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THE VOCABULARY OF THE ROMANIAN PROVERBS.

STUDY ON THE *ROMANIAN PROVERBS*, BY IULIU A. ZANNE

- SUMMARY -

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THE LEXICON OF THE ROMANIAN PROVERBS.

STUDY ON THE *ROMANIAN PROVERBS*, BY IULIU A. ZANNE

Keywords: proverb, paremiology, paremiography, language, linguistic system, lexical field, ethno-field, macrocontext, microcontext, lexical variation, diatopic variation, diastatic variation, diasemic variation, derivative variation, synonymizational variation, anthonymy context, antonymic diagnostic contexts, undiagnosed antonymic contexts, elements of repeated discourse.

PhD Thesis, entitled *The Lexical of Romanian Proverbs. The study on the Romanian Proverbs* by Iuliu A. Zanne highlights the lexical elements and the types of lexical variation identified in the Romanian proverbs, capitalizing on the collection of proverbs elaborated by Iuliu A. Zanne. The corpus of the work is made up of the ten volumes, in which a significant number of proverbs, representative for illustration of the theme, is included. In selecting examples, we kept the princeps edition, to illustrate the rules of the era, and to remain faithful to the collection of texts.

In the first chapter, entitled *Argument*, we highlighted the importance of approaching the subject, due to the complexity of the proverb, but also because it was approached as a distinct science, only then being analyzed from a linguistic perspective.

In the chapter *Preliminaries*, we presented the relationships that can be established between paremiology and linguistics, based on the theoretical notions formulated by Eugeniu Coșeriu (1992: 62; 2000: 250-260, etc.), which integrates the proverb into the category of "repeated speech elements". Within the same chapter were presented the characteristics of folk literature, such as oral, collective, anonymous and syncretic character, but also the synchronicity of these texts, which circulate concurrently on extended linguistic territories.

In the proverbs' *Genesis* chapter, we presented theoretical aspects on the basis of which the conclusion of the proverb was concomitant with that of the language. The difficulty in determining the timing of the proverbs shows that these constructions have accompanied every community, and the necessity of a historical landmark, which would contribute to a synchronic presentation of a paremiological corpus. If it was not possible to specify a certain temporal reference, the same problem is also found with regard to the place of origin.

In the chapter *Paremiography and paremiology. Brief history*, we have described, in a diachronic perspective, aspects that emphasize the effort of collecting and elaborating the paremiographic collections and dictionaries. Also in this chapter were recorded the paremiological studies, which were capitalized in the second part of the paper, in order to be able to elaborate a theme-based analysis apparatus.

In the *Acceptions chapter of the term "proverb"*, we have demonstrated that the notion has enjoyed, throughout history, numerous names that can outline both the features and its etymology. The form that has been kept up to date justifies its existence through wide circulation, all the other names being synonymous, which more or less figuratively expresses the proverbial meaning, and in some cases avoids repetitions that would affect the stylistics of the text.

In the *Defining Proverbs* chapter, the importance of such an approach was emphasized, which would facilitate the identification of distinctive features. All the work so far proves the impossibility of defining a definition that satisfies all the fields in which the proverb performs, as it is a structure that combines several spheres of activity or disciplines, such as sociology, history, ethnology, linguistics etc. The directions of approach set by Cezar Tabarcea (1982: 71) were followed. Thus, the folkloric literary approach has been captured, on the basis of which the proverb is considered to be a species (Tabarcea 1982: 71) or a "distinct genus" (Taylor, apud Negreanu 1983: 29, Vrabie 1978: 279). The linguistic approach has framed the proverb in the category of statements, by capitalizing on this concept. The term "enunciation", synonymous with the "proverb", which includes both propositional and phrasal structures, imposes proverb status on the "enactment act", which also falls within the preoccupations of pragmatics (Bidu-Vranceanu et al 1997: 185). Seen as "indirect speech acts", proverbs are part of their characteristics, being "interpreted by the speakers on the basis of common contextual knowledge and communication skills" (GALR II 2005: 841). The logical approach has proven that the proverb establishes a connection between syntax and lexicon, which allows the speaker to attribute certain meanings to him, respecting the strategy of using lexical units.

Within the same chapter, the current trends in the proverb's approach were illustrated. It was pointed proverb mediator order for a certain attitude expected by the receiver and for generating an emotional, empathic that attract "common idiomatic experience on the ground" (Dumistrăcel 2006: 95). We have noted a great use of proverbs in the current public discourse, being used as a discursive strategy, but also in press titles.

