a special effect, particularly in intonation. Thus, the phrase becomes accentuated and even the word that follows receives vibrant expressiveness (Tohăneanu, 1965: 456-

457). In the example below, the interjection not only takes the place of a verb or possibly of an insinuation (*a șterpeli* – 'to snitch'/ *a se alege cu ceva* – 'to receive something with very little effort'), but it also alludes to the speed of the gesture, while indicating the rubbing sound of the object when hastily taken. Moreover, associated with punctuation, it produces pauses and slackens the rhythm. Therefore, intonation keeps the readers guessing, creates suspenseful moments, and should be taken into account as an element of (un)translatability.

"Duminicile bâzâiam la strană, şi hârşti! câte-un colac!" (ST: 16)	"On Sundays we would hum away in the pew and, slap! bang! there was a cake for each of us pinched from the offerings!" (TT: 19)

Another interjection with expressive function and deeply rooted in the mentality of the Romanian people is the exclamation that accompanies the gesture of a blow, used in children's language, usually repeated, with noun value and referring to beating an object, for instance, after a child bumps different body parts into objects and starts crying. It is possible to find foreign language equivalents, but we believe that its childish tone, which brings back memories of soothing maternal voices for any Romanian reader, cannot be accurately rendered.

"Na, na! –" (ST: 32)	"Take that!" (TT: 36)

The same implicature is conveyed by another interjection that occurs in the first years of childhood, used when lifting a child up, with outstretched arms, at the same level or above the height of the adult, to suggest how much the child has grown or still needs to grow. The voice becomes high-pitched and even melodious as the vowels lengthen in duration.

"tâta mare!" (ST: 33)	"what a tall boy!" (TT: 38)

The interjection "măi" represents yet another ST specific case of conveying different emotions through a sound. The word is addressed to one or more males, less often females, and expresses a wide variety of feelings, like admiration, wonder, surprise, confusion, dissatisfaction or irony. This interjection is not used to address a person you respect. In a study conducted around the issue of the Romanian utterances used in order to address (Rusu, 1959: 52) and following the answers of the Romanian peasants, the author states the existence of a verb derived from this interjection, *a măi*, unattested by linguists, similar in meaning with *a tutui* (Fr. *tutoye*r - using the familiar forms of the pronoun "you"). This only proves the affective tone of a term conceptualized in oral speeches, a linguistic ornament that cannot be rendered or understood when taken out of its particular context.

"Măi!!! s-a trecut de şagă!" (ST: 13)	My word, this is past a joke (TT: 19)
"Ce-i de făcut, măi Nică?" (ST: 13)	"What's to be done about it?' I kept asking myself" (TT: 19)
"Măi omule, măi!" (ST: 21)	"my man" (TT: 24)

The two forms of the interjection indicate a difference in establishing the relationships between speakers. *Mă* is even less polite than *măi,* and can also be used to oppose or refuse to accept something.

"Trăsnea, mă! scoală!" (ST: 68).	"Hei! Trăsnea! Get up!" (TT: 77)
"Ho, mă! ce vă este?" (ST: 80).	"Hey you! what's come over you!" (TT: 99)

Terms of address

Affection plays an important role in the use of different terms of address. A particular trait for the Romanian language is the use of honorific titles that encode the relative social status of the participants in a conversation. *Bădița* or *bade* is a popular term of address, used in Transylvania, Banat, Moldavia and Bessarabia. According to the online version of *Dicționarul Explicativ al Limbii Române*, the term coincides with the Bulgarian *bata*, *batju*, term for addressing an older brother, and it may be the native form of the Indo-European root for *father*, according to *baci* and the Russian language *batjuska*. Taking into account the different linguistic specificities of each Romanian region, deeply influenced by political contexts or invasions, it is not surprising that even across Romania this word is understood differently, varying from addressing an unknown older person to being used only by women as a form of endearment to call their husbands. In Creangă's speech, it applies to higher-in-status persons, as in the case of *bădița Vasile,* the church's teacher, and to an older brother. The English translation goes for *Master Vasile,* indicating a male teacher, and in the second instance uses the generic term *brother.* However, we believe the implicature of the original word, in relation to its unique nature, can only be understood by Romanians.

In the Romanian rural life of the 19th century, the pious peasant, the major model of piety, is closely accompanied by the priest, perceived as an intellectual, a keeper and preacher of the national culture. This image is due to the fact that for a long time the priest was one of the few literate people in the village, which propelled him as an inspiring leader for the community, a person with unlimited access to knowledge (Cosma, 2014: 101). At that point in time, the priest was not required to prove schooling and study-gained knowledge but to be able to serve in the church. The education received from the monasteries could go from the superior religious culture, to utter ignorance, covered by the memorization of prayers. This education was aimed at teaching priests to read and write without a special attention to organized knowledge (Călinescu, 1998: 52), which results in a paradox regarding the image of the peasant priests. Although they are often perceived as counsellors, mentors to their parishioners, some of them show immoral and corrupt behaviour. In this sense, Creangă uses two different terms that entail opposite perceptions of the priest: *popă* and *părinte*. The first one is rather disparaging, even though sometimes coincides with the popular form of the profession. Nică's parents have heated discussions around the subject of him pursuing his studies and becoming *popă.* However, some of the most humorous sayings include persiflage of the general behaviour of a peasant priest:

"Dacă-i copil, să se joace; dacă-i cal, să tragă; şi dacă-i <u>popă</u>, să citească…" (ST: 34).	"A child shall play; a horse shall draw; a <u>priest</u> shall read" (TT: 39).
"Doamne miluieşte, <u>popa</u> prinde peşte" (ST : 34).	"Halleluja! God give grace, Our <u>priest</u> has gone and caught a dace!" (TT: 39).
"<u>popa</u> are mână de luat, nu de dat ; el mănâncă şi de pe viu, şi de pe mort" (ST : 78).	"a priest's hand will grasp rather than give away; he thrives upon the living and upon the dead" (TT: 88).
"Picioare de cal, gură de lup, obraz de scoarţă şi pântece de iapă se cer unui <u>popă</u>" (ST : 78).	"If a <u>priest</u> has a horse's legs, a wolf's mouth, a thick skin and a mare's belly, he'll want nothing else" (TT: 88).

At the same time, the narrator differentiates these two terms when describing different types of peasant priests. We notice that *popa* is mostly the round-figured cunning mischievous priest who enjoys the benefits of church life but gets angry quickly, and does not prove his spiritual grace, whereas *părinte* describes a priest who deserves respect for his tireless effort in urging peasants to send their children to school and in teaching the children to read and write. The English equivalent 'father' is a term referring to an elderly and venerable man, used as a title of respect and has identical effects to its Romanian correspondent. However, in the English translation the term ‘parson’ refers to a cleric having full legal control of a parish and does not match the disparaging implications of the Romanian *popa*.

“era om hursuz şi pâclişit popa Oşlobanu” (ST: 36).	“for Parson Oşlobanu was an ill-tempered, crusty fellow” (TT: 42).
“să învăţ carte şi să mă fac popă, ca părintele Isaia Duhu, profesorul nostru. Bun mai era şi părintele Duhu […]” (ST: 58).	“I should study and become a priest, like Father Isaiah Duhu, our teacher. Father Duhu was a kind man […]” (TT: 65).

Terms of address play an important role in understanding the way a person is spoken to and, to a greater extent, how that person is perceived in the community. For example, the narrator calls Nică’s mother *Smaranda*, showing respect and consideration by not altering her baptismal name, whereas his grandfather addresses his daughter *Smărandă*, a phonetically different form, used especially when offering indications or advice to someone lower in accomplishment. This form, which cannot be classified as affectionate, accentuates thus a disproportionate relationship, and is used from the position of a protective father who has lived to tell the struggles he had to endure. In those days, the elderly were seen as authority figures, who had gone through life and who could offer many lessons to the younger ones. Thus, the vocative form also suggests his perception of Smaranda’s unawareness of those difficult times. We must not overlook the high pitch tone, with an exclamatory nuance when reiterating the difficult moment of being forced to leave their home.

“Pe acest deal, Smărandă, am fugit în vremea zaverei, cu mă-ta, cu tine şi cu frate-tău Ioan […]” (ST: 23).	“Upon this hill, daughter Smaranda, we took refuge at the time of the 1821 uprising, with your mother, yourself and your brother Ion” (TT: 26-27).

A similar tone is used by the narrator when describing de comical situation of his mother finding out he had licked all the curd from the milk. This time the tone is lower and reinforces the mother’s confusion and amused reaction. Also, the form is not an old-fashioned variable but it continues to include the inflection -*ă*, normally used for singular feminine nouns, but this time showing affection.

„Şi când căuta mama să smântânească oalele, smântâneşte, Smarandă, dacă ai ce…" (ST: 38)	"When mother came to skim the cream, skim it, Smaranda, if there is any!" (TT: 44)

We also notice a differentiation between the ages of the people referred to. The young priest's daughter whom Nică fancies, is caressed *Smărăndiţa popei,* "the priest's own little Smaranda (TT: 14). The choice of the diminutive form implies the playful, delightful, arousing image of the young girl, as opposed to *Smărănducă*, another diminutival, only this time used by Nică's grandfather when speaking to his daughter. The suffix of the latter indicates parental affection and desire to protect.

"Ei, măi Ştefane şi Smărănducă, mai rămâneţi cu sănătate […]" (ST: 24).	"Now, you two, Ștefan and Smaranda, God keep you in good health […]" (TT: 28).

To show the age of the person in question, Creangă uses the addressing term *moș* to indicate a senior citizen. In peasant mentality there is a clear distinction between *moș* (lit. *an old man*) and *bătrân* (lit. *old*), the former implies respect and endearment, whereas the latter is a form of mockery (Rusu, 1959: 53).

The Romanian language contains a large number of politeness formulas, used in various situations, determined by social interaction and contributing to their maintenance. One of these forms addressed to older people, relatives and those to whom you want to show respect, is the singular form of the personal pronoun *dumneata* (representing in Romanian a semi-polite form of *you)*, which Creangă uses even when speaking to his readers. These represent interventions for maintaining the relationship with the interlocutor, and their English translation cannot show their distinct character.

Another particularity which poses questions of untranslatability is linked to the use of nicknames. The main character is called *Ion*, but everybody knows him as *Nică,* a short form that indicates his youth, but his aunt nicknames him *Ion Torcălău* ("John Spinster"– TT: 56), as she used to call a gipsy man from another village. This is extremely offensive because it derives from the verb *a toarce,* and, in the popular belief, only women were supposed to swing the shuttle. Besides, its suffix indicates great size and dumbness, which the English translation does not render.

Conclusion

The writer impresses by an outstanding phonetical aesthetics in his careful selection of words that create certain sound effects in the representation of the peasant life in Moldavia. His speech cannot be perceived as harmonious, pleasant or melodious; instead, it is harsh, dissonant but intensely comical in exaggerating the characters' emotional structure. In his narrative, Creangă plays all the characters in turn. When the narrator speaks, the composition is well written, but not exceptional, however, when the heroes begin to speak, their gestures and words provide a caricature show (Călinescu, 1998: 235). This stylistic feature can only be accessed and interpreted in relation to specific sets of contextual assumptions. As presented in the examples, the particularities of the Moldavian way of life, inaccessible to the English readership, must be considered when speaking of untranslatability. Interjections, which occur so spontaneously in any language, emerge from a special social context that favours their distinct form and use. However, in the case of the selected instances, their unicity cannot be compared to the interjections of another culture which lacks the same conditions in development.

The writing procedures used by the Romanian author are very simple. In his speech we do not meet an abundance of outstanding images, or smart figures of speech; his language is as simple as its place of birth. A piece of every peasant's heart is reflected in the healthy, spontaneous, unsolicited humour that causes uncontrollable giggles to its Romanian readers. The author offers a stylistic form of the vernacular, realized with careful attention, which makes the unit so well-adjusted that it is impossible to assume that by disentangling its components it will remain unaltered. The terms of address that undergo grammatical inflection impose not only an alteration in the tone of the voice, but also in the mental states of the person speaking. As the English language does not make use of diacritical marks this change in meaning cannot be rendered. Also, the polite and semi-polite forms of address or the honorific titles specific to Moldavia prove such particularity of the commonly spoken language in the region, that cannot be completely matched to a different environment.

Our intention was to cut apart some of the tiniest components of speech, which remain mostly neglected in any translation, and to explain their inferential process in judging and understanding the text. Of course, the implications may be extended to syntactic or phonetic layers, as the text entails an immeasurably great number of possibilities. We believe that we are closely hinting at possible situations of untranslatability, although the phenomenon should be considered in relation to more than one foreign context.

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Linguistics

MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTICAL ASPECTS OF ROMANIAN/ ENGLISH CODESWITCHING

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Abstract: *This paper examines the grammatical structure of Romanian/ English codeswitching in the speech of a ten-year-old bilingual child. The analyzed data set consists of single-word switches and phrases, the main focus of the paper being the morphological integration of these English elements in Romanian and the relations they establish with their larger syntactic environment. Using the principles of the Matrix Language Frame model developed by Myers-Scotton (2002, 2006), we show that the structural integrity of Romanian is maintained during codeswitching, and that the English material is used according to the rules imposed by the Romanian grammar. Although Romanian inflectional morphology is often absent on switched words and phrases, the placement of these elements in the grammatical frame of the sentence follows matrix language specifications and word order; moreover, function words in mixed constituents, such as determiners and prepositions, tend to come from Romanian.*
Keywords: bilingualism; codeswitching; morphological integration; word order.

