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PHD THESIS ABSTRACT

**SHEPHERDING IN TRANSILVANIA
RESEARCH MONOGRAPH QUALITATIVE APPROACH**

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INTRODUCTION

Depending on the geographical regions, animal breeding involves different lifestyles generated by the species of animals specific to a territory. History records the camel-breeding Bedouins and the nomadic shepherds, the reindeer breeders in Lapland, and in other parts of the world were domesticated other species of animals.

In the dominant European countries, there were and still remained two types of domesticated and raised animals: sheep and cows, all of different breeds, which are still present in rural communities whose livelihood profile they define in the modern pastoral economy, an industrialized economy in the Romanian society as well, after returning properties to families and practicing sheep and cow breeding in households, the products of which are marketed according to the rules of the market economy in the urban environment, but also at the traditional fairs in the rural area.

The Romanian shepherding is an ancient occupation, concentrating around it folk creations, ethnographic objects belonging to the civilization of wood, beliefs, habits that are subjects of ethnology. Through "Miorița", the Romanian traditional culture is being conferred a mythological dimension, this folk masterpiece fascinating the Romanian intelligence ever since the discovery of the ballad in the 19th century, in Vrancea Country.

Considered both as economic occupation and as cultural treasure, shepherding in traditional Romanian society represents a "complete social fact" as defined by Marcel Mauss in "An Essay on the Gift".

Shepherding is thus a bearer of both material and spiritual values, and a scientific approach can not be made unilaterally, but on both coordinates: occupational and cultural, and the perspective can only be a socio-anthropological one, providing also an interdisciplinary horizon of the approach, in its entirety.

Within the monographic sociology of the sociological school in Bucharest, through field research and synthesis, pastoral sociology was understood as a component of rural sociology.

In the same scientific school created by Dimitrie Gusti and represented by Mircea Vulcănescu, Henri H. Stahl, Traian Herseni, Anton Golopenția, ethnography and ethnology were also practiced. Nowadays we perceive them as being subdomains of cultural anthropology, a well-represented discipline in the last decades, both in university education and in the academic environment, through important works promoting cultural anthropology in its scientific sense of "human study", as American anthropologists say, the founders of anthropology as a science.

From a sociological point of view our analyses will not only refer to pastoral sociology, but because of the fact that the ethnographic objects, their names, the folk creations and the customs circumscribed to shepherding contain, in their specific language many social meanings, we will resort to sociolinguistics, less visible in the Romanian academic space, although one of its promoters was Eugen Coseriu, a European linguist of Romanian origin.

The dimension of cultural anthropology: ethnographic language, folkloric language and ethnology will be explored in fact by outlining as much as possible the key terms in sociolinguistics in correlation with the social meanings present in the rich ethnographic, folkloric and ethnological heritage of Romanian pastoral life, which is also social history and social philosophy as well, which sociolinguistics can explore with scientific use for the research of what can be defined as the thesaurus of traditional Romanian civilization.

The option for socio-anthropology will be manifested both at theoretical level, through the already exposed coordinates, but also methodologically. Thus, due to the fact that the database supporting our approach consists mainly of linguistic documents, we mainly used the qualitative methodology, both in collecting data and in processing data as well. In fact, this priority of quality is

determined by the content of documents, since both the pastoral documents obtained through enquiries and the ethnological documents from the collections of ethnographers, ethnologists, ethnomusicologists and folklorists do not always contain equal proportions of social and anthropological meanings. This dual sociological and anthropological significance of pastoral and ethnological documents related to shepherding is a product of the village, of a community sharing a way of life representing a collective mentality that is conserved within the canons of tradition, and the social actors, householders and shepherds, even if they act individually, they manifest within the rules of community life, even if it has been lately submitted to modernization and modernity. Shepherding, as it is still practiced in Romanian villages, presents, in the behavior of the social actors that participate, a modern behavior that does not reject the tradition; on the contrary, it integrates the modernization, even if only through the fact that in the urban environment traditional pastoral products are considered to be ecological food, due to the fact that pastures are no longer chemically treated, and along with the grass the sheep also eat herbs, which are found dry and in the winter hay for the sheep as well.

