"LA IZVOARELE IMAGINAȚIEI CREATOARE"

Studii și evocări în onoarea profesorului Mircea Borcilă

BCU Cluj / Central University Library Cluj

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DINA VÎLCU¹

THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE 1989 REVOLUTION IN ROMANIA. AN INTEGRALIST APPROACH

1. INTRODUCTION

Every moment of historical significance, like revolutions certainly are, brings with it change at multiple levels. Among these, the change in language is one of the most important and relevant (Wang 2011, Goina 2012). With the Revolution in 1989 in Romania, the people experienced liberation from the need to carefully control the words they used and the attitude they expressed in relation to the leaders of the country and to the ideology officially adopted by the state² (Nicolau et al. 1990). In this context, one of the spiritual/ cultural/ linguistic spheres which re-emerged in the public life and in the public discourse in the days of the Revolution was the religious one. After decades of limitations people felt free to openly refer to religion and to make the religious rituals part of their current lives again.

This study will focus on the ways and the contexts in which the religious element was present in people's lives during the Revolution in December 1989. The main concepts used in order to analyse this aspect will be those of "evocation" and "universe of discourse", as they were mainly developed by Eugenio Coseriu as part of his integral linguistics. The concepts will help shed light on different texts created or adapted in

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² Before the Revolution in 1989 the secret services exerted control over the citizens' lives, punishing any gesture of opposition against the leading structures of the country. There was no freedom of speech and anyone criticising the political regime of the country risked being detained and interrogated and even imprisoned. The people needed to be very careful at what they said about the political regime and in what context, since anyone, even in their familiar circles, could have been an informant for the secret services.

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the days of the Revolution in a religious note (slogans, poems and even prayers). These texts helped channel the people's reactions related to the end of dictatorship in Romania and the newly gained freedom, but also to the unpredictability of events. They also reflected the people's intense conflicting emotions and the painful grieving of so many lost lives. At the same time, they reflect a vision of the world people had not been allowed to manifest publicly before the Revolution – the world as God's creation, who also decides on people's fate, to whom people direct their prayers, in whom they put their faith and trust. Many of the texts created in December 1989 fully reveal their sense only in connection to this vision of the world, an aspect which will be related, in this study, to the concept of universe of discourse.

2. LANGUAGE AND THE REVOLUTION

The communist regime³ which dominated Romania for almost fifty years, with Nicolae Ceauşescu as leader of the state between 1965 and 1989, ended with the Revolution in December 1989. The Revolution started on 15–16 December in Timişoara, initially as a protest against the decision of the authorities to move the reformed pastor László Tőkés, who was serving in Timişoara, to a church in a village from Sălaj county. The people initially opposing this decision were soon joined by many more and the purpose of the protest shifted from the religious dimension to the political one when the first shouts "Down with Ceauşescu!" were heard in the crowd. After hundreds of people joined the protesting crowd and they returned to the streets of Timişoara the following days, the protests spread in the capital and other major cities in Romania and soon the movement became unstoppable.

1989 was the year which saw major political changes in Europe, with Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria ending the communist regimes and also saw the breakup of the Soviet Union. However, in none of these countries was the overthrow of the regime so violent as in Romania. More than 1100 people lost their lives and almost 5000 persons were wounded between the 17th and the 22nd of December 1989. It is not the place here to discuss this crucial aspect

³The political regime in Romania between 1948 and 1989 is most often referred to as *communism*. This term will also be used in this study. However, according to the communist ideology, adopted by the Romanian political leaders in the period mentioned above, the country was in the socialist phase of her political evolution, the last step before communism (Wilczynski 2008, Stanomir 2021).

through which the Revolution in Romania differed from the way in which the political regimes changed in other European countries. Instead, the focus will be on the resilience of the people who made the Revolution possible and the way in which they expressed themselves against the communist regime. The language of the Revolution can be characterised through some general features.