1. Introduction

The spread of English as the lingua franca of our times and the growing access of Romanians to various fields of the English-speaking world after 1989 have led to an unprecedented penetration of this language in many spheres of everyday life in Romania, both in writing and in speech (Zafiu, 2001). While the influence of English over Romanian is well documented with respect to the adoption of loans in the written press and in dictionaries (Pârlog, 2004, Șimon et al. 2021), comparatively little work has been done on the way in which the two languages come together in the speech of bilinguals. Romanian/ English codeswitching has been studied by researchers analyzing the speech of Romanian immigrants in English-speaking countries (Beligan, 1999, Ene, 2001, Bancu, 2013, 2014, Petrescu, 2014), but there are no studies, to my knowledge, on the codeswitching patterns of Romanian/ English bilinguals born and living in Romania–a different type of speaker, belonging to a different speech community and under a different pattern of exposure to English.

This paper is an attempt to describe the grammatical structure of codeswitching encountered in the speech a ten-year old bilingual child, who speaks Romanian as her first language and English as a second language. The main questions we ask are: (1) what types of English elements are used in the child's speech? (2) what are the specific points in the clause where these elements occur? (3) how are these elements integrated into the morphosyntactic structure of Romanian? Thus, the data will be analyzed both quantitatively, with respect to the proportions held by different categories in the total of switches, and qualitatively, with respect to their assimilation to Romanian.

The analysis will show that English switches in our data always follow Romanian syntactic rules, but they are often used without the necessary morphological endings of the matrix language, either retaining source-language morphemes (for example the plural and the past participle morphemes) or occurring as bare forms, without any morphological marking at all. For example, in the sentence below the noun *lessons* retains the English plural morpheme, and the verb *count* lacks the necessary marking for tense, person and number required by Romanian grammar:

1.	două	*lessons*	compensează	cu
	two	lessons	compensate	with

normal streak	ca să	se	*count*	că	ai	făcut.
normal streak	to	Refl.	count	that	have	done

'Two lessons compensate for a normal streak, to count that you have done them.'[86]

2. Theoretical framework

Codeswitching is "the alternate use of two languages including everything from the introduction of a single, unassimilated word up to a complete sentence or more into the context of another language" (Haugen, 1973: 521). This definition given to codeswitching by Einar Haugen almost fifty years ago is still considered valid today, the general consensus among researchers being that switching between languages can take place at any level and includes a full range of structures from bound morphemes, to words, phrases and entire sentences (Boumans, 1998, Muysken, 2000, Myers-Scotton, 2006). Consequently, the literature broadly distinguishes between *intersentential switching*, or switching between clauses or sentences,

[86] In this paper, italics will be used to highlight a switched element.

and *intrasentential codeswitching*, or switching within the same sentence. Examples of these categories from our Romania/ English data set are given below:

2. Ea mi-o dat trei pe gratis. *It's not like I asked or anything.* [87]
   She gave me three for free. It's not like I asked or anything.

3. Și o început să lăcrimeze *and that is really not like him.*
   And he started weeping and that is really not like him.

4.

Collar-ul	îl	perforez	și	pun	niște
Collar-Def.MSg	it	pierce	and	put	some

threads	prin	el.
threads	through	it

'The collar, I pierce it and I put some threads through it.'

Examples (2) and (3) illustrate intersentential switching, while (4) is an example of intrasentential switching: there are two clauses in the same sentence, each including elements from both English and Romanian, and one of these elements (*collar*-ul) involves a switch between a lexical stem and a bound morpheme.

Different models have been developed in an attempt to explain the grammar of codeswitching (for example Pfaff, 1979, Poplack, 1980, Woolford, 1983, Di Sciullo, Muysken & Singh, 1986, Muysken, 2000). The structures in my data set will be discussed from perspective of the *Matrix Language Frame* (*MLF*) model, developed by Carol Myers-Scotton in a series of publications starting with 1993. The general premise of this model is that in codeswitching situations there is always one dominant language, the *Matrix Language (ML)*, which sets the grammatical frame of the bilingual clause, and an *Embedded Language (EL)*, which supplies some of the content words, such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. This asymmetry between the structural role of the ML and the EL is detailed in two specific principles of the model: the *Morpheme Order Principle*, which states that the matrix language dictates word order in mixed constituents, and the *System Morpheme Principle*, which states that the ML is the source of inflections and some function words in codeswitched clauses (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 244). Myers-Scotton also proposes a more general *Uniform Structure*

[87] To save space, in this paper we give a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss only for intrasentential switches.

Principle, according to which "in bilingual speech, the structures of the Matrix Language are always preferred, but some Embedded structures are allowed if Matrix Language clause structure is observed" (2006: 243). These general principles will serve as a background for the analysis conducted in this paper, as our main concern is to describe and explain the codeswitching patterns in the data set, rather than test the MLF model.

There are several reasons why I believe that the MLF model can be used to account for my data. First, this model was developed to explain codeswitching within the clause (241), which is the main focus of the present study. Second, the MLF model is intended to explain classic codeswitching, or codeswitching in which the speaker is proficient enough in the matrix language to follow its "well-formedness constraints" in "providing the morphosyntactic frame of a bilingual clause" (242). Since the child studied here is a native speaker of Romanian–the matrix language of bilingual clauses in our data–it is reasonable to assume that this is true of her. Moreover, she is fluent in both languages participating in codeswitching and the general contact circumstances are not changing, a situation which points towards a case of stable bilingualism, an important characteristic of classic codeswitching (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 111). Finally, the MLF model has been shown to make the correct predictions for child codeswitching before. For example, Paradis et al. (2000, cited in Myers-Scotton 2006: 333-334) show that even in the codeswitching of young children there is one language, the Matrix Language, which dominates the grammar of bilingual constituents.

2.1 Previous research on Romanian/ English codeswitching

Previous work on Romanian/ English codeswitching focuses on the speech of Romanian immigrants in English-speaking countries. For example, Ene (2001) checks the validity of several syntactic constraints proposed in the literature against Romanian/ English codeswitching in the United States, and concludes that they do not make the correct predictions for her data. Bancu (2013) compares the codeswitching patterns of first-generation Romanian-Americans with those of Romanian-Spanish bilinguals, and finds a lower degree of morphological assimilation to Romanian in the case of English than of Spanish elements. Petrescu (2014) analyses the codeswitching frequency of Romanian/ English bilingual children in Canada in the context of the acquisition and retention of Romanian by these children. She finds that switching takes place predominantly from Romanian to English and mainly serves to fill lexical gaps or answer some word-finding difficulty.

3. Methodology of research

3.1 The subject

The subject of this study is my daughter, S, a Romanian/ English bilingual child, who was born and lives in Romania. S started learning English as a second language before the age of four through cartoon watching and conversations with her parents, native Romanians with an active command of English. The child was not raised using the "one language, one parent" model, and, in general, was less exposed to English than to Romanian, as both parents mostly addressed her in Romanian and they always spoke Romanian to each other. At this stage, S's English was characterized by extensive codeswitching of single words from her first language, mainly in order to fill lexical gaps. Consider this example, recorded when S was 4;6 years old:

5. I put her here, because this is a train and Belle is the *șofer*.
   I put her here, because this is a train and Belle is the driver.

Starting with the age of six, learning continued through reading in English, authors that S has read including Roald Dahl, J. K. Rowling, Rick Riordan, Jeff Kinney, C. S. Lewis, and Phillip Pullman. She attends a Romanian-speaking school where she has studied English as a foreign language for four years and, although we have conversations in English on a daily basis, we mostly speak Romanian at home. At the time when the study was conducted, S was ten to eleven years of age and her English was well-developed. At this stage, she codeswitches frequently and freely between her two languages, but codeswitching occurs now predominantly from a Romanian base and, in addition to single words, it also involves phrases, clauses, and entire sentences (see examples 6 and 8 below).

3.2 The data

I audio recorded the data between September and November 2021 in natural, spontaneous situations, during activities such as playing or eating, or when S was simply in conversation with her parents (mostly myself) on the subject of school, books, and hobbies. During these conversations I spoke mostly Romanian because I wanted to encourage the child to use Romanian herself as much as possible, since intrasentential codeswitching almost always occurs now from a Romanian base. However, even when I spoke Romanian the child responded either in Romanian or in English. The resulting recordings are of variable length, lasting from 10 minutes to 1 hour and totaling more than 20 hours of spontaneous speech. Only the utterances that contained codeswitching were transcribed, in total 931 utterances.

A much smaller amount of data came from journal entries consisting of nineteen codeswitching utterances that I wrote down during the same period of time (September-November 2021).

The resulting data set contains a variety of English elements, ranging from single words and phrases switched from a Romanian base, to clauses and entire sentences. Sometimes, both intrasentential and intersentential switches occur simultaneously, as in the example below containing a noun (*letter*), a verb (*expelled*), a prepositional phrase (*due to use of magic in a muggle populated area and in the presence of a muggle),* and a sentence *(And that was all the proof they needed)*:

6.	Chiar	atunci	o	bufniță	o	venit	cu	*letter*-ul
	Right	then	an	owl	has	come	with	letter-Def.MSg

că	o	fost	*expelled*	de la	Hogwarts
that	has	been	expelled	from	Hogwarts

due to use of magic in a muggle populated area and in the presence of a muggle. And that was all the proof they needed.

'And right then an owl came with the letter that he had been expelled from Hogwarts due to the use of magic …'

Two English elements are counted as separate switches if they are not part of the same constituent. This approach follows Myers-Scotton's proposal that, although some adjacent elements may be a unit "in the speaker's intentions," they should be analyzed separately if they do not represent a linguistic unit (2002: 143). Consider the following example:

7.	E	*hole*-ul	*very*	*dark.*
	Is	hole-Def.MSg	very	dark

'The hole is very dark.'

In this case, *hole*-ul is the subject of the bilingual clause while *very dark* is a predicate, but they are not syntactically connected to each other and are therefore analyzed separately.

A common mixing pattern in our data is that involving an intrasentential switch followed by one or several monolingual English sentences, for example:

8.	imaginează-ți	că	vrei	să extragi	din	piatra	o	bucată
	imagine Refl.	that	want	to extract	from	stone	a	piece

de	sticlă	care	este	*as thin as a sheet of paper,*
of	glass	which	is	as thin as a sheet of paper

> *and you don't wanna crack it in the slightest bit, and you have to take it intact off ... I mean, wouldn't that be really, really hard? Well, he got the hang of it,* și l-o pus să lucreze într-o galerie mică, mică, mică.
>
> 'Imagine that you want to extract from stone a piece of glass which is as thin as a sheet of paper, (…), and they had him work in a small, small, small gallery.'

The focus of this paper is constituted by intrasentential codeswitching within Romanian clauses, while switched sentences and clauses will not be further discussed. The analyzed data set includes 510 single lexical items, mostly nouns, but also adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, and 216 phrases. The table below gives a quantitative overview of the different types of English elements identified in the corpus:

Switch type		No.
Single switches	Nouns	270
	Adjectives	162
	Verbs	65
	Adverbs	13
Phrasal switches	Noun phrases	131
	Prepositional phrases	36
	Verb phrases	29
	Adjective phrases	20
Total		**726**

Table 1: Types of intrasentential switches

4. Discussion of findings

4.1 Nouns and noun phrases

My data contains 270 English nouns and 131 English NPs embedded in Romanian clauses. Single nouns are by far the largest class of switched elements, reaching more than 50 percent in their category, while English noun phrases form the dominant class of multi-word switches. These findings are in line with the results of other studies reporting the prevalence of nouns in codeswitching corpora, for example Poplack (1980) on Spanish/ English, Treffers-Daller (1994) on French/ Dutch, Bancu (2013, 2014) on Romanian/ English.

Although some of the switched nouns designate novel objects or concepts for which Romanian lacks an established equivalent (*cookie, cupcake, crispy, nugget*), many others are high-frequency, household words with common correspondents in Romanian. In general, the English words and their Romanian equivalents are produced with equal ease and fluidity, sometimes within the same sentence. Note the use of *cups* and *cănițe* 'little cups' in the first example below, and of *costum* 'suit' and *suit* in the second one:

9.	și	oricum,	nu	aveam	destule	*cups,*	aveam	cinci
	and	anyway,	not	had	enough	cups,	had	five

invitate,	inclusiv	mine,	și	patru	cănițe.
guests,	including	me,	and	four	little cups.

'And anyway, I didn't have enough cups, I had five guests, including myself, and four little cups.'

10.	era	îmbrăcată	într-un	costum	de	magician,	așa	cu
	was	dressed	in a	suit	of	magician	so	with

checkers	negre	și	mov,	și	avea	și	un	joben
checkers	black	and	purple	and	had	also	a	top hat

la fel ca	*suit*-ul,	cu	*checkers*	negre	și mov.
like	suit-Def.MSg	with	checkers	black	and purple

'She was wearing a magician's suit, like this with … black and purple checkers, (…) and she also had a top hat like the suit, with black and purple checkers.'

4.1.1 Number

Both in Romanian and in English the plural of nouns is marked morphologically by means of specific inflections, and syntactically in the agreement between the noun and its determiners. Approximately 40 percent of the plural EL nouns and less than 10 percent of the plural EL noun phrases in my data are morphologically integrated into Romanian by having the morpheme *-uri* attached to the stem. Examples include:

11.	poți	să	accesezi	mai multe	*lesson*-uri	și
	can	to	access	more	lesson-FPl	and

mai multe	povești.
more	stories

'You can access more lessons and more stories.'