Regardless of the documents obtained through qualitative methodological tools or ethnographic, ethnological and folkloric documents, the analyses we will provide illustrate the deepening of the cognitive dimension of sociology, a dimension projected on an occupation revealed by documents both in traditional and modern variants in a way that we define from the sociology of the sheepfold to the appearance of the pastoral farm, which proposes for the future a pastoral farm sociology that will also outline the modernization of rural life within a millennial occupation.

The main objective of our research is the scientific knowledge of pastoral "deeds of life". Analyses will be done on both bookish sources and through enquiries and the story of life. For us, both of them are "social documents", some embodied in the ethnographic and folkloric dimension, the shepherding being both a labor and labor reality fact and a specific form of culture and civilization.

The answers that we will receive about the "sheep pairing", about the configuration of shepherding in Mociu, the stories of life belong to the inhabitants, to the social actors "talking" about shepherding, about the unfolding of pragmatic aspects and dimensions, about the second occupation of villagers, the first occupation being agriculture.

The words of these social actors understood as signs of the social dimension are in fact configuring realities, social meanings that lead to the knowledge of the pastoral way of life, producing an interaction between sociolinguistics and pastoral sociology, potentiating a scientific discourse circumscribed to the sociology of knowledge. There will be a cognitive approach that will "reveal the importance of the social context in language use". The social context revealed by pastoral language is marked by the diversity of pastoral life, both individually and in the community horizon.

The present paper is structured into six chapters, the first chapter representing the theoretical framework underlying the construction of this work.

The sociological theory within which the researched theme is framed is the sociological monograph, theorized and applied by Dimitrie Gusti and his disciples and historically identified with the Sociological School in Bucharest which represented the imposition of Romanian sociology both as research field and as sociological syntheses. According to Dimitrie Gusti, the sociological monograph is a universal method in the sense that it can be applied to any social unit, not only the village, and that it can apply to the realities everywhere, both in our country and in the study of other social phenomena around the globe. "

Pastoral life was researched by the monographic teams in the campaigns of Nereju (1927), Fundu-Moldovei (1928) and Drăguș (1929). In Pastoral Sociology Issues, Traian Herseni has included in his academic discourse not only his own research: ethnographic observation and transcription, but also other observing team mates and monograph researchers, as he himself confessed:

„The material used belongs to the Sociology Seminar of the University of Bucharest and was collected in the monographic campaigns of 1927, 1928, 1929 and 1932, led by Prof. D. Gusti. We will indicate, at the proper place, the part belonging to each of the members of the teams that have been working with the research of the sheep yards”.

„Pastoral sociology is a differential sociology, along with agrarian sociology, sociology of workers, sociology of bourgeoisie, sociology of ruling circles, etc., which seeks to establish the specific features of each type of life or type of society, unlike general sociology, which defines the features of social reality in general, of society as such. Pastoral sociology therefore deals with pastoral life in its distinctiveness and does not get fully understood except by comparison with other social types.”

For the sociological knowledge of shepherding as an occupation, Herseni sketched a project in eight points which we reproduce as it follows:

"A) Shepherding as an occupation."

"B) Life during the occupation."

"C) Life implied by the occupation."

"D) Life facilitated by the occupation."

"E) Life permitted by the occupation."