First of all, it is the intensity with which the feelings of frustration and anger were reflected in the people's attitude and messages. After the Revolution the biggest protests in Romania were in 2012 and then in 2017, against corruption and for protecting the rule of law. Looking at the messages and slogans created and spread during these protests we will see that they are rather dominated by creativity, wit, and often amusement. The protesters used allegories, jokes, references to literature and films, even vulgar language in order to sanction the ones in power and to make their message transparent for different categories of public. A retrospective look will reveal, in contrast, the grim tone, the direct threats and the suffering revealed in the slogans of December 1989. Given the tragic circumstances in which the Revolution in Romania unfolded, this comes as an inevitable response. At the same time, the slogans created at the Revolution were also the closest to the religious sphere. Another factor which spiralled the feelings of anger and frustration might have been the fact that the oppression of any opposition to the state politics was extreme in the communist times. As a consequence, unlike in other countries, the dissidence in Romania during the communist regime was rather scarce and isolated. The feelings of frustration and anger accumulated led to the outburst in the days of the Revolution. Nicolae Ceausescu was really surprised to see that the people were against him when he tried to address them on the day of the 21st of December, in his last attempt to talk to the workers forcefully brought to acclaim the leader, like so many times before (Stoenescu 2005), Isolated from the reality in the country by the secret services and the whole system built around him, he could not understand that all the manifestations of love and appreciation he could see in public demonstrations hid frustration, fury and maybe even hatred. These feelings burst now with the force of a volcano.

The second feature of the language of the revolution we can identify was that the language was not prepared for reflecting the events. Looking at the testimonies collected by Irina Nicolau, Ioana Popescu and Speranța Rădulescu in the days of the Revolution or shortly after that and published in 1990 in a volume called *Vom muri și vom fi liberi [We Will Die and We Will Be Free]*, we will find the editors' interpretation on the rapid,

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successive stages of language evolution during the Revolution. They talk about the phase of *the unspeakable*, when people did not seem to find the words simply to describe what was happening to them and around them. This was followed by the phase of *the unthinkable*, when people found it difficult to process mentally what was going on. Then came the phase of *solidification*, when language "took sides" and divided the participants into "our people" and "the suspects". The process closes with *sacralisation*, especially related to honouring the heroes of the Revolution: the already-numerous martyrs memorialized through altars raised in the streets at the places where they had been shot (Nicolau el al. 1990: 313–316).

Third, one of the most relevant features which resurged in people's language in the days of the Revolution was the religious element. Together with the discourse about liberty, about freedom of speech and the condemnation of the communist regime, the main cultural and spiritual dimension people recovered at the level of public speech was the religious one. Aspects of the way in which this reflects in the language of the Revolution will be analysed further in this study. For now, we can observe the fact that the dimension of the newly regained liberty and the religious one come together in what came to be probably the most representative slogan of the Revolution: "On Christmas we took our ration of freedom".4

3. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of reference for this analysis will be the one of integral linguistics, especially the construction of the sense at the individual plane of language, as defined by Eugenio Coseriu (1981, 1992 [1988]). More exactly, we will focus on the semantic relations the linguistic sign establishes and through which it realises the evocative functions (Coseriu 2009 [1971], 1981). These functions were presented and exemplified in consistent writings by Emma Tămâianu-Morita (2020) and Lolita Zagaevschi (2006). In this study the concrete analysis will focus on the relationships the linguistic signs can have with: 1) signs from other texts; 2) things and 3) the circumstances (the frames) – especially context and universe of discourse.

⁴ All the slogans and the quotations are translated by the author of this study.

3.1. Integral linguistics

The integral linguistics is the language theory created by Eugenio Coseriu which provides the necessary instruments for analysing the language in its entirety, at all its levels. Coseriu himself defines his theory as "three times linguistics" because it includes three theories: of speaking, of the particular language and of text (Kabatek and Murguía 1997: 159). The tripartition of the planes of language is the fundament of Coseriu's vision on language. The universal, historical and individual plane of language are all subject to investigation as part of this theory by different types of linguistics (the linguistics of speaking for the universal plane; a variety of linguistic fields for the particular languages (e.g., history of language, dialectology, sociolinguistics, linguistic typology, etc.) and the linguistics of text for the individual plane (Vîlcu D. 2019: 17–20). Each plane is characterized by Coseriu from three points of view: of activity (enérgeia), of competence/ knowledge (dynamis) and of the product (érgon), as presented in **Table 1**.