12.	două	meniuri	de	*hot*	*dog*	*stand*-uri …
	two	menus	of	hot	dog	stand-FPl

‘two menus for hot dog stands …’

The Romanian plural inflection is less common with multi-word noun phrases, which show a preference for the English plural. Note the use of the -*s* suffix with the NP in the first sentence below, and of the Romanian plural suffix with the single noun in the second sentence:

13.

da-s	foarte	multe	*shades of brown, white, and black.*
but are	very	many	shades of brown, white, and black.

Și	are	aripioarele	așa	cu	niște	*zigzag*-uri	negre.
And	has	the wings	so	with	some	zigzag-FPl	black

‘But there are many shades of brown, white, and black. And it has little wings like this, with black zigzags.’

More than 50 percent of the switched nouns and about 90 percent of the switched NPs in our corpus retain the English plural suffix, for example:

14.

Ei	nu	erau	*witches*	sau	*wizards,*	îți dai seama.
They	not	were	witches	or	wizards	you can imagine

‘They were not witches and wizards, you can imagine.’

15.

dac-ar fi	*cabbage leaves,*	majoritatea	copiilor	ar fi …
if would be	cabbage leaves	most	children	would be

‘If these were cabbage leaves, most children would be …’

Most English plural nouns are countable, and some of them occur both in their singular and in their plural forms, sometimes in the same sentence, as in (16) below:

16.

le	puneau	într-un	*jar,*	în	*jars*	așa	mici,
them	put	in a	jar	in	jars	so	small

și	le	puneau	în	*tomb.*
and	them	put	in	tomb

‘They would put them in a jar, in small jars, like this, and put them in the tomb.’

The use of both Romanian and English plural suffixes with the same noun stems (*tulips/ tulip*-uri, *snakes/ snake*-uri, *lessons/ lesson*-uri, *toppers/*

topper-e) suggests the idea that the choice between ML and EL inflections does not follow from the phonological characteristics of the head, but rather from its syntactic and semantic properties: in Romanian, subject nouns are generally affixed with the enclitic definite article, which is fused to the plural ending. Since the switch between the *-s* ending and the Romanian article is phonologically difficult, English nouns that require definiteness according to Romanian grammar prefer Romanian plural endings. Consider the following example:

17.

O	să	fac	o	cutiuță	de	*pencil toppers*, (…),	deci
will	to	make	a	box	of	pencil toppers	so

pencil topper-e-le	vor	fi	deja	cu	sârmă.
pencil topper-FPl-Def.FPl	will	be	already	with	wire

‘I will make a box of pencil toppers, (…) so the pencil toppers will already have wire on them.’

Here, *pencil-topper* retains the English plural ending when it is indefinite in meaning, but uses the Romanian plural when it occurs as a subject requiring the definite article. Similarly, in the sentence below the noun *bracelet* is definite and uses the Romanian plural morpheme, while both *loose bracelets* and *armlets* are indefinite and thus use the English suffix:

18.

îmi	voi	pune	și	*bracelet*-uri-le,	egiptenii
Refl.	will	put	also	bracelet-FPl-Def.FPl	the Egyptians

niciodată	nu	aveau	*loose bracelets,*	tot timpul	erau	*armlets.*
never	not	had	loose bracelets	always	were	armlets

‘I will also put my bracelets on, the Egyptians never had loose bracelets, they were always armlets.’

However, the correlation between definiteness and Romanian plural marking is far from categorical in our data, as more than 70 percent of the plural nouns inflected with Romanian endings are actually indefinite in meaning. On the other hand, English plural nouns are rarely definite, and when this happens, they are either used as bare forms or accompanied by the English determiner, as in the following example:

19.

Și	chiar	atunci	au	apărut	*the dementors.*
And	right	then	have	appeared	the dementors

‘And right then the dementors appeared.’

The presence of an English inflection in a clause dominated by Romanian grammar seems to violate the System Morpheme Principle of the MLF model, which states that in bilingual clauses the inflectional morphology should come from the matrix language. However, plural morphemes constitute a special class of inflections, which are allowed in mixed constituents because they have conceptual content and are very tightly connected to their noun heads (Myers-Scotton 2002: 92). Thus, producing such EL noun + plural affix combinations is seen as "requiring the least proficiency in the Embedded Language" (149), which could explain why English plural nouns are so common in our data and occur in many other codeswitching corpora (for example *books* and *notes* in Beligan 1999: 4, or *patterns* in Bancu 2014: 21).

4.1.2 Definiteness

The vast majority of switched nouns in our data become definite by attaching the Romanian enclitic article *-ul* to the English stem. In detail, there are 58 single English nouns affixed with the Romanian definite article and only two English article + noun combinations (see example 19 above). In other words, EL determiners are permitted in mixed noun phrases although they are not the preferred choice, a situation which is consistent with the general predictions of the MLF model proposed by Myers-Scotton (2006). Examples of noun-determiner switches include:

20.	sunt	lipite	pe …	deasupra	*stove*-ului.
	are	stuck	on …	above	stove- Def.MSg.Dat

'They are stuck on … above the stove.'

21.	uneori,	luam	prima	dată	*treasure chest*-ul.
	sometimes	took	the first	time	treasure chest-Def.MSg

'Sometimes, I would take the treasure chest first.'

The English definite determiner is more common with noun phrases than with single nouns in our corpus. For example:

22.	Bastian	și-o	adunat	*the remaining army*
	Bastian	Refl. has	gathered	the remaining army
	și	s-o	luptat.	
	and	Refl. has	fought	

‘Bastian gathered his remaining army and fought.’

23.	Și	nici	la	*the staff table in the big hall*	nu	era.
	And	neither	at	the staff table in the big hall	not	was

‘And he wasn’t at the staff table in the big hall either.’

In general, the definite article is used in contexts where a Romanian monolingual clause would require it, for example with nouns placed before demonstratives and possessives:

24.	El	oricum	era	deștept,	doar	că	nu-i	prea
	He	anyway	was	smart	just	that	not Refl.	really
	plăcea	*coating*-ul	lui.					
	liked	coating-Def.MSg	his					

‘He was smart, anyway, he just didn’t like his coating very much.’

Conversely, in situations when a definite article would be used in English but not in Romanian, this is always absent on English nouns and NPs switched inside Romanian clauses. Consider these sentences:

25.	săreau	peste	obstacole,	se	dădeau	pe	*seesaw* …
	jumped	over	obstacles	Refl	played	on	seesaw

‘They jumped over obstacles, played on the seesaw …’

26.	m-am	dus	la	tata	să-i	vorbesc	despre
	Refl. have	gone	to	daddy	to him	talk	about
	fountain pen.						
	fountain pen						

‘I went to daddy to talk to him about the fountain pen.’

In both of these cases, Romanian grammar dominates the sentence: the nouns following the prepositions *pe* ‘on’ and *despre* ‘about’ are indefinite, while English would require definite nouns in the corresponding structures. This situation is in line with the main premise of Myers-Scotton’s *MLF* model (2006), namely that it is the matrix language of a bilingual clause that controls its grammar.

The indefinite article is also used or omitted before nominal switches according to Romanian rules, both with single and with multi-word insertions:

27. Ești *mouse*?
Are mouse?

‘Are you a mouse?’

28. asta-l face să moară, că el e *dark creature.*
this him makes to die for he is dark creature

‘This makes him die, because he is a dark creature.’

29. Și vinerea, ultima sa zi de *detention*, avea
And Friday the last his day of detention had

audition to be a keeper in quidditch.
audition to be a keeper in quidditch.

‘And on Friday, his last day of detention, he had an audition to be a keeper in quidditch.’

The asymmetry of the languages participating in codeswitching and the dominant role played by one of these languages in setting the morphosyntactic frame of the sentence have been discussed by many authors in the literature. For example, Bentahilla and Davies (1983) believe that the elements from another language that can appear in a particular phrase are determined by the properties of the word heading that phrase. Consider the following examples from our data:

30. trebuia să ia canapeaua, s-o ducă peste casă,
had to take the couch to it take over house

și după aceea *in the front yard.*
and after that in the front yard

‘They had to take the couch, you know, to take it over the house, and then in the front yard.’

31. le-o pus pe toate mobilele în *front yard,*
them has put on all the furniture in front yard,

și ăsta o crezut că trebuie să le ia.

and	this	has	thought	that	must	to	them	take

'They put all their furniture in the front yard, and this guy thought he was supposed to take it.'

When the English preposition is used as the head of the phrase, English syntactic rules dominate (*in* takes a definite noun object), whereas when the Romanian preposition is used, Romanian rules dominate (*în* takes an indefinite noun). Similarly, the occurrence of the indefinite article with *wasp invasion* in the two sentences below is determined by the grammar of each sentence: the article is omitted in the first part, when Romanian rules are in control, but it is used in the monolingual English sentence that follows:

32.	Problema	era	că	aveau	…	*wasp invasion.*
	The problem	was	that	had		wasp invasion

They had a wasp invasion, and they discovered that the wasps were in the chimney.

'The problem was that they had … a wasp invasion. …'

4.1.3 Word order

In Romanian, the subject can precede or follow the verb, whereas in English there is a strong preference for the subject to be placed before the verb. In our corpus, switched subjects, both single and multi-word items, are generally placed according to Romanian syntactic rules, mostly following the verb:

33.	dar	la	matrioșcă	nu	ar	merge	*cap*-ul.
	but	at	matryoshka	not	would	go	cap-Def.MSg

'But the cap wouldn't go on a matryoshka.'

34.	Și	după	aia	o	venit	*a lady,*
	And	after	that	has	come	a lady,

she was interested in a model coin that his uncle gave Greg, and she complained…

'And then a lady came, …'

Romanian and English also differ from each other with respect to the placement of demonstratives, possessives and adjectives. While Romanian allows nouns to follow or to precede these words, in English the word order is more fixed, with demonstratives, possessives and adjectives preceding the noun. Switched elements in our data are placed according to Romanian word order, syntactic integration applying to single nouns as well as larger constituents. This situation supports the Morpheme Order Principle of the MLF model, according to which the matrix language is the source of word order in mixed constituents (Myers-Scotton 2006: 244):

35.	Și	după	aia,	o	vestuță	roșie	cu	*speckles*	albe.
	And	after	that	a	vest	red	with	speckles	white

‘And then, a little red vest with white speckles.’

36.	venea	până	la	*waist*-ul	meu.
	came	up	to	waist-Def.MSg	my

‘It came up to my waist.’

37.	luam	*treasure chest*-ul	ăla	mic.
	took	treasure chest-Def.MSg	that	small

‘I used to take that small treasure chest.’

However, the occurrence of matrix language demonstratives and possessives with EL phrases is very restricted in our data. In fact, there is only one example of a switched NP used with a Romanian demonstrative (example 37) and no instance of multi-word switches accompanied by Romanian possessive adjectives. When the situation calls for these words, the preferred strategy is to produce larger switches that encapsulate them:

38.	am	vorbit	cu	ea	azi	despre	*our cleaning habits.*
	have	talked	to	she	today	about	our cleaning habits

‘I talked to her today about our cleaning habits.’

39.	i-am	zis	despre	…	*that tightrope walker.*
	her have	told	about	...	that tightrope walker

‘I told her about that … tightrope walker.’

A very common switch point in our data is between a Romanian indefinite article and an English noun, while switches of entire determiner + noun combinations are marginal. In detail, there are 66 English nouns preceded by the determiner *un* 'a/ an', and only five occurrences of *a/ an* in front of a single noun switch. Both these situations are exemplified below:

40.	Are	așa	un	*ring*	alb	în jurul	ochișorului.
	Has	so	a	ring	white	around	the eye

'It has a white ring around its little eye.'

41.	așa	de mult	luminează,	încât	*light*-ul
	so	much	lights	that	light-Def.MSg

este	mai mult	*a material,*	și	te	împinge	*off.*
is	more	a material	and	you	pushes	off

'It lights so brightly that the light is more a material, and it pushes you off.'

These findings are consistent with the results of other studies, which show that, although nouns are switched freely inside NPs, determiners tend to come from the matrix language. For example, determiner-noun switches constitute the largest category in Bancu's data set of Romanian/ English intrasentential codeswitching (2013: 176) and are common in language pairs such as Spanish/ English (Timm, 1975) or Arabic/ French (Bentahilla and Davies, 1983).

As the codeswitched NPs become longer and more complex, the Romanian article becomes less common, while *a* and *an* increase in frequency:

42.	un	poster	care	arată	un	*food court,*
	a	poster	that	shows	a	food court,

că	este	un	*hot dog stand in business.*
because	is	a	hot dog stand in business.

'a poster showing a food court, because it is a hot dog stand in business.'

43.	o	noptieră	care	ar	părea	să	fie	*a glass cage,*
	a	night stand	that	would	seem	to	be	a glass cage,

with some pies inside, but those pies light up.

'a night stand that would seem to be a glass cage, with some pies inside, but those pies light up.'

Another common switch point in our data is between prepositions and nouns. Overall, there are more switches of English complements within Romanian PPs than switches at PP boundaries: our corpus contains 36 switches of PPs, while about a fourth of all English single nouns (73 in a total of 270) and a slightly higher percentage of English NPs (59 in a total of 131) are used as complements of Romanian prepositions. For example:

44.	Era	iarnă,	iarnă	fără	*snow.*
	Was	winter,	winter	without	snow.

‘It was winter, a winter without snow.’