„F). The concrete life of shepherds. How much do the shepherds actually exploit all the facilities of their pursuit and how do they escape its rules? How do they actually live? What do they do (watching the sheep, milking them, making cheese, eating, telling stories, singing, playing, resting, sleeping, washing etc. - a detailed description of all these actions as far as they can be noticed exactly). This research does not make the past ones useless, because through these we find out things about the shepherds' lives and, deductively, the general pastoral life, if some facts can not be explained in another way. Sex prohibition and sexual practice do not coincide. The possibility of singing during work does not coincide with actual singing during this time, but the possibility may still be explanatory for the former production of folklore and so on and so forth.

g) Life frames of pastoral life. The extent to which the shepherd's life requires a certain experience, a certain collective soul and spiritual structure, a certain tradition, which then become frameworks of individual pastoral life. Pastoral space. Pastoral time. Pastoral customs. Collective pastoral mentality. Public opinion and compliance.

h) Social consciousness. To what extent is there a group consciousness, a "conscience of us" (as German sociologists say), in the shepherds' community? The pride of a shepherd. Contempt for plowmen and other social categories. The consciousness of the differences of life, of a specific life ("shepherd's food", "shepherd's wrestle", "shepherd's song").

„Sociology does not want to abolish ethnography or folklore, because these disciplines have fully proved their purpose, but it is neither satisfied with their results, because, as we will show in the end, it is able to outline a lot of problems connected with the same facts, and to divulge them scientifically, problems that have remained uncoordinated and untreated to this day. Our road is collaborative, so we hope our endeavors will be useful to other disciplines, as we ourselves have used from them.”

Ethnography, ethnology and folklore are therefore a scientific source for the sociological study of pastoral life. The ethnographic, ethnological and folkloric materials represent for pastoral sociology the quality of social documents.

In a millenary occupation like shepherding, an ancient language has settled, crystallized in organizational names, in the names of specific tools that we can now call ethnographic objects, in the names of traditional household products, in the language of pastoral folklore, in riddles, puzzles, proverbs.

In each of these there are social realities, but also social actions that the family of pastoral language, with its interfaces, can unveil the meaning of the verb to work in the past and nowadays, to craft, to think, to create in an occupation that accompanied the life of the Romanian peasant in a journey with Dacian traces, Roman significance, and loans from Slavonic and Hungarian languages.

We are thus faced with a complex process of acculturation, which gives the pastoral language, from a cognitive point of view, a multicultural aspect in which we can read a historical dynamics, a movement of pastoral groups that in the past enjoyed specific mobility from which the monographic sociology, in the variant of the research of the urbanization phenomenon, remained with the "road of the sheep", identifiable today, from Marginimea Sibiului to the Danube River. For us, the analysis of social meanings in the family of pastoral language will be conceived as a way of knowledge, of sociological knowledge becoming the sociology of knowledge.

In the second chapter we intend to outline a profile of the qualitative methods that we have used in this paper.

The direct observation and its results were made by the forms, the monographs' notes, the authentic monographs of the monographic campaigns, some of which are still unworked today in the Village Museum archive. Such a dossier consisted of "diet forms" supervised by Dr. Mitu Georgescu's campaigns. He also worked out such a form of the daily diet, a week in the summer of 1938, of a member of the Spulber family, a pastoral family in the Lands of Vrancea.

The participatory observation, the direct observation in the monographic school, led Traian Herseni to understand the folklore as a social phenomenon in the life of the village and in particular in the pastoral life. The teams of specialists in various fields lived in the studied villages for a month and the main ways of communicating with the villagers were the questions, the conversations, the dialogues generated by the observations for which the specialists always asked clarifications.

In the enquiry guide, questions have connections to both the case study and the life stories. We will mark this aspect by the phrase "typology of enquiries" in the theoretical part of the chapter on the stories of life. For the time being, we specify that the enquiry guides presented in the annexes (see annexes 1, 2, 3, 4) have been elaborated in terms of what we sociologically call a "semi-structured enquiry", whose definition we reproduce, as the difference from the "questionnaire" (closed questions) and "enquiry" (open questions):

„In the case of the structured enquiry, of the oral survey, the questions and their order are predetermined, in the case of the semi-structured enquiry only the topics around which the discussion will be held are predetermined. This is how the operator will go on the field with an enquiry guide and not with a detailed tool (questionnaire). This does not mean, of course, that the interviewer's task will be easier than that of the survey operator, since it is not easy to get consistent answers to open questions and, moreover, just to put issues into question. It takes a lot of skills (intelligence, empathic abilities, experience) on the part of the interviewer to reach relevant data. Enquiry guides have a wide variety of forms, ranging from some that contain only a few general themes, to others with a long list of topics and specific questions.”