	POINT OF VIEW		
PLANEBCU	Cluactivity ral (energeia)	competence/ knowledge (<i>dynamis</i>)	Clujproduct (érgon)
the universal	speaking in	elocutional	the totality of
plane	general	competence	speech
the historical plane	the particular language	idiomatic competence	(the abstract particular language)
the individual plane	discourse	expressive competence	the text

Table 1. *The tripartition of the planes of language* (Coseriu 1992 [1988]: 92)

The tripartition of the planes of language is fundamental for the linguistic theory which will be later named by its creator integral linguistics and will include the linguistics of speaking, the linguistics of languages and the linguistics of text. The whole edifice Eugenio Coseriu will construct is based on this conception presented in his crucial study *Determinación y entorno. Dos problemas de una lingüistica del hablar*, published already in 1955–1956. Coseriu himself and many other

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linguists who developed their research in connection with the integral linguistics recognise this.⁵ Integral linguistics places the study of languages, with its multiple branches and modern instruments and methods in relation with the historical plane. In his study *La* "situación" en la lingüística, published in 1973, Coseriu acknowledges the research in the domain of the linguistics of the text (Coseriu 1977 [1973]: 241) and relates it to the individual plane of language in the scheme of integral linguistics. The picture of language study includes also the universal plane, the one corresponding to speaking in general. Coseriu pleas for the investigation of a part of language considered before much too heterogeneous and difficult to structure to be seen as a real object of study in linguistics⁶ and he develops this idea in many of his books and studies (Coseriu 1968, Coseriu 1977 [1973], Coseriu 1992 [1988]). At the theoretical level, the study of speaking is necessary in order to consider the matters related to language from the point of view of the concrete linguistic activity (Coseriu 1955–1956: 32). At the same time, a linguistics of speaking could describe the specific functions of speaking and indicate its possible instruments, both verbal and non-verbal, for example, the ensemble of operations of determination and also the frameworks (los entornos), as circumstantial instruments of the linguistic activity. While the operations of determination ensure the possibility of referring unequivocally to the actual and particular with virtual signs, the

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⁵ In the series of interviews realised with the great linguist by Johannes Kabatek and Adolfo Murguía, *«Die Sachen sagen, wie sie sind»* (1997), Coseriu himself says about this study that it is "a whole treaty condensed into a study. Everything is so compressed that it can be understood with difficulty" (Kabatek and Murguía 1997: 150). Johannes Kabatek, among other linguists, acknowledges the fact that this is the first study in which the text is presented as the object of an autonomous linguistics (Kabatek 2017: 73). Kabatek also considers that "*Determinación y entorno* is the most visible sample of the maturation of Coseriu's theoretical conception in the '50s: in this text he no longer limits himself to the critique and the development of the structuralist conception; this is where what later will be called integral linguistics appears: a linguistics whose first task is to find its own identity through fundamental distinctions, in order to place each linguistic problem in its corresponding place in this edifice" (Kabatek 2017: 74-75).

⁶ "/.../ we do not have to explain speaking from the point of view of the particular language, but quite the opposite. This is because language is concretely speaking, activity and because speaking is broader than the particular language. While the particular language is entirely contained in speaking, the speaking is not entirely contained in the particular language (Coseriu 1955–56: 32).

frameworks constitute the background of any discourse, of any act of speech, orient all the discourse and contribute to its sense and they can determine the level of truth of every sentence (Coseriu 1955–1956: 33–45). In this study we look at the three planes of language as defined in the integral linguistics and at the three types of linguistics defined along them from the perspective of the ultimate action which any speaker and interlocutor performs as part of an (interactive) act of speech: the production of sense. This is the object of study of the linguistics of text in the integral theory of language and the elements which can be investigated are the ones coming from different levels of language and contributing to the creation of sense.

The linguistics of text was of great interest for the linguists who studied Eugenio Coseriu's theory. Among these the representatives of the linguistics school in Cluj are representatives. The school was initiated and led by Professor Mircea Borcilă, who opened the way towards poetics and metaphorology and encouraged the study of text and text typology, developed by linguists like Emma Tămâianu-Morita, Oana Boc, Cornel Vîlcu and Lolita Zagaevschi.