45.	Sau	poate	se	duceau	în	*bathroom stalls*	învecinate.
	Or	maybe	Refl	went	in	bathroom stalls	adjoining

‘Or maybe they went to adjoining bathroom stalls.’

Sometimes, there is free variation between bilingual preposition + noun combinations and switches of entire English PPs. Consider the following examples:

46.	o	folosit	asta	în	*self*	*defense.*
	has	used	this	in	self	defense

‘He used this in self-defense.’

47.	puteai	să	folosești	magia	*in*	*self*	*defense.*
	could	to	use	magic	in	self	defense

‘You could use magic in self-defense.’

The structural similarity between the English *in self-defense* and the Romanian *în auto-apărare* facilitates the apparently random selection of the preposition. However, in general our data shows a marked preference for Romanian prepositions as heads of mixed PPs, even when they are both preceded and followed by English words:

48.	ne-o	zis	încă un	*news*	din	*her*	*private*	*life.*
	us has	told	another	news	from	her	private	life

‘She told us another piece of news from her private life.’

Also consider the following example:

49.

Fire	în	*gems*	înseamnă	că,	atunci	când
Fire	in	gems	means	that,	then	when

reflectă	lumina,	*it flashes very brightly.*
reflects	the light	it flashes very brightly.

'Fire in gems means that, when it reflects light, it flashes very brightly.'

Here there is a shared structure between *fire in gems* and the Romanian correspondent, *foc în pietre,* a situation which makes it easy for both languages to contribute words without any restrictions. The use of the Romanian preposition *în* supports the Uniform Structure Principle of the MLF model, which predicts that, in mixed constituents, grammatical elements will come preferably from the matrix language (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 243).

The employment of an English preposition is sometimes used as a strategy to avoid including the switched noun in any of the Romanian gender classes, especially when there are several competing factors that could influence this process. For example:

50.

Pot	să	scriu	două	bilețele,	și	să	le
Can	to	write	two	notes	and	to	them

pun	într-o …	*in*	*a*	*hat.*
put	into-Def.FSg …	in	a	hat

'I can write two notes, and put them in a … in a hat.'

Here, the noun *hat* should be masculine based on its consonant ending, but feminine by analogy with the corresponding Romanian word, *pălărie.* The repair following *într-o* shows that the feminine gender is not considered acceptable, hence the switching of the whole phrase *in a hat*. However, the idea of prepositional phrases used as a means of "saving" switched nouns from being morphologically integrated should not be overemphasized, since most singular nouns in our data obtain masculine gender although they have feminine human referents or feminine Romanian equivalents. For example, the noun *exhibition* receives masculine gender in the sentence below, although, just like *hat* in (50), it has a feminine equivalent in Romanian:

51.	taică-său	lui	Greg	vroia	să-l	transforme
	father his	Def.MSg	Greg	wanted	to it	turn

într-un	*exhibition*	de	*World*	*War*	*Two*	*figurines.*
into-Def.MSg	exhibition	of	World	War	Two	figurines

‘Greg’s father wanted to turn it into an exhibition of World War Two figurines.’

Our data contains several examples of switches between prepositions and determiners (also see examples 38 and 39):

52.	o	punem	pe	*our*	*naughty*	*lists,*	serios!
	her	put	on	our	naughty	lists,	really!

‘We’ll put her on our naughty lists, really!’

53.	casetuțe	cu	*the German word and the English translation*
	boxes	with	the German word and the English translation

‘little boxes with the German word and the English translation’

In general, mixed PPs headed by Romanian prepositions tend to occur as complements of verbs (see examples 51 and 52) or modifiers (examples 44 and 53), while switches of entire PPs are usually adjuncts, for example:

54.	Și	l-or	audiat	*in*	*a*	*proper*	*courtroom,*	everything.
	And	him have	heard	in	a	proper	courtroom,	everything.

‘And they heard him in a proper courtroom, everything.’

55.	îmi	voi	lega	un	șnur	*at*	*the*	*waist.*
	Refl.Dat	will	tie	a	string	at	the	waist.

‘I will tie a string around my waist.’

4.2 Adjectives and adjective phrases

Adjectives are the second largest category of English elements in our data: there are 162 single adjectives and 20 adjective phrases in a total of more than 700 switches. Some of these adjectives show a high frequency of occurrence (*cute, evil, tough, fair, cozy, funny*), but a very large number are used only once.

In Romanian, adjectives agree in number, gender and case with the nouns they modify; however, no English adjective in our data is morphologically adapted to Romanian.

4.2.1 Attributive adjectives

English adjectives are used both in the attributive and in the predicative positions, but switches inside NPs are much less common than those outside: only 31 single adjectives, representing about 20 percent of the total, occur in the attributive position, and only a limited number of these adjectives (less than 50 percent) are direct switches with Romanian nouns. All switched adjectives are placed on the right-hand side of the nouns they modify according to Romanian syntactic rules, a situation which supports the Morpheme Order Principle of the MLF model (Myers-Scotton 2006: 244):

56.	eu	am	pornit	de la	o	singură	culoare	*primary*.
	I	have	started	from	one	alone	colour	primary

‘I started from only one primary colour.’

57.	o	zis	să	punem	apă	*clear*.
	has	said	to	put	water	clear

‘She told us to use clear water.’

Romanian controls the order of words within mixed NPs even when both the head noun and the adjective are English:

58.	și-o	făcut	un	*dent*	foarte	*smooth*.
	Refl. has	made	a	dent	very	smooth

‘He made himself a very smooth dent.’

Sometimes, there is free variation between an adjectivally modified English NP and a bilingual adjective + noun combination:

59.	pe	ălea	mari	voi	lipi	*googly*	*eyes*.
	on	those	big	will	stick	googly	eyes

‘And on the big ones, I will stick the googly eyes.’

60.	tre’	să	te	confrunți	cu	ochișorii	*googly*.
	must	to	Refl.	face	with	the eyes	googly

'You must face the googly eyes.'

Although switching of English adjectives inside Romanian noun phrases is generally considered acceptable, our data contains more switches of entire adjective + noun phrases than switches between adjectives and nouns. In detail, there are 13 direct switches between Romanian nouns and English adjectives, 20 switches between English nouns and Romanian adjectives (see examples 35, 40, 45), but more than 40 combinations of English adjectives and English nouns, for example:

61. e aşa, o *fun* *day*.
is so, a fun day

'It is a fun day, like this.'

62. dacă ar fi *brown* *wallpaper* *and* *hot* *yellow*
if would be brown wallpaper and hot yellow

furniture, *that* *would* *be* *really* *bad.*
furniture, that would be really bad

'If it were brown wallpaper and hot yellow furniture, that would be really bad.'

However, since many of these phrases are collocations (*the best part, the main thing, slow motion, open space, smiley face, googly eyes, real life*) with few novel combinations of the type exemplified in 62 above, it is debatable whether adjective + noun combinations are in general easier from a productive point of view than NP-internal switches. Based on the evidence in our corpus, we believe that switching between adjectives and nouns obeys no syntactic constraints other than those imposed by the grammar of the matrix language.

4.2.2 Predicative adjectives

Approximately 80 percent of the adjectives and adjective phrases in my data are predicates, for example:

63. deci îs destul de *unique.*
so are pretty *unique*

'So they are pretty unique.'

64. Dementorii au făcut ca totul să fie *pitch black.*

The dementors have made that everything to be pitch black.

‘The dementors made everything pitch black.’

4.3 Verbs and verb phrases

Our data set contains 65 English verbs and verb phrases, mainly occurring in the subjunctive mood, but also in the indicative, conditional and imperative:

65. trebuie să *practice* ceva timp.
must to practice some time

‘You must practice for some time.’

66. ezit și uneori chiar mai *stutter*.
hesitate and sometimes even stutter

‘I hesitate and sometimes I even stutter.’

67. I’m warning you, nu mi-l *stretch*!
I’m warning you, not me.Dat it stretch

‘I’m warning you, don’t stretch (my sweater)!’

4.3.1 Morphological integration

Although Romanian finite verbs inflect for tense, number and person, very few switched verbs in our data are integrated into Romanian morphology. In detail, adapted forms represent less than 10 percent of the total of verbs in the corpus, and it is not clear why integration takes place in some cases but not in others. For example, some present tense indicative verbs receive Romanian inflections, while others remain uninflected in very similar syntactic contexts. Note the different behaviours of *top* and *trim* in the sentences below:

68. și îl *top*-ez, îl pict-ez de mână.
and it top-Pres.1Sg it paint-Pres.1Sg by hand

‘and I top it, I paint it by hand.’

69. îl mai *trim* eu un pic.
it more trim I a little

‘I trim it a little more.’

Similarly, most past participle and past tense verbs (11 out of 15) retain the *-ed* ending, and only a small number use Romanian inflections. Compare *stiffen*-it and *puzzled* below:

70.	s-o	mai	*stiffen*-it.
	Refl. has	more	stiffen-ed

‘It has further stiffened.’

71.	asta	m-o	*puzzled.*
	this	me has	puzzled

‘This puzzled me.’

The only factor that seems to play a role in the morphological adaptation of English verbs in our data is the presence of a complement immediately after the verb. Thus, English verbs followed by a direct object usually receive the necessary Romanian inflections whereas those used intransitively or preceded by pronoun objects remain uninflected. Consider these examples:

72.	Și	aș	*dip*-ui	carnea,	știi,	n-aș
	And	would	dip-INFIN	the meat	you know	not would

pune-o	peste…	aș	*dip*-ui-o.
put it	over …	would	dip-INFIN it

‘And I would dip the meat, you know, I wouldn’t put it over…, I would dip it.’

73.	Dacă	*sip*	așa,	nu	de	lângă	lămâie,	îmi	place.
	If	sip	like this	not	from	near	lemon	Refl.	like

‘If I sip like this, not from near the lemon, I like it.’

Here, *dip* is followed by a direct object and therefore morphologically integrated, whereas *sip* is used intransitively and remains uninflected. In fact, only five English verbs in our corpus are followed by Romanian direct objects, and three of these verbs are morphologically integrated. An example is:

74.	cred	că	am	*trade*-uit	câteva.

think	that	have	trade-PTCP	a few

‘I think I have traded a few.’

On the other hand, most transitive English verbs are followed by English object nouns, many of the switched VPs in our data (8 out of 23) being verb + direct object combinations:

75.	prima	dată	arată	niște	porumbei,	știi,
	first	time	shows	some	pigeons,	you know

niște	porumbei	*pecking*	*the*	*ground.*
some	pigeons	pecking	the	ground

‘First it shows some pigeons, you know, some pigeons pecking the ground.’

76.	o	paletă	pe	care	o	folosești	să	*flip pancakes.*
	a	spatula	on	which	it	use	to	flip pancakes

‘one of those spatulas that you use to flip pancakes.’

Our data suggests the idea that the boundary between the verb and the direct object is a particularly difficult switch point, especially when the direct object is a clitic pronoun. For example, both *establish* in English and *stabili* in Romanian are transitive verbs; however, the use of the English past participle in the Romanian sentence below blocks the occurrence of a compulsory object clitic after this verb (as in **established-o*):

77. Nu mai are chef să-și care vata până în colț,

deci	și-o	*established*	chiar	în	mijlocu’	cuștii.
so	Refl. has	established	right	in	the middle	of the cage

‘He doesn’t feel like carrying the cotton to the corner, so he established (it) right in the middle of the cage.’

By contrast, the use of the morphologically and phonologically integrated form *dip*-ui in example 72 makes possible the switch with the Romanian clitic -*o* (*dip*-ui-o).

Romanian inflectional morphemes are never used on English verbs in the subjunctive mood following the particle *să:*

78.

Stai	numai	să-mi	termin	*lesson*-ul,
Wait	only	to Refl.Dat	finish	lesson-Def.MSg

că	altfel	mă	pune	să	*quit*.
for	otherwise	me	put	to	quit

‘Wait until I finish my lesson, because otherwise they’ll make me quit.’

In her study of codeswitching involving first-generation Romanian/ English bilinguals in the United States, Bancu (2013: 179) finds the same lack of morphological integration of subjunctive verbs and explains it as the result of some perceived structural equivalence between the Romanian subjunctive and the English infinitive. The prevalence of unintegrated English verbs following the subjunctive marker in our data supports this idea; moreover, the equivalence between the two structures is confirmed by the occasional use of the English infinitive marker instead of the Romanian *să*:

79.

ar	fi	cam	greu	totuși	(pause)…
would	be	rather	hard	though	(pause) …

to	*keep*	*track*	*of*	*them.*
to	keep	track	of	them

‘However, it would be rather hard … to keep track of them.’

Although English past participle and past tense verbs generally retain the *-ed* ending in our data, occasionally, they lack any morphological marking at all, English or Romanian, especially when used in subordinate clauses. An example is *whimper* in this sentence:

80.

deci	poți	să-ți	dai seama	că	nu	era	foarte
so	can	to Refl.Dat	realize	that	not	was	very

manly	dacă	*whimper*	așa.
manly	if	whimper	like that

‘So you can imagine he wasn’t very manly if he whimpered like that.’

The incidence of bare forms is higher for present tense indicative verbs, which rarely retain their *-s* ending or add Romanian inflections:

81.	Se	gândește	că	dacă	*sleep*	*out*	*in*	*the*	*open,*
	Refl.	thinks	that	if	sleep	out	in	the	open

	o	să-l	*get.*
	will	to him	get

'He thinks that if he sleeps out in the open, they'll get him.'