In some papers showing only the case study there are also paragraphs that present the types of questions specific to this method with a spectrum rich in modern sociological research. These types of questions are called forms defined by specific grammatical particularities. These peculiarities may be identified as follows:

Enquiries for the case study are "guided conversations," and during these conversations, the author must also focus on the difference in the meaning of the question genre as they are the intellectual guide of the research direction. These differentiations are in fact an open gate of qualitative towards sociolinguistics, an opening that constantly provokes social meanings in the words of questioning.

„In traditional communities, stories played a central role in people's lives. The perennial elements of life were transmitted through stories. The stories told from generation to generation conveyed lasting values and lessons about life lived deeply. Traditional tales followed an eternal and universal pattern. This pattern has many versions and can be represented as birth-death-rebirth, separation-initiation-resolution. It is a sort of initial sketch or structure in which the story communicates an existing balance between opposing forces. The pattern is actually the basis of the intrigue of the story and it does not only help the narrator to remember the elements of the story but

it also maintains the narrative on the desired course. The basic pattern of the conflict followed by peace or of the crisis followed by victory is a means by which stories always remind us that difficulties can be overcome.”

The stories of life in the Romanian pastoral world that we will present observe such a pattern.

The third chapter provides the reader with a vision of shepherding, the pastoral life contains in its debut and development both economic habits and cultural values expressed through artistic crafts and folkloric creations - those with an organic, social and symbolic function for the traditional communities.

Within crafts there is a connection between the economic and artistic aspects, and the ethnography describing the products of these crafts represents a scientific support for sociology, as well as a scientific support is offered by folklore, in view of the sociological analysis of the social aspect within creation.

Sheep pairing is an economic habit, but in some communities it has been and is accompanied by rites and symbols in what the current ethnology calls "peasant mythology." This way, in the cycle of rituals over a year, agrarian occupations maintained agrarian rites, shepherding was accompanied by pastoral rites, some customs, such as Christmas carols, being marked by both pastoral and agrarian rites. In this perspective "Miorița" became a carol in Transylvania representing a view of the world, a Weltanschauung "of the ancient Romanian pastoral world".

Although, Romulus Vuia in "Pastoral Types of Romanians" (1964) places the Transylvanian Plain in the "local" shepherding, the erudite ethnographer did not treat shepherding in this micro region in a particular paragraph, as he did for the Apuseni Mountains, Rodna Mountains, Banat, but also for the Olt Country, Hateg Country and Vrancea Land, which is why we return to Herseni. This, in the work we have already referred to: "Pastoral sociology aspects" describe a type of shepherding specific to the Transylvanian Plain, which we reproduce, as defining for our case study: shepherding in Mociu. Herseni offered four types of shepherding, the first one being representative for our research profile because the sociologist has also identified several shepherding subtypes. We will only refer to the first type of shepherding, decisive for the present work:

"Villages of farmers, with a small number of sheep grazing on the territory of the commune, as well as large cattle. This is easily achieved in regions with hills and in mountain villages. This type, which we can call sedentary shepherding, has two frequent variants. 1. Shepherding with no separate sheepfolds, in which case the sheep are a few, they go home at night and therefore become an element in the ordinary peasant household. I met this kind of shepherding at some of the inhabitants of Maguri village in Apuseni Mountains. 2. Shepherding with sheepfolds on the border of the village. The sheep belonging to the village inhabitants sleep in the field and thus become a separate household, as in the mountains. This kind of sheepfolds were seen both in Maguri and in Cornova in Basarabia."