3.2. The semantic functions of evocation

The integral linguistics of the text needs to be understood as a linguistics of sense. An analysis of the sense from the perspective of integral linguistics builds on the understanding of the double semiotic articulation. While the first semiotic articulation refers to the orientation of the significata towards designata, the second semiotic articulation sees the significatum and designatum become the expression for the sense.7 Our analysis of the sense will not try to reproduce or to interpret the sense of the text, let alone to explain it from the point of view of the producer or the (potential) interlocutor. Starting from the idea that the sense is understood intuitively in its unity, what the researcher can do is to try and identify the elements which contribute to the formation of sense, the ones involved in the construction of its expression. In Emma Tămâianu-Morita's view, the components contributing to the expression of the sense can be grouped and analysed in two categories, namely: textual-constitutive units and textual-constitutive processes (Tămâianu-Morita 2020). The units, she explains, can be considered as pre-textual, since their identity is established already before the construction of the text. On the other hand, the processes relate to what exactly is being done with the units at the

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⁷ For a presentation of the two semiotic articulations see Coseriu (1997 [1981]: 75–76), Vîlcu C. (2002–2003: 148–152) and Vîlcu C. (2008: 207–210).

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individual plane of language, when they become elements in the construction of sense. Tămâianu-Morita exemplifies the category of textual-constitutive units, among others, with elements like: 1) idiomatic signs from all the organisation levels of functional language, including all the types of significatum (lexical, categorial, instrumental, syntactic and ontic), with all the paradigmatic and syntagmatic reports they get involved into at the level of the individual languages and 2) texts/ text fragments taken as such and used for the construction of a new text. The textual-constitutive processes can be, among others, 1) the evocative relationships of the linguistic sign and 2) the textual functions (Tămâianu-Morita 2020: 83–85). From all these elements we will focus on some of the relationships the linguistic sign enters in the process of sense construction.

The concrete linguistic sign does not offer only representation and does not function only in relation with the speaker, with the listener and the extralinguistic world. It "functions, at the same time, within and through a complementary and very complex network of relationships, with which it forms an equally complex ensemble of semantic functions, whose totality can be called evocation" (Coseriu 2009 [1971]: 161). The relationships the sign can have in the text are presented by Coseriu in the same study published in 1971 and they were presented again, with some modifications in ulterior works. Emma Tămâianu-Morita followed these studies and offers a list of possible relations of the sign with other signs grouped in multiple categories. First of all, as part of a text, the sign gets into relations with other signs (material and semantic relations with isolated signs; relations with groups or categories of signs; relations with whole systems of signs). The second category of relations is the one with signs from other texts (repeated discourse; relationship with well-known fragments or texts, like maxims, proverbs or formulae). The third category of relationships is established between signs and "things" (imitation through the substance of the sign or imitation through the form of the sign). The fourth category of relations is established between the sign and the "knowledge of things", while the last one concerns the frameworks (Tămâianu-Morita 2020: 86-87). The analysis in this study targets some of these relationships, so in what follows some of the concepts mentioned above will be explained in more detail and will be applied to texts created or adapted during the Revolution in December 1989 in Romania.

4. THE FRAMEWORKS

The slogans and messages created in the days of the Revolution can be analysed from the perspective of the relationships the linguistic sign enters as part of the process of sense creation. Most of the texts (slogans, poems, prayers) created or adapted in the days of the Revolution in relation with the religious sphere will be looked at through the relationship of the signs with different categories of frameworks.

The frameworks are instruments which, as part of the first semiotic articulation, can contribute to orienting the significatum towards the designatum intended by the speaker. At the same time, together with the significatum and the designatum, the frameworks can contribute to building the sense of a sentence according to the speaker's expressive intention and to the interpretation of the sense of a text by the interlocutor, at the level of the second semiotic articulation. The four categories of frameworks Coseriu identifies are: the situation, the region, the context and the universe of discourse (Coseriu 1955–1956: 46). They activate in the process of expression or in that of interpretation in different measures and sometimes gain an overwhelming importance not just for one individual, one speaker, but for entire communities, for example, in relation with historical moments they traverse.

4.1. The context

"The context of speaking is constituted from all the reality which surrounds a sign, a speech act or a discourse, as physical presence, as knowledge of the interlocutors and as activity. Three types of contexts can be identified as: the idiomatic, the verbal and the extraverbal context" (Coseriu 1955–1956: 48).