82.	Cel mai	palpitant	se	întâmplă	când	o	găină	*escape.*
	The most	exciting	Refl.	happens	when	a	hen	escape

'The most exciting thing happens when a hen escapes.'

Myers-Scotton (2006: 258) explains bare forms as resulting from a lack of congruence between the structures of the matrix language and those of the embedded language. In our case, the typological difference between Romanian, a richly inflected language, and English, an isolating language, can be used to account for the insertion of embedded language verbs without the relevant inflections required by the matrix language. The influence of this variable on codeswitching patterns was studied by Bancu (2013) through the comparative method: looking at codeswitching data from two language pairs, Romanian/ Spanish and Romanian/ English, she finds more integration of Spanish than of English verbs in Romanian and explains this situation as resulting from the specific structural characteristics of the languages involved.

Other researchers see bare forms as indicative of a process of morphological convergence between the languages participating in codeswitching, rather than just of incongruence. For example, Schmitt (2000) believes that the omission of ML morphology on English nouns and verbs produced by Russian children in the United States shows convergence in the use of Russian towards English. Since codeswitching is often accompanied by convergence (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 271), it can be argued that the prevalence of bare verbs in our data might point towards a similar process of convergence of Romanian towards English in the speech of the studied child. Although convergence is outside the scope of this study, it is worth noting that our data contains evidence of English influence over Romanian in monolingual sentences as well as in mixed constituents. Consider the following example:

83.	l-au	încredințat	cu	o	mare	căutare.
	him.Acc have	entrusted	with	a	big	quest

‘They entrusted him with a big quest.’

This clause is a syntactic calque on the English *They entrusted him with a big quest*; a standard Romanian construction would use a Dative pronoun to show the recipient of the action and a direct object to show the theme. In addition to this, the word *căutare* is a semantic calque on the English *quest*, but sounds odd in Romanian, a more suitable choice in this context being *misiune* ‘mission’:

84.	i-au	încredințat	o	misiune	importantă.
	him.Dat have	entrusted	a	mission	important

‘They entrusted an important mission to him.’

Finally, Myers-Scotton (2002: 139) believes that the employment of bare forms, especially verbs, may reflect a lack of familiarity with “codeswitching as a medium of communication.” She shows that verbs were mostly used uninflected in Spanish/ English corpora gathered before 2000, but are increasingly used inflected in newer corpora, a tendency which reflects speakers’ growing awareness and understanding of codeswitching as a communicative strategy. Since the child studied in this paper does not belong to a bilingual community where codeswitching is the norm, this factor can be expected to play an important role in shaping her mixing preferences.

4.3.2 Syntactic integration

In Romanian, personal pronouns in the Accusative and the Dative frequently precede the verb when used in their weak forms, whereas in English they always follow the verb. The order of pronouns around English verbs is determined by Romanian syntactic rules, object pronouns being placed on the left-hand side of the verb, as predicted by the Morpheme Order Principle of the MLF model:

85.	Cabinetul	veterinary,	pot	doar	să-l	*wing.*
	The practice	veterinary	can	only	to it	wing

‘The vet practice I can only wing.’

The occasional pauses and hesitations at the pronoun/ verb boundary do not indicate, in our opinion, any difficulty in switching at this site, but rather a difficulty in finding the right word or planning the rest of the sentence:

86.	Numai	anemonele	nu	pot	să	le	plantez	azi,

Only	the anemones	not	can	to	them	plant	today

că	trebuie	să	le	…	*soak*	…	în	apă.
for	have	to	them	…	soak	…	in	water

'Only the anemones I cannot plant today, because I have to … soak … them in water.'

Another way in which the structural properties of Romanian are maintained in codeswitching situations is the use of English verbs with Romanian reflexive pronouns in contexts where these would occur in monolingual ML sentences. For example, the verb *climb* is not reflexive in English, whereas the Romanian corresponding verb *a te cățăra* 'to climb' is. Consequently, the English verb is used reflexively in a Romanian clause, such as in 87 below:

87.	Dacă	nu	te-au	văzut	până	acuma,	te	*climb*
	If	not	you have	seen	until	now	Refl.	climb

pe	un	*bridge*	care	produce	zgomot.
on	a	bridge	that	makes	noise

'If they haven't seen you yet, you climb a bridge that makes noise.'

The following example illustrates the way in which Romanian determines the grammar of a bilingual sentence containing English verbs: the switched subject noun in the first clause follows the verb *vine* 'comes', *notice* is used reflexively on the model of the Romanian *se observă*, and the Accusative pronoun *le* 'them' is placed on the left-hand side of *wrap around:*

88.	Dacă	vine	*collar*-ul,	nu	se	mai
	If	comes	collar-Def.MSg	not	Refl	any more

notice	și	o	să	le	*wrap*	*around.*
notice	and	will	to	them	wrap	around

'If the collar comes on, it won't be noticeable any more, and I will wrap them around.'

Conclusions

The analysis in this paper has shown that switching of English elements inside Romanian clauses takes place without violating the grammatical rules of the matrix language. Thus, English words and phrases follow Romanian word order and well-formedness requirements, a situation which supports the general principles of the Matrix Language Frame model proposed by Myers-Scotton (2006) to explain intrasentential codeswitching.

However, the morphological assimilation of English switches to Romanian takes place in a limited number of cases, with nouns showing the highest degree of integration and verbs and adjectives the least conformity to matrix language morphology. We believe that the various factors discussed in the literature in relation to morphologically bare forms (convergence between the two languages, unfamiliarity with codeswitching as a communicative strategy) constitute interesting avenues for future research on Romanian/ English codeswitching.

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EASY-TO-READ IN ROMANIA: CURRENT STATUS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT

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Abstract: *As the European Union's Strategy for people with disabilities has been extended to 2030, emphasising the need for these people's social inclusion, which also comprises accessibility to different information and documents, Romania has to align its legislation and best practices in order to solve its problems concerning this topic. Therefore, this paper focuses on an important aspect of social inclusion, namely Easy-to-Read (E2R) language, which is paramount for the disabled people's access to information, culture and education. It starts by presenting the concept of Easy-to-Read across Europe, its perception and implementation by various countries, to finally delve into the current situation of Easy-to-Read in Romania. By looking at the analysis and reports on the previous governmental strategies regarding people with disabilities (and especially reading disabilities, for the purpose of this paper), it can be said that Romania still faces challenges in this respect and needs to work on making documents and information accessible by first creating E2R guidelines and then implementing them in printed documents (e.g. adapted textbooks, healthcare leaflets) as well as in the electronic information (e.g. government websites). The paper also traces some future perspectives concerning Easy-to-Read in Romania, namely the Train2Validate "Professional training for Easy-to-Read facilitators and validators" (T2V) project, an Erasmus+ programme,*

a collaboration between various European countries, that Romania is part of, which goes one step further into helping people with reading disabilities and creating professional roles for them, i.e. facilitators and validators, in order to integrate them on the employment market. Moreover, this research will hopefully raise awareness of the importance of conducting other studies on creating Easy-to-Read guidelines and on simplifying the text according to the different target groups of people with reading disabilities or difficulties and to different text types.
Keywords: Easy-to-Read (E2R); people with reading disabilities; Train2Validate (T2V); accessibility; Easy-to-Read guidelines.

1. Introduction

In Article 19, the *Declaration of Human Rights* adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (1948) stipulates the fact that access to information is a fundamental human right, which can be sought and received through any media and across any borders (United Nations, n.d.). Therefore, providing access to information for people with reading disabilities is not only mandatory, but it also helps the concerned country's economy by creating employment opportunities and by fostering a healthy community environment where social exclusion becomes history. This access to information means facilitating the reading process of printed and virtual documents by using specific Easy-to-Read and accessible methods.

This paper aims at presenting the Easy-to-Read situation in Romania, which needs to be aligned to the European strategies focused on helping people with reading disabilities feel included in the society. At the same time, it also gives insight into the future perspectives of this type of language that might shine a light on the lives of people requiring it and might create a better social environment for everyone.

2. Easy-to-Read: a text simplification method

Easy-to-Read (E2R) is a text simplification method that incorporates a set of recommendations and guidelines that make the text easier to read and understand for people with reading disabilities (IFLA 2010; Inclusion Europe 2009). It is often useful for people with learning disabilities as well, and may also be beneficial for people with other conditions affecting the way in which they process information.

Reading disabilities, also called reading disorders, are mainly caused by difficulties in phonological information processing (Snowling, 2000; Nelson, Lindstrom & Lindstrom, 2012; Melby-Lervag, Lyster & Hulme, 2012) and are classified by the American Psychiatric Association (DSM-5, 2013: 66-67) as a specific learning disorder (SLD) with an impairment in reading concerning reading accuracy, reading fluency and reading comprehension. A particular group of people with reading disabilities are the people diagnosed with dyslexia, the most common neuro-cognitive disability, affecting 20% of the population and 80-90% of the people with learning disabilities (The Yale Center for Dyslexia and Creativity, n.d.).

Besides dyslexic people, a number of other individuals might need assistance when reading and comprehending a text due to other intellectual disabilities (such as ADHD or autism), to an age-associated cognitive decline (the elderly), to a lack of language skills (non-native speakers or recent immigrants) or to low literacy skills (functionally illiterate people) (IFLA, 2010; Yaneva, 2015; Garcia, Hahn & Jacobs, 2010). For all these categories of people, Easy-to-Read texts and documents are highly valuable as an important gateway to the access to information, culture and education.

In what follows, the focus will be on the situation of Easy-to-Read in Europe by delving into the historical background of this concept in Europe in order to gain a better insight into its importance in many countries across Europe. At the same time, the European as well as the national guidelines will be presented. The situation of Easy-to-Read in Romania will be discussed further. To this end, an overview of the legislative situation on the people with disabilities as well as some statistics on the recipients of Easy-to-Read texts are considered important and, therefore, mentioned.

3. Easy-to-Read: the situation in Europe

3.1. History and Terminology

The idea of creating an Easy-to-Read language is not new, emerging from the rights of the people with disabilities of the 'People First' movement in the USA in the 1970s, being taken over in Europe in 1988 by ILSMH-EA (International League of Societies for Persons with Mental Handicap, today, the Inclusion Europe Organisation), whose values and beliefs spread into all Europe through its national "subsidiaries".

Easy-to-Read, *Easy-Read*, *Easy-to-Understand*, *Easy Language*, *Clear Language* are all terms used in relation to a simpler type of language. According to Lindholm & Vanhatalo (2021: 11), *Easy Language* is an umbrella term for many languages (*Easy Spanish*, *Easy Finnish* etc.) referring to the language that is modified to be made more readable and understandable for the people having difficulties with the standard language, while *Easy-to-Read* is used in connection with people with disabilities, inclusion and accessibility, having different correspondent terms in different languages (*Lectura Facil*, *Lättläst*, *Linguaggio facile da leggere* etc.). This paper deals mainly with the latter term.

In Europe, *Easy-to-Read* is a concept first developed in the Scandinavian countries. *Lättläst* (*Easy Language*) appeared in the 1960s in Sweden, where over 1,000 Easy-to-Read books have been published since 1968. The Foundation Easy-to-Read (today, the Swedish Agency for Accessible Media) was established in 1987 following a decision of the

Swedish Parliament with the purpose of publishing a newspaper for the people with intellectual disabilities, which can still be read in print and online today (*8 Sidor*) (Bohman, 2017: 447-449). As opposed to its neighbouring countries, financial support was received from the Swedish Parliament, making it possible to publish around 30 books a year, a newspaper and also to offer courses in Easy-to-Read, even the governmental authorities providing information in Easy-to-Read (Sundin, 2008). The right to accessible information is also possible through the radio in Sweden, where the daily news is in Easy-to-Read (at a slower pace and with simpler words), a lot of people listening to the *Klartext* news programme every evening (Bohman, 2021: 553).

As far as the other Scandinavian countries are concerned, Norway has a different approach to Easy-to-Read, having an organisation that helps readers to find the book they want (Boksok, n.d.) and a national newspaper in Easy-to-Read, while in Denmark, *Let at lese* (*Easy-to-Read*) is not as developed as in other Nordic countries (Sundin 2008). In Finland, *Easy-to-Read Finnish* is called *Selkokieli* and appeared in the 1980s following the Swedish example with the main purpose of serving people with intellectual disabilities, but extending in the 1990s to the immigrants with the purpose of integrating them, the need for this special type of Finnish continuing to grow as the number of the elderly and the immigrants is rising according to 2019 reports (Selkokeskus, 2021). Additionally, as regards the guidelines for writing Easy-to-Read language, the Finns have decided to write guidelines by taking into account text genres, i.e. the text characteristics for each audience and purpose of the text genre on how the Easy-to-Read language text is written (Leskelä, 2017).

For Germany, a country where this concept is on an ascending trend, *Leichter Sprache* (LS), *Leicht Lesen*, *Einfache Sprache* encompass the Easy-to-Read terminology (Candussi & Fröhlich, 2015). In 2001, Mensch Zuerst Association was created and in 2006, Netzwerk Leichte Sprache was founded. These associations are the ones to be credited for having established guidelines that are available not only on their website, but which have also been taken over by the Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales (BMAS) website as a brochure and are used for accessibility purposes. At the same time, since 2014, at the Institute for Translation Studies and Specialised Communication at the University of Hildesheim, there is a Research Centre on Easy language, where the team examines this type of language using scientific methods and applies it in different practical contexts with the purpose of optimising the guidelines (Maaß, 2015; Mammel, 2018).