From this typology, we remember that the subtypes of shepherding "with no sheepfolds" and "with sheepfolds" are easy to practice in "hilly places and mountain villages", places and villages belonging to the entire rural area of Transylvania.

For the traditional rural civilization, essentially for the community life of this civilization, the formation of herds, the beginning of the pastoral year has received a feasting aspect because of its economic role for the families and households that have assumed the practice of raising the sheep. This occupation complementary to agriculture has had some functionality in communities as it has developed other occupations that we find described with much professionalism in ethnographic monographs with an opening to what we refer to today as rural tourism.

Depending not only on the area described ethnographically, but also on the affinities of the authors, these monographs with tourist purposes devote more or less pages to shepherding and other activities derived from his practice.

The fourth chapter focuses on Mociu commune, and the case study here surprises a micro-social reality which is well determined by the structure of the enquiry guide, whose questions derived answers that we grouped thematically.

The enquiry guide we applied had 18 questionnaire statements and as many answers in 15 variants. (See Appendix 2.) The 15 variants of responses have been grouped in the following themes:

1. Gifts and Shopping. Flock raising and turn to milk;
2. Time and space. Summer and winter;
3. Market economy and subsistence economy;
4. Adopting the new agrarian policy.

Thus grouped, the answers form a micro-social universe that reveals the pastoral life, which shows that shepherding is a family business, even if the first sheep are received as a gift from close relatives or are bought.

As far as time is concerned, the herd's life is different in the two seasons of herd maintenance. Here the notions of "summer" and "winter" do not overlap on what is commonly meant by winter and summer.

The sheep owners, the shepherds and householders define summer by grazing and processing the milk. Grazing happens in the second part of spring - May-June - in all three summer months - July-August-September - and in the first month of autumn: October.

Wintering, which sheep owners define as feeding the sheep within the households in the autumn months: November and December, and all winter: January, February and March and the first spring month: April.

Grazing and wintering also differ spatially. Grazing takes place in the hills and valleys, with the herd moving between the pasture and the sheepfold, and wintering in a shelter within the household.

Economic products obtained from milk are sold at Mociu in the weekly fair - market economy - or consumed in the family - a subsistence economy.

The agrarian policy coming from the European space is received with caution, but also as a fact of change in pastoral life.

The herd made up of several sheep owners practices a traditional subsistence or semi-subsistence economy, meaning that the products are used for family consumption and sometimes sold at traditional fairs. The 80-100 sheep farmer, perhaps even more, is an economic agent who looks at his economic activity through its own herd as a business that brings him profit, which is not the case with traditional herdsman.

So, shepherding, as we will point out, is still traditional and modern, since most rural households are small and small-sized households which have properties that traditionally integrate into the subsistence economy, a non-profit rural economy.

In the case study, the "landform statements" for summer grazing place shepherding in the tradition, and the winter shelters called "winter stables" and the feeding of the sheep with "roughage" illustrate a modernization of the occupation and a change of perspective from traditional to modern in the rural mentality.

In the enquiries that make up the consistent part of this case study, younger respondents multiplied their sheep at different rates from one owner to another, some of the older ones confessing they would not increase their sheep numbers. Thus, sheep breeding is marked by dissimilarities from one owner to another. From year to year, everybody buys or sells more, so the herds grow unevenly.

By selling the products, some of the sheep owners become traders, and the marketing phenomenon leads to profit, which his promoters invest. Handling the economic concept of investment is a change, a modernization of the mentalities by assuming the idea of commercial capital, the one that brings profit, and the profit requires further investment. After "pairing", the lambs are sold or sacrificed for their own consumption.

Milk and milk products are sold from the beginning of the pastoral summer to the end of it. Those who sell milk are few - "I take the milk to the dairy," one owner said, and another said, "I sell the milk to my brother, he gives me money." The products, like cheese and buttermilk, are sold "at the village fair", at the "commune fair", "the commune fair commercializes them", to "a man coming from Cluj". Those with fewer sheep do not sell lambs or products, their destination being their own consumption. The money obtained from the sales, i.e. the variable profit is invested: "they invest in their households".