From all these types of contexts we will focus on the extraverbal one, composed from all the non-linguistic circumstances which are perceived directly or which are known to the speaker. Coseriu further divides this category of context into: the physical context, the empirical context, the natural context, the practical or occasional context, the historical context and the cultural context (Coseriu 1955–1956: 49–50).

The historical context is constituted from the historical circumstances known to the speakers and can be particular (limited to a person, a family or a village) or can be universal. One of Coseriu's examples is of particular interest for us: the king, the linguist writes, is an individual denotation within a kingdom (Coseriu 1955–1956: 50). In a political and administrative entity like the Socialist Republic of Romania

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(or any country with a political administration involving this position as head of state), "the president" would be an individual denotation. We can mention the fact that "the president" was not a very much used term in relation with Nicolae Ceausescu and this is probably because the denotation the people were directed to was not so much about the position the communist leader occupied in the state, but rather about his person. Nicolae Ceausescu was most often mentioned by his name and frequently by terms relating to the avatars created for him as part of the cult of personality built and maintained around him: "The Young Revolutionary", "Hero of World Peace", "Architect of Modern Romania", "Guarantor of National Independence and Unity" and "Beloved Leader" (Marin 2014). For the people living in Romania in the communist era any of these references was self-explanatory. The historical context changed according to the new circumstances during the Revolution, contributing essentially to the creation of meaning in the acts of speech produced in the new political and social context. In this new historical context appellatives like: Nero, Caligula, Dracula, the Ogre, the Vampire, the Monster and, quite expectedly, the Antichrist (Cesereanu 2009: 8) were as easy to grasp as denoting Nicolae Ceausescu as the ones built for him in decades during the communist regime. Like all the frameworks, potentially, the historical context is part of the units contributing to the realisation of the first semiotic articulation⁸ as well as the second semiotic articulation, serving as background for what Ruxandra Cesereanu defined as "black mythicization" (Cesereanu 2009: 8).

"On Christmas we took our ration of freedom" ["De Crăciun ne-am luat rația de libertate"] – a slogan which can be considered to summarise what happened in December 1989 in the eyes of the revolutionaries – might be for many an inspired and suggestive turn of phrase. However, for those familiar with the historical context of the communist times in Romania the sense of this slogan will be much richer. They would remember the '80s, when basic staples such as flour, sugar, butter or oil could be purchased only up the limit of the monthly ration set for each citizen. At the same time, mentioning that the liberty was gained on Christmas day brings in the new historical context, the one in which the religious references were no longer banned and became part of normal life again. As one of the main and most representative slogans of the Revolution, this relates to the idea of the very tense, stern, severe tone of the texts created in the days of December 1989.

⁸ Vîlcu C. 2002-2003, Nagy 2013.

In the same tone, with maybe a bit more cynicism, we can integrate a slogan like: "Christmas without the pig" ["Crăciun fără porc"]. The historical context has a great contribution in the possible interpretation of this slogan, too. The double reference of the word "pig" determines the double possible connotation. On the one hand, the absence of the "pig" - the animal (so of pork, actually), from the food supplies was normal in the communist times. Even if traditionally the Romanians prepare numerous pork dishes, especially for Christmas, few people had the chance to buy pork in those times, especially in towns, where all the supplies were under strict state control. On the other hand, "pig" was another reference to Nicolae Ceausescu, maybe through the filter of George Orwell's book, 1984. Connotations have always been added to animals - some positive, some negative or even combined. When someone makes a comparison with a bird, the connotations which come with this are usually positive, when someone is compared to a pig, the connotations are almost always negative.

4.2. The universe of discourse of faith

The concept of "universe of discourse" is part of Eugenio Coseriu's theory of language beginning with its early stages. As with many other concepts, in the spirit of the principle of tradition to Coseriu takes the concept of universe of discourse already present in the scientific debate and redefines and integrates it in his theory of language. The concept is present already in his study *Determinación y entorno. Dos problemas de una lingüística del hablar*, published in 1955–1956, as the last category of frameworks (see above, section 4.).