In Mediterranean countries, such as Spain, *Lectura Fácil* is a relatively new concept and, in 2002, Asociación Lectura Fácil (ALF) was founded in Catalonia, making (audiovisual and multimedia) texts and information accessible for all the recipients needing these services (people who have a physical, mental or social difficulty), facilitating thus the access to knowledge (Oliva et al., 2021). In 2012, The Spanish Organisation for the People with Intellectual Disabilities (FEAPS) Madrid published the first manual on Easy-to-Read in Spain, *Lectura fácil: métodos de redacción y evaluación*, written by Óscar García Muñoz, who is part of the Plena Inclusion Spain, the Spanish branch of Inclusion Europe.

Spain is also a pioneer in creating Simplext45, an automatic text simplification in E2R in Spanish (Bott & Saggion, 2011; Saggion, Gómez-Martínez, Etayo, Anula & Bourg, 2011; Saggion et al., 2015) based on lexical and syntactic simplification. At the same time, Spain is also working on making patient information leaflets into E2R (Train2Validate, 2021).

As for Italy, *Linguaggio facile da leggere* is still mainly underdeveloped in comparison with the aforementioned countries. The only exception is the Anffas Association (Associazione Nazionale Famiglie di Persone con Disabilità Intellettive e/o Relazionali), founded in 1958, which produces different documents in Easy-to-Read (e.g. laws, guides etc.) (Anffas, n.d.), even having a YouTube channel with videos in E2R on very important topics, such as COVID-19 (AnffasOnlus, 2020). On the other hand, the public administration websites do not provide information in E2R and it seems that the interest for this inclusive language in Italy still needs to be developed.

Another country in which Easy-to-Read is currently being researched and used is Slovenia, where in 2011, the Risa Institute, a non-governmental organisation, was established by Tatjana Knapp and Saša Lesjak and thus, the road for accessible communication was being paved. The organisation publishes a newspaper, *20 Minut* (20 Minutes), as well as other documents in E2R in Slovenian (Knapp & Haramija, 2021: 469).

In the UK, *Easy read* seems to be the preferred term instead of *Easy-to-read* or *easier information* although it is not so used in other English-speaking countries, with the exception of Australia and New Zealand (Chinn & Homeyard 2017). In the UK, the Human Rights Act (art. 21) of 1998 and the Equality Act (§20) of 2010 require access to information for disabled people. Therefore, the websites of the British government recommend Easy-to-Read as important for making a document accessible (Government UK 2021) and they provide Easy-to-Read guides on their official website (UK Parliament, n.d.).

3.2. Guidelines

The process of creating an E2R text is not an easy task as it targets different types of populations with a disability or a difficulty in reading or understanding, it belongs to different genres and is language-specific. Still, some general guidelines have been developed throughout the time, such as the ones of *Inclusion Europe 2009,* seen as very strict standards written mainly for people with intellectual disabilities (an outcome of the "Pathways to adult education for people with intellectual disabilities" project), and the *2010 IFLA guidelines*, holistic and loose, targeting people with different linguistic needs (Leskelä 2012). They mainly stipulate the fact that language should be simplified, that complicated words should be explained and that the text and layout are equally important, i.e. fonts should be large and readable and images should be used to express what is being said.

However, Fajardo et al. (2014) bring into question the validity of these guidelines, considering them too general and superficial, especially in the case of readers with intellectual disabilities.

Besides these guidelines available at the European level, there are also language rules applicable at the national level. In the UK, for example, in 2016, the accessibility standards of the UK healthcare system were published (NHS, n.d.) and in recent years, E2R has started being used for the production of accessible documents regarding healthcare (Chinn & Homeyard, 2017). Still, testing their effectiveness by people with reading disabilities is paramount in assessing the end-result of the text simplification approach (Chinn, 2019). In Spain, there are also some national guidelines to write Easy-to-Read texts, created by different associations and universities, such as Centro de Recuperación de Personas con Discapacidad Física de Albacete (*Cómo elaborar textos de lectura fácil*), Associació Lectura Fàcil (*Resum de les principals pautes de Lectura Fàcil per a elaborar textos narratius*) or Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (*Introducción a Don Quijote de la Mancha de fácil lectura*) (Muñoz, 2014: 66).

4. Easy-to-Read: the situation in Romania

4.1. Legislation

Following the adoption of the "European Disability Strategy, 2010-2020: A Renewed Commitment to a Barrier-Free Europe" (European Center for the Development of Vocational Training, 2010) and of the "European Accessibility Act" (European Commission, n.d.) by the European Commission in 2010, emphasising the need for the implementation of accessibility products and services (computers, smartphones, TV equipment, e-books, access to audio-visual media services such as television broadcast and related consumer equipment etc.) with the purpose of creating a more inclusive society, Romania has aligned its legislative framework and adopted, in 2016, the 2016-2020 "Barrier-Free society for the people with disabilities" National Strategy as well as the Operational Plan for its enforcement (Ministry of Labour and Social Justice, 2016). The situation presented in the

National Strategy has revealed the gaps Romania is facing concerning this topic:

- The access to assistive technologies is not possible due to costs or lack of training;
- The access to the local and central government's webpages is not possible even though there is a guide on the creation of webpages for the local and central governments;
- The TV or internet content is not available in accessible format;
- Research concerning the accessible information technology is almost inexistent;
- From an educational point of view, the curriculum has to be adapted for the children with disabilities attending normal schools and has to be thoroughly supported at the teaching level, where training for the teachers on inclusive education is limited.
- There is no awareness at the societal level of the fact that ensuring accessibility for the disabled people will be beneficial for the society as a whole.

At the same time, the strategy stipulates the fact that all these aspects are important for the disabled people's inclusion in the social, cultural, educational and economic life and that measures will be taken in order to smooth this process.

In 2020, in order to see whether the situation had improved, ANDPCDA (the National Authority for the Rights of People with Disabilities, Children and Adoptions) published a report on the *status quo* of the people with disabilities in Romania, showing that, at the accessibility level, out of 1,544 public institutions (social services), only 3 of 1,441 institutions are accessible from an informational point of view and only 76 of 1,306 institutions (5%) are accessible as far as communication is concerned, only 12 % of these employing certified interpreters for sign language or interpreters for people with deaf-blindness, and that only in 32% of cases, there was a person designated to assist people with disabilities. One of the measures that ANDPDCA proposes to be implemented is the creation of a guidebook on writing all the public documents in Easy-to-Read and Easy-to-Understand (Romanian Government, n.d.).

From an educational point of view, the report stresses the necessity of teacher training to gain inclusive education skills as well as the creation of a national online platform with inclusive education resources for the people with disabilities and for teachers. As far as tertiary education is concerned, in 2017, only 7% of students in Romania declared that they had a disability, a percentage that is much lower than in other European countries. The report states that the 2016-2020 "Barrier-Free society for the people with disabilities" National Strategy does not stipulate any measures with regard to access to tertiary education for people with disabilities, this being due to the disabled people's lack of training during the secondary education period. The report also presents data from a survey on private and public universities, which shows that less than half of the surveyed universities have adapted their curriculum for the disabled students and one in five of these universities have made their website accessible for these people.

Based on the 2010-2020 strategy, in March 2021, the European Commission decided to continue its work by adopting the "Strategy for the rights of persons with disabilities 2021-2030" (European Commission, 2021), which emphasises even more the fact that people with disabilities should have equal access to participate in society and economy, i.e. also access to information in order to prevent social exclusion, and encourages Member States to support an inclusive education. As a result, the Romanian Parliament issued the Decision no. 103 of 30 June 2021 (Legislative Portal, 2021) in which it strengthens the fact the "2021-2027 National Strategy on the Rights of the People with Disabilities" is currently a draft law, under public consultation, and under the European Strategy, an Operational Plan with concrete actions with deadlines for their implementation following to be released. Romania will have to align its plans and strategies and address all of the aforementioned concerns in order to create a more inclusive society. Through access to different types of documents, doors will be opened for the people with disabilities in all the areas of their lives: education, health care, legal system, employment etc., making them more independent.

Moreover, due to the fact that Romania is at a stage where people with disabilities remain largely excluded from society, which holds valid for the labour market, too, and are stigmatised, the European Commission has issued some recommendations that Romania should take into account in order to make a smoother inclusion of this category of people into the society. The recommendations target again inclusive education, which can only be achieved by adapting the curriculum and offering student support through adapted materials in Easy-to-Read language.

4.2. People needing Easy-to-Read – Statistics

Taking into consideration the legal facts concerning this aspect, it is worth stressing the importance of having guidelines and planning for E2R documents and, thus, creating accessibility, by seeing exactly the statistics on how many people are in need of these services. Therefore, according to the Statistical Data released by the National Authority for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, Children and Adoptions in September 2020 (National Authority for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, Children and

Adoptions, 2020), Romania has 854,965 people with disabilities, 124,541 of whom being people with intellectual disabilities.

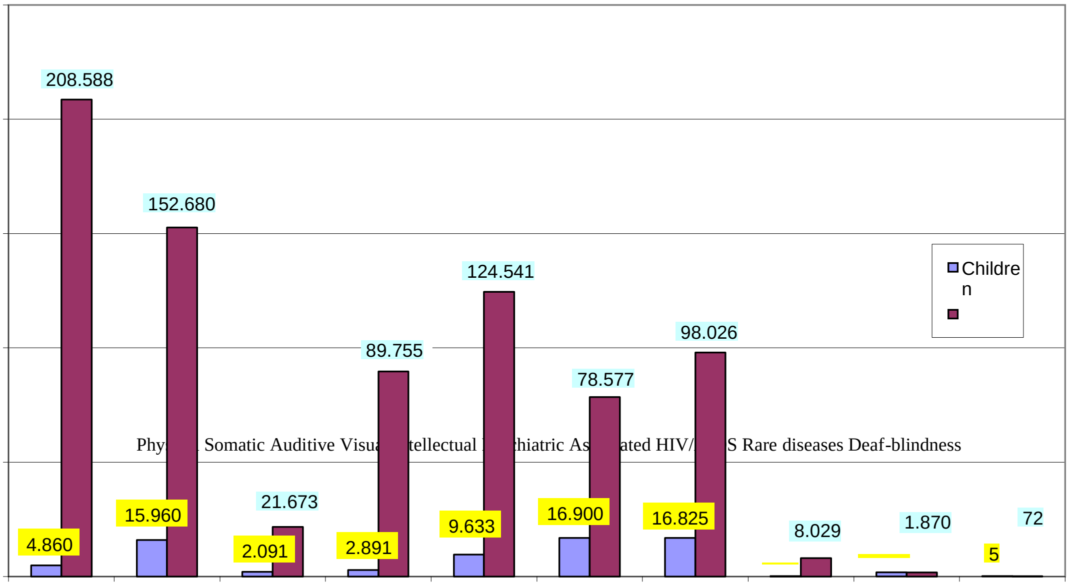

Figure 1. People with Intellectual Disabilities in Romania – September 2020

As highlighted above, the intellectually-disabled people are not the only ones requiring help with reading and understanding texts. In 2018, as a result of the PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) tests performed on 15-year-olds (every three years) by OCDE (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development), 44% of the 15-year-old Romanian teenagers were found to be functionally illiterate (Realitatea.net, 2019), i.e. they cannot use reading, writing and calculation skills for their own needs and the community's development (OECD 2001). Functional illiteracy does not only negatively affect a person's development, but also their involvement in the society (Vágvölgyi et al., 2016).

Therefore, the PISA scores place Romania at the bottom just before Bosnia and Herzegovina as far as the reading skills are concerned. Unfortunately, former Romanian Ministers of Education, Ecaterina Andronescu and Monica Anisie, denied the existence of this phenomenon, claiming that students know how to read, which is the most important thing (Peticila, 2019; Realitatea.net, 2019).

Functional illiteracy in Romania is blamed on a defective method of learning based more on mechanical learning than on understanding the concepts and not centred on the pupil/student (Del-Pupo, 2020). Even though the Communist regime boasted that it had managed to eliminate illiteracy, there is still today a part of the Romanian population under high illiteracy levels, more specifically the Roma population. The Roma population is one of Romania's largest minorities, the second largest ethnic minority in Romania after the Hungarians. According to 2011 Census, 3.3% of the total Romanian population are Roma (National Institute of Statistics, 2013) although, in 2020, the Council of Europe estimated that approximately 1.85 million Roma live in Romania (8.32% of the population) (European Commission, n.d.). From the total of illiterate persons in Romania (229,721), a share of 27.4 % (67,480 people) are of Roma ethnicity (European Commission, n.d.). These high levels could be due to their values and beliefs as Romani leave school early to get married. The Government of Romania has created a document presenting the action plans that need to be taken for the Roma inclusion in the society (European Commission, n.d.).

Another category of people needing simplified texts is that of immigrants, who choose Romania mainly for labour and studies. According to the Romanian General Inspectorate for Immigration (IGI) data, there were 84,228 third country nationals with a right to stay in Romania in 2019, most of them from Moldova, Turkey, China, Vietnam and India. Besides these, there are the asylum seekers from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and Algeria (2,582 people in 2019) (European Commission, 2020).

After having reviewed the legislation in the field of accessibility as well as the beneficiaries of this type of texts, a deeper analysis of the actual status of E2R texts in Romania is mandatory.