In the spring of 2007, the sheep owners received from the state "20 lei" per/sheep and expected to receive subsidies for agriculture as well. That year was also the beginning of integration. The regulations of this process, known by some less than others, were critically perceived, in sentences that today confirm the truth that the European integration took place through tough negotiations, the Romanian political class lacking a proper policy for the difficult process and for a society with many dysfunctions, learning about market economy along the way.

Although there are only two critical responses to the local government, it is clear that these are not accidental but contain a dose of experience and pragmatism as a critical attitude towards the skills and incompetence of the city halls and local councils in promoting the local economic potential for sustainable household and community development.

The association may be rejected or accepted, but it is certain that the traditional pastoral and modern life functioned by associating, in the framework of the pairing, the programming of the milk line on the principle of ownership as an economic axis of its development and sustainability.

Chapter five unveils three stories of life - on the Somes Valley, the Ilvelor Land and the Transylvanian Plain, as well as a typology of enquiries applied in the field. The presentations here are mainly pragmatic, presenting a well-personalized occupational vision through differentiated descriptions of some pastoral practice trends, such as traditional milk processing, the profiles of "shepherd", "shipmen", "herdsman" as occupations, and the pursuit of specific activities at a sheepfold. None of these activities can be practiced without the involved social actor knowing what to do. It needs a certain science which in sociology and anthropology is called ethno-science, defined in dictionaries by being compared to ethnology. We will present three such stories from three different areas.

The three stories are distinguished by style, linguistic peculiarities and local specifications. Importantly, as we can see in the annexes, we have used differentiated guides in order to find them. In the case of the two men, the difference was generated by the fact that we documented their participation in pastoral life before applying the interview guides. In this regard, we specify that we used customized enquiries, different from the standard ones used for pairing within the over-year habits.

Essentially, the enquiries that actuate the telling of the story of life fall into the class of unstructured enquiries as we can say that every life story has a specific type of enquiries so that we have as many types of enquiries as there are stories of life covered by research.

The three stories are not equal as number of contained words either, or as sentences, phrases, and they essentially differ in the narrative style. The "Milk Story" is a narrative of the details in which milk receives an epic glow through the toil that surrounds it and the joy of having and valuing it as a living component of social life in which verbs, actions, and facts combine the nature of a place, the living of sheep and the care of people for their lives. In fact, sheep's life and people's life are intertwined existentially, day and night, in summer or winter. This existential intertwining is the essence of shepherding, an essence communicated to us in local specifics, following the message of the proverb: "man sanctifies the place".

The signs in life stories - "objects" and "deeds" - are essentially nouns and verbs, and in the course of the living together of the herd and man the verbs are dominant, whose action is moved by the participating social actors with different obligations to each other, depending on the sheep

grazing and wintering. Regardless of these periods, the forefront is the verb "to care" and the noun "care", which we find in all the household breeding process: oxen, cows, horses, pigs, and poultry.

Animal care is a profound dimension of rural households; many of them - even from the villages of the Transylvanian Plain - had clay brick houses and stone stables, which in tradition has meant an exceptional appreciation of animal life compared to their own lives.

In the three stories of life, care appears in different degrees with reference generally to food, and it belongs to the householders, but the greatest care is of the shepherd's (the sheep man, the herdsman), responsible during the grazing not only for the sheep's food, but also for their life. In the story of shepherding in the Land of Ilves, this great care has two hypostases: protecting the flock from being attacked by wolves and bears and taking care so that the sheep do not get sick - in the case of liver disease, the shepherd took "medicine" from the vet, and in the case of a disease called white muscle disease - an acquired disease if the sheep stands too much- the treatment was applied by the herdsman by traditional means.