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⁹ The concept of "universe of discourse" had been used in the domains of logics and philosophy of language before Coseriu integrated it in his theory of language. The Romanian linguist mentions George Boole and W. M. Urban in his studies, making the necessary distinctions between the way the concept had been used before and its understanding and place in his own theory (Coseriu 1955–56: 51; Coseriu 2002 [2000]: 37).

¹⁰ "/.../ who says only new things says nothing; because true, effective novelty in sciences and in culture in general is novelty which is rooted in tradition and which does not despise what has been done until now /.../" (Coseriu 1991–1992: 15). The principle of tradition is one of the *principles of linguistics as a cultural science*, defined by Eugenio Coseriu (the principle of objectivity, the principle of humanism, the principle of tradition, the principle of antidogmatism and the principle of public utility).

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"By universe of discourse we understand the universal system of significations to whom a discourse (or a sentence) belongs and which determines the validity of its sense. Literature, mythology, sciences, mathematics, the empirical universe, as 'themes' or 'worlds of reference' of speaking constitute 'universes of discourse'. An expression like: the reduction of the object to subject makes sense in philosophy, but does not make any sense in grammar; phrases like Ulises' travel and Columbus' travel, according to Parmenides and according to Hamlet, belong to different universes of discourse" (Coseriu 1955–56: 51).

Eugenio Coseriu revisits the concept of universe of discourse in his intervention in the international congress *Orationis Millennium* in 2000, which was published two years later. He clarifies the concept in the following terms:

"/.../ 'the universes of discourse', in the sense in which I conceive them, are universes of knowledge corresponding to fundamental modalities of the human cognition. Therefore, it is not a matter of universes of simple linguistic expression, but of universes in which language presents itself every time as manifestation of an autonomous way of cognition /.../ and therefore precisely with its transcendental function and, in this sense, founder with respect to the known universe" (Coseriu 2002 [2000]: 38–39). Library Clu

A very important addition comes, in this text, in relation to the types of universes of discourse Coseriu defines. He identifies four universes of discourse: a) the universe of the current experience; b) the universe of science; c) the universe of phantasy (and consequently of arts); and d) the universe of faith (Coseriu 2002 [2000]: 39), with the last one as a new concept.

Through the perspective of the universe of faith, the world of faith (which of course, Coseriu specifies, is not a different world from the "real" world), or the world itself is conceived as the product of God's will. In the universe of discourse of faith God is the ultimate cause of the Universe. And this vision upon the world does not deny the immediate causes of natural phenomena or the general principles of causality specific to science; God is considered the supreme, the primary cause of causality – the institution of the causality itself which governs the world of necessity is attributed to God's will (Coserio 2002 [2000]: 41).

Many of the texts produced in the days of the Revolution in December 1989 have their sense built and often interpreted in the horizon of the universe of discourse of faith. This can be considered the main or one of the main frameworks which functioned as part of the instruments orienting the expression and the interpretation of texts in

the days of the Revolution. A series of arguments can support this idea. First of all, people found stability, dependability and order in religion and in all its organisational system. In the days of the Revolution people were confronted with the dissolution of the state power and implicitly of the state institutions. After decades in which the state institutions had been used for controlling citizens' public, professional and even private lives, people considered that the state institutions needed to be replaced. There had been no trust in these institutions and actually many of them were replaced or took a totally different shape after the Revolution.¹¹

The symbols of the communist state were destroyed, too. The national flag became a symbol of the Revolution after the coat of arms was physically removed from its centre. Tămâianu-Morita observes that the functioning of signs in general, including the non-linguistic ones, can be related to the same conceptual framework summarising the relationships the sign can establish. Indeed, she mentions, only the linguistic signs can enter into all these types of relationships, while the other signs can enter only in part of these relationships (Tămâianu-Morita 2020: 86). An example for this type of signs is the Romanian flag "freed" from the socialist coat of arms, a symbol which will be understood provided the interpreter is familiar with the historical context. While the three-coloured flag had been officially the symbol of the state beginning with 1861, the coat of arms represented the socialist political regime of the country. The revolutionaries felt that this addition to the national flag needed to be removed, the same as the political regime itself needed to be replaced. And then it is not surprising that one of the slogans of the Revolution was: "God is our flag" ["Dumnezeu ne e drapel"] (Nicolau et al. 1990: 258). In the confusing days of the Revolution, when many state landmarks are gone one way or another (either intentionally destroyed, or going down with the collapsing system), faith remains a major point of stability. According to Coseriu, faith - unlike the current experience, which can be modified or replaced by the scientific knowledge - is "absolute certainty". True faith is not a matter of opinion; as a modality of knowing the world, faith is situated at a higher level, at which no hypotheses are emitted to be verified (Coseriu 2002 [2000]: 42).

the Great National Assembly elected the president.