4.3. Current status of Easy-to-Read

Since reading disabilities should be dealt with from a very young age, one of the most important aspects in which E2R should be present is in the educational system. In Romania, as per Order no. 1985/2016 (Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Protection and Elders 2016), the phrase (children with) *special educational needs* (SEN) encompasses additional educational needs complementing the general educational ones and refers to children with a certain impairment or learning disorder (e.g. dyslexia, autism or ADHD) and they do not benefit from adapted textbooks, the support teacher being the one adapting the mainstream curriculum and creating teaching materials for the different children with disabilities in the classroom. Due to the burden and difficulty of the task, the teacher does not have time to prepare learning cards for all the children with special needs in the classroom, meaning that they have to study from the mainstream textbooks, which clearly impacts their development and learning.

Therefore, there are cases of parents of children with special educational needs who have stepped in to help their children themselves. An example is the case of Alina Voinea, a graphic designer and mother of an epileptic daughter, who has shared her opinion on the way the inclusive education happens in Romania, where children with SEN are segregated due to the fact that the general textbooks are very difficult for them. She has designed a website (Cere un manual [Ask for a textbook], n.d.), where she uploads all the textbooks and learning/working sheets she has developed for this type of children and where parents can download them at no charge (Figures 2 and 3).

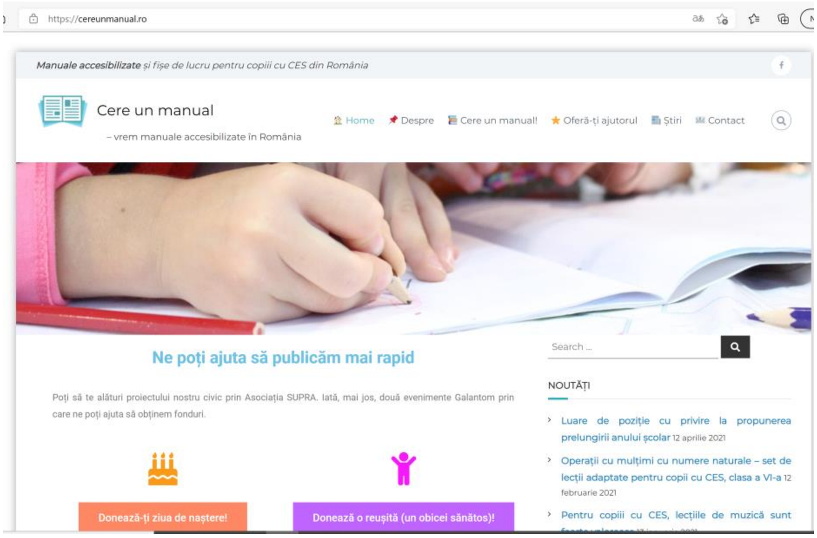

Figure 2. “Ask for a textbook” website – homepage

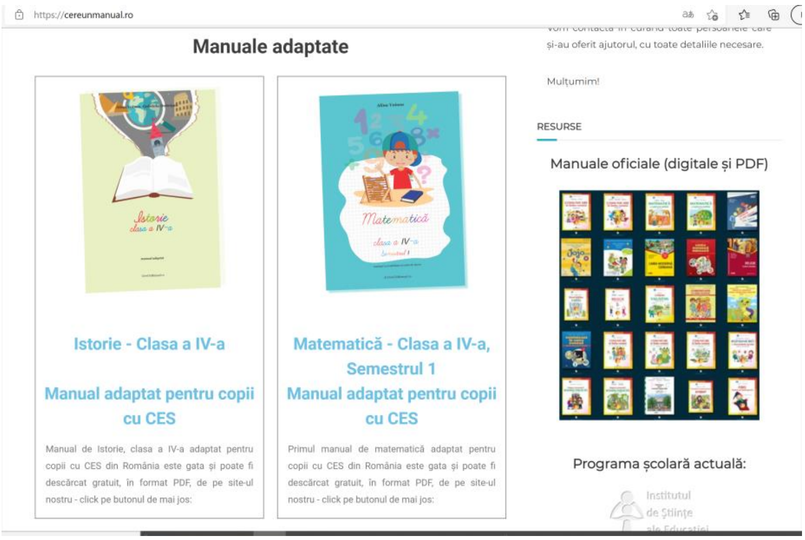

Figure 3. Downloadable adapted textbooks

At the same time, on the website, the creator of the website and of the downloadable resources has also posted an open letter to the Minister of Education as a cry for help requesting adapted instead of mainstream textbooks for the children with special educational needs (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Open letter to the Minister of Education requesting adapted textbooks

Another such case is the Romanian Association for Children with Dyslexia (Romanian Association for Children with Dyslexia, n.d.), which in 2012, in partnership with OMV, created the first textbooks and books for children with dyslexia (Figure 5).

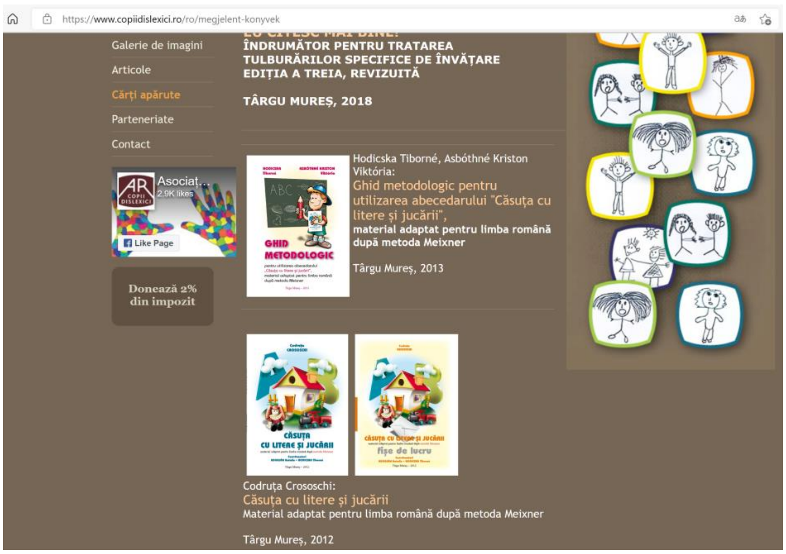

Figure 5. The Romanian Association for Children with Dyslexia website – adapted textbooks

Besides the educational aspect, the practical one should also be taken into consideration, i.e. integrating these people into the society and facilitating their accession to the labour market. This can only be achieved by providing them with the necessary information in an accessible manner, in a language and format that can be easily understood by them. That is why, in order to create such documents, guidelines should be written first. The Easy-to-Read Guidelines found on the Inclusion Europe website are available in 16 languages, but not in Romanian. Seeing that there is a vacuum in this field, the general guidelines must be translated into Romanian. This should be an important first step made by the Romanian authorities in making Easy-to-Read known in Romania not only for the creation of the official documents, but also for designing a framework to help organisations and NGOs write their own newsletters and other important documents in Easy-to-Read language. These guidelines could be later adapted to better suit the different text genres and the Romanian language specificity.

Furthermore, even if Inclusion Europe shares its own magazine and newsletter, *Europe for Us,* in Easy-to-Read, in many translated languages, including Romanian (Inclusion Europe, n.d.), it is important to emphasise the fact that it mainly tackles issues related to other European countries, offering case studies specific to those regions. Still, even though this is not a bad thing and might help broadening these people's horizons, people with reading disabilities should have their own Romanian newsletters, written by Romanian Easy-to-Read writers and presenting real-life examples taken from the Romanian society.

Therefore, it seems that Romania still has many steps to take as far as the inclusion of the people with reading disabilities is concerned and should take adapting the curriculum and creating E2R content very seriously. These shortcomings that people with reading disabilities face during school years, i.e. lack of adapted textbooks in E2R, will lead to serious consequences in terms of emotional development, thus making their social integration harder.

4.4. Future perspectives

In spite of all of the above, there is still light at the end of the tunnel for E2R in Romania. One such example is the project Train2Validate "Professional training for Easy-to-Read facilitators and validators" (T2V), funded by the European Commission, being an Erasmus+ Programme, which is ongoing and will end in 2023. The project is a co-operation between several European countries and organisations, namely Politehnica University Timişoara, Romania, Plena Inclusión Madrid, Spain, Internationale Hochschule SDI München, University of Applied Sciences, Germany, Scuola Superiore per Mediatori Linguistici, Italy, Fundația Professional, Romania, Zavod RISA, Center za splosno, funkcionalno in kulturno opismenjevanje, Slovenia, ECQA GMBH, Austria (Train2Validate "Professional training for easy-to-read facilitators and validators", 2021).

Based on a European partnership and on the fact that E2R is more developed in other European countries, as already specified, where such needs have been better observed and researched through other European projects (EASIT, LTA, ILSA), the project targets the end-users of the E2R content, i.e. the validators (people with reading disabilities who read the texts to assess their comprehensibility) and the facilitators (people who act as organisers of the validation process and smooth the communication between the E2R writers and validators). Although across Europe, people already work in these capacities, the relevant professions are not officially recognised. Specifically for Romania, the main aim of the project is to understand more about the status and needs of Easy-to-Read validators and facilitators in Romania in order to create professional roles needed to help the disabled people find work opportunities. The project is ongoing and the results obtained so far can be found on the project's website in the form of a report (Dejica, Șimon, Fărcașiu, & Kilyeni, 2021), which have been transposed into a book (Dejica, Muñoz, Șimon, Fărcașiu & Kilyeni, 2022). At the same time, this could also be a perfect occasion to establish a set of guidelines for writing E2R content in Romanian.

Furthermore, this is a perfect opportunity for universities to consider introducing teaching Easy-to-Read language in their curricula with the purpose of producing E2R texts, as well as getting more involved in research work in the field of inclusion and accessibility. Research is definitely needed in order to assess the intelligibility and readability of these documents by the future validators. Future studies could also concentrate on the impact of this type of information for the welfare of its intended recipients, e.g. the potential benefits of health information in E2R for the people with reading disabilities.

Conclusions

This paper has shed light on very sensitive and important topics nowadays, i.e. Easy-to-Read, people with reading disabilities, children with special educational needs, accessibility, and social inclusion, as well as on the importance of creating E2R guidelines and aligning the Romanian best practices to the European ones. All in all, being aware of the real "X-ray" of the context could help tremendously improve the Romanian current situation relative to these topics.

Therefore, this paper has posited the importance of developing Easy-to-Read language in Romania on account of the fact that:

- There are no official data on the Easy-to-Read language and content;
- There are no guidelines on producing Easy-to-Read content for Romanian people with reading disabilities;
- There is no adapted learning content for children with special educational needs;
- There is no accessible information (printed or electronic) for adults with reading disabilities.

At the same time, the paper has also mentioned the steps taken at the European level towards improving these areas of concern, e.g. the Train2Validate (T2V) project, and has shown that Romania, through its participation in this project, is also determined to follow in the other European countries' footsteps.

Moreover, this research will also be of importance for raising awareness regarding the situation of Easy-to-Read language in Romania and, hopefully, will pave the way for other studies on creating Easy-to-Read guidelines and simplifying the text according to the different target groups of people with reading disabilities or difficulties and to different text types.

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CONTENT BASED LEARNING-TASK BASED LEARNING-PROBLEM BASED LEARNING IN TEACHING ROMANIAN LANGUAGE TO FOREIGN STUDENTS

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Abstract: *When talking about the process of Romanian language teaching, learning and using the Romanian language, leads us to the idea that we are faced with a considerably large number of variables. No matter what happens during the process, there is always something good to acquire and put into practice. Despite this "methodological painkiller", boosting efficiency is the determining factor. In the practical, everyday management of classes, it is common knowledge that it is more challenging for a teacher to do something "inappropriate" than to do it "correctly". However, considering that almost all actions count, the teachers' exclusive attention to the process comes as a necessity. As for the rest of the process, the things we have mentioned above are to be seen in a different way. Natural Romanian usage involves fluency and one can get the impression that Romanian is not difficult to learn and activate. It is pointless to say that this is a determining factor in encouraging students to be part of the "effort". In contrast, artificial, highly automated Romanian tends to change into a nightmare for both teachers and learners. The context of CBL, TBL and PBL is represented by Communicative language teaching. The communicative approach was developed mainly by British applied linguists in the 1980s as a reaction against grammar-based approaches like situational language teaching and the audiolingual method. Strange as it may seem, the foreign language being taught during modern/current classes tends to lose the center of attention in this context. The main focus of attention is no longer on language but on some relevant subjects. Indeed, language should not be an end but a means. In different terms, the process works mostly with message-focused activities rather than form-focused ones. When it comes to modern approaches, the term "learning" becomes a very general one, mainly biased in favor of acquisition.*

Keywords: content-based learning; task-based learning; problem-based learning; communicative approach

Teacher's role

It is the teacher's role to make artificial elements part of the natural language system, in other words, to integrate them. The fact that the teacher's competence in the foreign language can make a huge difference in students' proficiency is easy to demonstrate. In a lot of cases, teachers act as role models. Strange as it may seem, the opposite of this desirable situation is not a so-called anti-role model teacher. As a matter of fact, the worst-case scenario is represented by that kind of teacher who is ignored, who does not make his/her students react one way or another.

Overall teaching success is highly probable to descend from the right combination of desirable factors. Among these, we should mention the teacher's ability to combine a thorough planning with his/her capability to become flexible. It seems that being balanced offers certain advantages whereas being unidirectional may prove unproductive, sometimes.