The major advantages of the qualitative approach of shepherding have materialized - in our discourse - in the types of narratives generated by the enquiries that caused the respondents' thinking to be differentiated, as profound as to the realities of traditional and modern pastoral, in the mode of economic functioning of rural households, those which besides agriculture have practiced and have still practiced shepherding, with a certain openness today to the market economy, especially in the case of sheep farms, which no longer practice the pairing but only sheep farming for economic profit.

Our interrogation at this point of completing a qualitative type of research is rather imperative. There is a comprehensive method of processing the material obtained through investigations such as those practiced in a work on pastoral sociology supported by the principles of sociolinguistics and aspiring to contribute to a subdomain such as the sociology of knowledge.

One of the types of enquiries we identified in the qualitative methodological part of our paper is the one called "life story enquiry." The Somes Valley's milk story came out of an enquiry structured on customs transformed ad-hoc in an unstructured one by developing the interrogations from the issue of "How are the sheep freshened in your locality?." The creative spirit of the field operator who wanted to know more about the processing of sheep's milk came into play. The questions in the enquiry guide have cut off only a part of the housewife's life of work for her family, of providing food for her own using herd-breeding products, particularly traditional sheep's milk processing.

The study focused on the research of the distribution of roles in families in "mountain areas", "valley areas", "hilly areas", while the roles models do not necessarily depend on the types of areas, but on the male and female behavior in farms . Roles are either "rigid" or "flexible" depending on the occupational choices of the main family members.

The distribution of gender roles in farm occupations, viewed in relation to rural development, has neither absolute rigidity nor absolute flexibility, the path to development being determined by the needs of the family and the individual aspirations of its actors. From the perspective of the three histories, we can argue that in the rural household, when the milk is processed in the house, the occupation belongs to women, and when this occurs in the sheepfold, as in the Mociu stall, the occupation belongs to men. And in the mountain sheepfold in Poiana Ilvei, milk preparation is a man's job. He is the "sheep man" of the sheepfold.

The verbs defining the actions of pastoral life - grazing, milking, measuring, writing the turn to milk, clinging, filtering and making the cheese- are accompanied by objects. The shepherd's cane or rod is linked to grazing, which is in the hand of the shepherd as a defense object during grazing. Milking also has its own objects: the traditional trug and the modern bucket, and the measurement is practiced with different objects in the three stories of life - the "one liter jug" on Somes Valley, the "quarter" in the Ilvelor Land, the cup and the *felea* in the Transylvanian Plain. If the story in Domnin, the Somes Valley village, and in the Ilvei Land tells rather about objects, in the story of the Transylvanian Plain we find the important economic details of the act of measurement, which we

reproduce for exemplification:

*„1 milk has 8 liters,
3 cups are 6 liters,
½ milk is 4 liters,
the cup is equal to 2 liters,
the felea equals 1 liter”.*

The actions of the verbs to wrap, to filter, to make cheese are used in order to perfect local objects. The bucket, the colander, the cheesecloth to make the cheese and the covering and keeve to keep the cheese in the villages on the Someş Valley.

In the Land of Ilves, these actions fall under the responsibility of the sheep man and not the herdsmen, and as the story belongs to the latter - it is the one we have recorded - we have only mentioned the objects of the actions: the wooden basin and the keeve, without emphasizing the purpose of each object in the life at the sheep yard.

In the story of the Transylvanian Plain, in Mociu, the storyteller practiced these actions. Coagulation is done in the bucket, decanting in the cheesecloth, and the shape of the cheese is given by the "sieve frame" by pressing it in the "sieve". The "Storyteller" in Mociu compared shepherding to agriculture, considering farming as being more important.

As **conclusions of this chapter** we present the following:

The present paper is a monographic study whose theoretical model is in monographic sociology, including the option for qualitative methods in field research. The main milestone is Traian Herseni's monograph Pastoral Sociology Problems, based on his own research, as well as by other monographs participating in the monographs of Nereju, Fundu Moldovei and Drăguş. We have emphasized the Drăguş sheepfold, being a Transylvanian village, as well as the ones from which we collected the materials.