¹¹ For example, the unicameral Great National Assembly was the legislature of Socialist Republic of Romania. After the Revolution it was disolved and replaced with the bicameral Parliament. The president of the country is now chosen by the citizens through the system of direct election, while before December 1989

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"God is with us" ["Dumnezeu este cu noi"] was one of the main slogans which can be interpreted with the help of the concept of universe of discourse, more precisely of universe of discourse of faith. With this slogan the revolutionaries expressed the need of legitimising their actions through a higher instance, above all the human ones. The participation in the religious life was strongly dissuaded in the communist times. However, the citizens never stopped to attend in large numbers the religious rituals and to consider this a central aspect of their lives. It was consequently common (and stable) ground for everyone (or for most of the people) in times of turmoil.¹² The understanding of the world through the universe of discourse of faith became, in those days, most plausible and secure and people tended to replace the mundane, statal administration and institutions, dissolving in those days in uncertainty, with the entities specific to the religious system. In this context, the creation of a slogan like the following one comes as no surprise: "Hear us and have mercy on us, Lord/ Punish Communism!" ["Auzi-ne, Doamne, si ne miluieste/ Comunismul pedepseste!"].13

For the creation and interpretation of sense of this slogan (actually, an adapted prayer) we can also relate to the second category of sign relations Emma Tămâianu-Morita includes in the list which summarises Eugenio Coseriu's works related to this topic. This category refers to the relations of the signs with signs from other texts. More exactly, the second subcategory refers to the relationship with well-known textual fragments (proverbs, maxims, formulae). In this case, the text the slogan relates to is a prayer.

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¹² Even after the Revolution this attachment to the religious life continued and still represents a major aspect in the lives of many Romanians. In 2016 a survey was published by researchers from Vienna-based Institute for Comparative Survey Research, including data collected from 60 countries with reference to the importance people gave to a selected set of values (family, friends, work, leisure time, religion and politics). In the global ranking of values religion came in the penultimate place (the fifth place) with a value of 72.3%. At the same time, in Romania it came in the third position (before leisure time, friends and politics and right after family and work), with a combined share of "very important" and "rather important" responses of 83.8%. (https://knoema.com/infographics/hxpxvpg/world-values-family-work-friends-leisure-religion-and-politics?variants=Religion&country=Romania) (accessed: 15.06.2022).

¹³ God is also invoked to punish the ones quilty for victims of the Revolution: "God must not forgive the quilty ones" ["Dumnezeu să nu ierte pe cei vinovați"] (Nicolau et al. 1990: 34).

The contribution of the concept of universe of discourse of faith to the interpretation of the slogan mentioned above can be supported through the fact that the prayer as text is put in relation by Eugenio Coseriu with the universe of discourse of faith. The prayer, Coseriu says, is "the most direct and typical way, the way *par excellence* of realising concrete discourses in the universe of knowledge of faith" (Coseriu 2002 [2000]: 42).

The carols with verses shifted to carry the message of the Revolution represent another interesting example for the process of sense creation through relationships with other texts. Usually carols end with phrases of well-wishes to those who listens to them. However, this time some verses were adapted to carry a timely aspiration:

By New Year's Day White flowers, apple blossom Ceaușescu will be in his grave White flowers, apple blossom (Nicolau et al. 1990: 99).