"What makes a good teacher?" has been a long-debated issue. The main discussion point here is whether there is a so-called good teacher, or it is just a question of individual preferences. At first glance, one (especially a principal or a parent) may say that results make a good teacher. It is partly true. Students will probably say that a good teacher establishes good communication first and foremost. Teachers would probably say that a good teacher is one who never stops trying to become a good teacher for his/her students. Jeremy Harmer interviewed students to find out their opinion related to what a good teacher may be. Here are some of the representative answers he collected:

> "-They should make their lessons interesting, so you don't fall asleep in them.
> -A teacher must love her job. If she really enjoys her job that'll make the lessons more interesting.
> -I like the teacher who has his own personality and doesn't hide it from the students so that he is not only a teacher but a person as well – and it comes through the lessons.
> -I like a teacher who has lots of knowledge, not only of his subject.
> -A good teacher is an entertainer and I mean that in a positive sense, not a negative sense.
> -It's important that you can talk to the teacher when you have problems, and you don't get along with the subject.
> -A good teacher is…somebody who has an affinity with the students that they're teaching.
> -A good teacher should try and draw out the quiet ones and control the more talkative ones.
> -He should be able to correct people without offending them.
> -A good teacher is … someone who helps rather than shouts.
> -A good teacher is…someone who knows our names." (Harmer, 2001: 1-2).

Taking into consideration these perspectives, we may say that a good teacher is somebody who can blend in perfectly with his/her students' particularities and necessities. We may discuss the issue in terms of teacher's skills and knowledge, but it is easier to consider that issue more simply. Some students are motivated/ impressed by the teacher's knowledge while others by the teacher's personality, which makes him/ her a fascinating person. It matters a lot what the students are mainly interested in when it comes to their teachers. All teachers have strong and weak points. It depends a lot how they deal with them. Concealing weaknesses from students might not be the best solution all the time. Sometimes students need to be shown that teachers are also/ only human but that it is human (to be read normal) to do something about your problems. From this point of view, it may be a good idea for the teachers to appear as they are (i.e. active human beings).

If we take notice of this great diversity of variables, we will come to this conclusion: "different teachers are often successful in different ways" (Harmer, 2010: 23). On the other hand, the opposite functions just as well. Nonetheless, doing their best in the right context will take teachers closer to what is generally called "success".

The context of CBL, TBL and PBL

If we are to summarize some of the more recent (not necessarily "latest") trends mentioned earlier, we should outline some significant shifts that the process of language teaching/ learning generally underlines. Current trends focus mainly on the acquisition process. In order to make use of it, the first thing to do is to structure contexts that favor the reactivation of the acquisition, whose mechanism (the language acquisition device, according to N. Chomsky) falls away much earlier than puberty.

But how can this mechanism be set to work again? Since the 1960s the best solution that has been found is to recreate, according to the possibility, the conditions that occur when the learners acquire their mother tongue. It is not difficult at all to realize that it is fairly impossible to "bring" to classroom those conditions that are present in natural acquisition. Nevertheless, acquisition increases at the same rate as recreating those primary conditions. The starring role here is played by the meaningful/ relevant knowledge delivery. As a matter of fact, the three methods enunciated above deal with this issue. Hence, teaching is no longer structurally planned but situationally organized. The context of CBL, TBL and PBL is represented by Communicative language teaching. It is an

> "approach to foreign or second language teaching which emphasizes that the goal of language learning is communicative competence, and which seeks to make meaningful communication and language use a focus of all classroom activities. The communicative approach was developed particularly by British applied linguists in the 1980s as a reaction away from grammar-based approaches such as situational

language teaching and the audiolingual method. The major principles of Communicative Language Teaching are:

1. learners use a language through using it to communicate
2. authentic and meaningful communication should be the goal of classroom activities
3. fluency and accuracy are both important goals in language learning
4. communication involves the integration of different language skills
5. learning is a process of creative construction and involves trial and error

Communicative language teaching led to a re-examination of language teaching goals, syllabuses, materials, and classroom activities and has had a major impact on changes in language teaching world wide. Some of its principles have been incorporated into other communicative approaches, such as task-based language teaching, **cooperative language learning**, and content-based instruction." (Richards, 2010: 99).

Strange as it may seem, the foreign language being taught during modern/current classes tends to lose the center of attention in this context. The main focus of attention is no longer on language but on some relevant subjects. Indeed, language should not be an end but a means. In different terms, the process works mostly with message-focused activities rather than form-focused ones. More attention is given to the functions of language than to the notions of language. Modern approaches operate with uses rather than concepts. Students are expected to benefit from modern trends. For example, these trends can be more realistic. For example, the so-called 100 per cent comprehension approach is not taken into account anymore, especially because it is not realistic when it comes to real life.

When it comes to modern approaches, the term "learning" becomes a very general one, mainly biased in favor of acquisition.

Content based learning

Content and language integrated learning is a method that brings together language instruction with subject matter instruction making use of the target language. Some examples of content-based instruction include Sheltered Romanian, Immersion or Language across the curriculum.

The student studies a subject such as geography, chemistry or history, learning at the same time the language (Romanian in our case) used as a means for getting across the teaching line's message. Choosing the language to use is a matter of choice. It may be a second language, an additional language or a combination between a second/ third etc. language and student's first language (translanguage content and language integrated learning).

This approach is very different from general Romanian teaching. Students are supposed to learn only what they need for the content of the lesson, not grammar items and patterns. Language is used for learning, not for some later use.

Content and language integrated learning concentrates on content, communication (after all, it addresses communication competence), cognition and culture. Students are supposed to cooperate with one another so as to successfully perform genuine tasks. Teachers will help their students by making use of the so-called scaffolding. In different terms, CLIL still makes use of progressive stages.

The content that teachers bring about may have already been studied in students' L1 or it may occur at first sight. Both ways present certain benefits that should be thoroughly considered. Students are given the chance to reach cognitive academic language proficiency first, but also basic interpersonal communication skills.

Jeremy Harmer presents several ways for the CLIL teachers to encourage good learning:

-We can get the students to compare the work they are doing with work they have done before. We will get them to see how and why they have made improvements.

-We can give the students different strategies for doing a task and ask them how effective they are. For example, we can show them four different ways of taking notes. They have to think about which one they prefer and why.

-We can discuss the best way of remembering words and encourage the students to keep vocabulary books in which they write down words and phrases that they need to remember.

-At the end of a lesson or unit of work, we can get the students to think about what was difficult and what was easy- and why. We can get them to think/ take notes about how they will use what they have leant and how they will follow it up. (Harmer 2012: 237).

Task-based learning

Considered "dictionarily", task-based learning is

> "a teaching approach based on the use of communicative and interactive tasks as the central units for the planning and delivery of instruction. Such tasks are said to provide an effective basis for language learning since they:
> a) involve meaningful communication and interaction
> b) involve negotiation

> c) enable the learners to acquire grammar as a result of engaging in authentic language use.
> This approach does not require a predetermined grammatical syllabus since grammar is dealt with as the need for it emerges when learners engage in
> interactive tasks. In using tasks in the classroom teachers often make use of a cycle of activities involving a) preparation for a task b) task performance
> c) follow-up activities that may involve a focus on language form. Task-based language teaching is an extension of the principles of Communicative
> Language Teaching and an attempt by its proponents to apply principles of second language learning to teaching." (585).

Since TBL is closely related to communicative language teaching, it appears evident that the focus is mainly on fluency-first, accuracy-after. Similar to this, we should outline that TBL concentrates first on performing a task and only afterwards on the linguistic elements present in and during the task. As a matter of fact, accuracy is said to descend from fluency. A very good example here could be the one of N. Prabhu (in the late 1970s he structured TBT as a reaction to Communicative language teaching and the n/f syllabus). He understood that the best way to teach grammar is to concentrate on meaning/message and not on structures. He managed to offer support to this idea in the course of the Bangalore Experiment.

The need to communicate is at the core of the process. This is one reason why the syllabus objectives are formulated according to real language use and not grammar structures. Students will (try to) communicate making use of their available resources. "Over time, the language that is necessary to perform different relevant tasks will be absorbed without really being aware of it. The basis of the task-based approach is the alternation **perform-observe-re-perform**" (Thornbury, 2007: 58).

Scott Thornbury mentions the following task types:

- Surveys-as when groups of learners collaboratively produce a questionnaire on the subject of music tastes, survey the rest of the class, collate the results, and report on them to the class.
- Design tasks- as when learners collaborate in deciding on the most effective use for a vacant space in their neighborhood and present their case to the rest of the class.
- Research tasks- as when learners use the resources of the Internet, for example, to research an aspect of local history with a view to writing the wording for a new monument.
- Imaginative tasks- as when learners script, perform, and record a radio drama based on a regional folk tale (119).

A slightly different perspective on task types is presented by J Willis:

- Listing-making a list (Willis, 1996: 186).

These tasks are meant to reflect real-life needs and skills. In other words, since the students are supposed to do something, at least this should be meaningful. This applies to the teacher as well. N. Prabhu stated that it is not possible to really focus on meaning if the background is occupied by a language syllabus. He argues that it is not even moral to ask about message when you are really interested in form. This would spoil genuine communication. However, some structures are possible to be made more salient.

Unlike the syllabus followed by CLIL (i.e. structured in terms of subjects), TBL syllabus is built on tasks/ activities. Another name for this kind of syllabus is "syllabus of means" as opposed to "syllabus of ends".

Some of the advantages of TBT, due to some principles that it follows, are: form is better learned when the focus is on message, performing tasks help to structure knowledge, students will exercise negotiation (for meaning).

Problem-based learning

This approach has a lot of things in common with the other two perspectives mentioned above, the striking similarity involving TBT. In this respect,

> "students work through problem-solving tasks that are similar to real world problems they are likely to encounter. It involves collaborative group work and may take different forms but always makes use of a focus on a problem or problems to drive the teaching-learning process. Resolving the problem typically involves research, reading, writing, group discussions, and oral presentations, activities that are used as the basis for language development" (Richards, 2010: 458-459).

Student-centered approaches insist on maximizing students' involvement and conversely, limiting teachers': "Student-centered learning has its foundation in social constructivist theories. This perspective contends that learning occurs as knowledge is negotiated among learners, often facilitated by a more knowledgeable group member and that students need to be active, intentional learners." (Palincsar, 1998: 345-375). The teacher's role in PBL is to facilitate knowledge construction by means of collaboration. Learning becomes a sense-making activity. Sense is no longer received mostly. Students are supposed to drive the course of the lesson while the teacher's role is that of a scaffold. He/she will not seek to correct students' mistakes but to understand students' ideas.

PBL makes use of complex problems meant to stimulate learning. The main idea is that such problems, in general, do not have just a single solution/correct answer. Students are allowed to negotiate the best "alternative". This is just one way to make students become responsible for their learning. This is related to learning by (really) doing. Students enhance their perspective of being so-called self-directed learners.

The importance of PBL is huge due to the fact that students prepare to successfully integrate in a decision-making context/ environment. Unlike the Industrial Age, The Information Age is based on constant change. The relevance of "old-school information" is very likely to decrease dramatically. In other words, that information is highly possible/ probable to become obsolete. In this case, mechanisms are more useful than the materials. Students will become more aware of themselves, the environment and best connecting strategies.

The characteristics of PBL are:

> "• It is problem focused, such that learners begin learning by addressing simulations of an authentic, ill-structured problem. The content and skills to be learned are organized around problems, rather than as a hierarchical list of topics, so a reciprocal relationship exists between knowledge and the problem. Knowledge building is stimulated by the problem and applied back to the problem.
> • It is student centered, because faculty cannot dictate learning.
> • It is self-directed, such that students individually and collaboratively assume responsibility for generating learning issues and processes through self-assessment and peer assessment and access their own learning materials. Required assignments are rarely made.
> • It is self-reflective, such that learners monitor their understanding and learn to adjust strategies for learning.
> • Tutors are facilitators (not knowledge disseminators) who support and model reasoning processes, facilitate group processes and interpersonal dynamics, probe students' knowledge deeply, and never interject content or provide direct answers to questions." (Hung, 2015: 488-489).

The learning cycle implied by PBL is structured as follows:

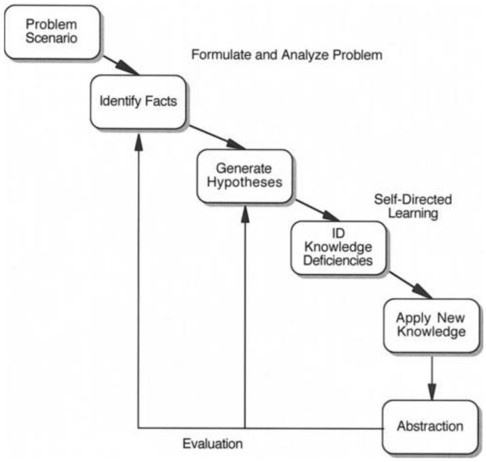

Figure 1: The problem-based learning cycle (Hmelo-Silver, 2004: 237)

One big problem of PBL is that it takes a lot of time to fully integrate within individuals. Nevertheless, all journeys are said to start with a single step, be it hesitant or bold. More than this, we all know that changing pace, from time to time, is a must even though it may create the impression of destabilizing of the entire "construct".

Instead of a conclusion, as A.S. Schoenfeld said, "how one teaches and the strategies that are applied are intimately related to teachers' beliefs about the nature of the teaching-learning process." (Schoenfeld, 2006: 21).

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