We have applied three qualitative methods in the field: the enquiry, the case study and the life story - the methodological privileged position was the enquiry, constituted by a typology of the enquiries guides - which ensured the connection of the qualitative methods. This connection led to a diversity of responses and the application of sociological analyzes of hermeneutical and semiotic sources.

The most visible reality of pastoral life in rural mentality is the organization of the herd through pairing. It is a community event with an economic function, but understood as a celebration of the sheep owners. In different micro-regions it has specific names: Sâmbra oilor/Sheep coupling in Oas Country, Braking the barren/Ruptul Sterpelor in the Land of Lapus, Milk measuring/Carâmbitul Laptelui in Bucovina, Măsurişul/Measuring in the Land of Silvania.

The localities we have answers for are 20 and have benefited from content analyses by the configuration of pastoral messages in the local specific.

In many methodological papers we can not find comprehensive analysis models for answers of the type in our case study, so we have built our own analysis model based mainly on the thematic response group, and thus from the 15 responses emerged four groups of themes that converge the sources of sheep procurement by the owners. The sources are two: gifts from relatives and buying from the fair.

Only owners with few sheep participated in the pairing, some of them defining it as association. Those with many sheep farm their own flock without participating to pairing, which they categorically reject.

The next theme of the grouped answers refers to the grazing of the sheep at the pasture and the sheepfold, and the wintering in the household, in shelters called winter stable. The profit obtained in the summer from milk processing is used for agriculture, and in winter the products obtained from agriculture feed the sheep. The investigated rural households are mixed farms: agrarian-pastoral, functional in the Transylvanian rural area.

Most of these households - as the next thematic group appears - market their products at the weekly fair at Mociu, and some with less sheep use pastoral products for their own consumption. Farmers with many sheep export lambs to Arab countries, and sell their milk products in urban

commercial units. This type of marketing brings to the forefront the pastoral farm, which means a modernization of shepherding.

The last thematic group brings together answers on the European pastoral regulations. The responses show a critical attitude towards them in the sense that they have understood them as sheep owners, not as politicians. They were not then, in 2007, against European integration, but criticism was directed against Romanian negotiators, as the owners not only of sheep but also of other animals were not consulted on the issue of regulations. These have been accepted over their heads, i.e. without a dialogue between the government and the owners.

In the three stories, from Domnin on the Somes Valley, from Poiana Ilvei and from the Mociu sheep yard, important aspects of the shepherd are unveiling, proposing mainly elements of ethnology as landmarks and coordinates of the sociology of knowledge on the balance of mentalities between tradition and modernity, more precisely by shaping the coexistence of tradition and modernity in the representations of pastoral life through specific social actors, through their way of being attached and devoted to an ancient rural occupation with functionality in the sustainable development of rural communities.

At the end of the life stories understood as realities and signs, acts, and past acts, on the basis of the difference between "sociological research" (field investigation) and "sociological analysis", we subjected the answers to the question "what is pairing?" the ones derived from the case study, as well as the life stories of a methodological perspective of a hermeneutical and semiotic source and under the sign of the sociology of knowledge, we have identified the texts about pairing as celebration narratives; those in the case study we have defined as pragmatic narratives, and the stories of life have been set up in ethno-scientific narratives, all cognitive and comprehensive speeches and durable landmarks for the sociology of knowledge. We also analyzed the pastoral language and we were offered predominantly Romance multiculturalism, expression and representativeness.

In chapter six the three enquiry guides that made the construction of this research are presented. Thus, we have a guide that has been used to capture habits over the year; the second guideline was the basis for the enquiries with 15 sheep breeders from Mociu and the last one was decisive for shaping the life stories in the context of shepherding: 1. the story of milk on the Somes Valley, 2. the story of shepherding in the Ilvelor Land, The story of the sheep yard in the Transylvanian Plain.