Another connection which contributes to the interpretation of the texts created in the days of the Revolution brings together the universe of discourse of faith, on the one hand, and the third category identified by Emma Tămâianu-Morita, the one of the relationships between signs and "things" (the imitation through the substance of the sign and the imitation through the form of the sign). In our case, we can talk about a combination of different expressions which concur to create sense as part of the second semiotic articulation. We refer to the honouring of the heroes of the Revolution in the very days of December 1989 through altars and places of commemoration improvised outside, in the streets, often in the places where people had been shot. In this case, the space, the objects and the words combine in the creation of sense. The places in which these altars were erected were significant in themselves, being public places in which revolutionaries had lost their lives. They became places of pilgrimage, organised in a rather informal way. These places were populated with objects which were specific to the religious rituals performed at funerals. There were crosses and candles, there were flowers, often white flowers and little breads [colaci] which are traditionally given to those who attend a funeral, there were pictures in black and white of those who had been shot and there were funeral wreaths. The means of expression meant to create sense together were completed with texts written and left by the people in the same places of commemoration, in the same improvised altars outside, in the streets. One of these texts, for example, urged the people passing by to mourn the

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young people who had died in that place for liberty. These texts are really emotional, transmitting sadness and sometimes anger and helplessness. The volume coordinated by Nicolau et al. reproduces some of these messages. The means of expression of some of them are even more complex, because the page on which the text was written was decorated with two little icons and it was stuck on the cross with tape used in those times to put bandages on wounds. All these different means of expression were combined to create sense and should be used to re-create sense by the receptor of this complex message in his own terms.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The creation of sense by the speaker and its re-creation by the receptor of the text is the result of the second semiotic articulation and it is based on significata and designata, which become expression for the sense. Besides this, numerous relations are created between the linguistic sign and other entities (other linguistic signs, complete texts, things, etc.). The realisation of sense is most complete when all these components are identified and interpreted. The integral linguistics offers instruments and makes possible procedures which can help in the identification and the classification of the above-mentioned elements. At the same time, there is a process which goes both ways. The new texts investigated with these instruments can reveal new challenges for the text analysis, mobilising existing instruments or generating new ones. In turn, the instruments and the procedures made available within the framework of the integral linguistics of text contribute to a better understanding of the elements and the processes combining into creating sense. With the work of the researchers interested in investigating the individual level of language the theory initiated by Eugenio Coseriu is not only kept alive, but valued and enriched, validated through the results it produces at the level of concrete analysis and through its capacity of producing new instruments and procedures.

¹⁴ See, for example, Nicolau et al. 1990: 177.

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THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE 1989 REVOLUTION IN ROMANIA. AN INTEGRALIST APPROACH (Abstract)

This study analyses texts which were created or adapted in the days of the Revolution in December 1989 in Romania (slogans, poems, prayers). The perspective of the analysis is that of the integral linguistics initiated by Eugenio Coseriu. The study presents first the fundamental concepts of integral linguistics with a focus on the tripartition of the planes of language (universal, historical, particular) and the corresponding types of linguistics (of speech, of historical languages, of text/ discourse). The individuality of the plane of text and of text linguistics is discussed, a characteristic Eugenio Coseriu wrote about in his study Determinación y entorno. Dos problemas de una lingüistica del hablar, published in 1955-1956. This study explains the two concepts from its title: determination and framework, with their subcategories which can generate concrete instruments for text/ discourse analysis. These categories were later correlated with the relationships in which the linguistic signs (and the non-linguistic ones, to a certain extent) can enter in the process of realization of the designatum and of sense, relations which are grouped under the name of evocation. Research in text linguistics was continued, in the spirit of integral linguistics, through the construction and application of methods and instruments, as well as concrete analyses. Emma Tămâianu-Morita and Lolita Zagaevschi paid special attention to the evocative functions realised at the level of text, in the process of sense creation, through both the systematization of the relations in which the sign can enter, and concrete analyses in which the concepts first approached theoretically are used with the purpose of clarification and categorisation. The present text identifies a series of features of language use in the days of the Revolution, focusing then on the relationships in which the sign can enter, as they were systematised by Emma Tămâianu-Morita, based on Eugenio Coseriu's studies. Some of these concepts are used for analysing texts produced in the days of the Revolution in 1989. Among these, I selected texts with a religious character (e.g., the prayers adapted to the historic moment Romania crossed in that period) and texts of a profane nature, in general (like slogans or poems), which have religious references. It is shown how frameworks like context and universe of discourse, and relations of linguistic signs with other linguistic signs or with things can contribute to the realization of designation (as part of the first semiotic articulation) and of the sense, which results after the operations characteristic to the second semiotic articulation.

Key words: text, evocative functions, framework, context, universe of discourse.