In the chapter *The formal and structural particularities of the proverbs*, we referred to the way the proverb entered the collective consciousness by observing some form and content conditions. Formal particularities relate to conciseness or fixity. The concise, apodictic style by which the proverbs are characterized is reported by Gheorghe Vrabie (1978: 279-280), who argues that, from the desire of concision, the author has recourse to the eluding of the predicates, but the fulfillment of the meaning is not shattered, because the artistic means support the content proverb. Structural features refer to symmetry. Thus, the idea of a binary structure of parems (Dundes 1975: 980, Anscombe 2000: 7-17) is outlined, as well as at semantic level, not just that of form. Stylistic peculiarities generally sought to interpret an aspect of life found in the proverb. This is done on the basis of an apoftegmatic dimension, which also contains an urge on how to behave. The repetitions of the proverbial constructs acquire an iterative dimension, such as the spanadiplyte or paronymy (Vrabie 1978: 285), but chiasm is also found. It is also noteworthy enumerations, sometimes polysyndetone. The nature and proverbial meaning follow the receiver's relationship with the receiver. The metaphorical aspect of the proverbs is sustained, in the proverbial statement, as a whole, even if it is found that the lexical units from which it is composed, taken singularly, do not always have connotative value. It is obtained through the connections between the component elements and is called the "absolute metaphor" (Sfârlea 1974: 176-178).

In the *Proverb and related species* chapter, a series of distinctions were made between related species. Thus the distinctions between proverb and maxima illustrate the origin. The existence of the maxim is conditioned by the proverb (Vianu 1971: 7). The similarities between the two species are dictated by the syntagmatic organization, but also by the message and value judgment it expresses. Distinctions between proverb and denote are given by the syntagmatic structure. The resemblance of the proverb with the denominator is attributed to the metaphorical aspect of both species, which "feed almost exclusively from the metaphor" (Bîrlea 1979: 70). Distinctions and similarities between riddles or idiomatic expressions are noted, all of which are considered by linguists to be "the elements of repeated discourse" (Coșeriu 2000, 2013, Dumistrăcel 2006, Munteanu 2007, 2012, Terian 2015 etc.).

In the *Classification of Proverbs* chapter, the rankings made by foreign paremologists such as Permiakov or Matti Kussi, as well as by the Romanian ethnology specialists (Ovidiu Bârlea) were followed. The Romanian linguistic researchers capture the thematic criterion or key words (Iuliu, A. Zanne, Ion Cuceu, etc.), but also the structure (Sanda Golopentia-Eretescu, Constantin Negreanu, Raluca-Felicia Toma, Simina-Maria Terian).

In the chapter *The Relationship between the proverb and the linguistic context*, the approaches of Paul Ruxandoiu (1966, 1967) and Cezar Tabarcea (1982) on the relation between the proverb and the context in which it is inserted were analyzed in order to claim that the theory of Pavel Ruxandoiu, according to which the meaning of the proverb exists, whether applied to a context or not, as an allegorical meaning, is accepted. Meetings in particular contexts, proverbs make use of their general meaning.

In the *Proverbs functions* chapter, we wanted to answer some questions like: Who is calling the proverb? An authority, in order to manifest its supremacy, a speaker who wants his speech to gain a persuasive value, a teacher or a parent who, by capitalizing on the didactic component of the proverb, offers alternatives to deviant behavior? Is he a leader who, by the exortative dimension of the proverb, is inflaming the crowd he wishes to coordinate? A journalist, who, through established procedures, guides the public opinion in the direction it proposes? The answer is obviously surprised in these questions, because all individuals of a community resort to proverbial language or have this possibility, the paremiological treasure being at the disposal of everyone. Thus, the functions of communication were presented: the function of evocation, aesthetics, rhetoric, facial or metallurgical, and other functions such as social, juridical or philosophical, recognized both in foreign paremology and in Romanian studies on this topic. Even if we can not speak of a proper educational function of the proverb because it would involve a process based on application principles and concrete strategies through which to reach its end, it is from the antiquity that the educational character of the proverbs is transmitted, and the Romanians are no different in this respect. Although contradictory opinions about the proverb's educational function have been found, we have raised the issue of the proverbs from this perspective in order to conclude that in proverb, even if there is no support for a proper function, there is an educational component, in the context of direct, individual experiences, results verified by the individual or the community, in relation to the social experience they are consecrated.

In the chapter *Imaglogicalstructures in the Romanian proverb*, there were identified elements of traditional mentality, the reporting of the individual to society through the proverb. Thus, the research of the proverb under this aspect aimed at describing elements belonging to the traditional culture that allow the extension to all the domains that the proverb influences and in which they constantly manifest themselves. The hypostasis of the couple in the Romanian proverb, the ethnonym and the hagianim, the image of the fire or other elements of the same paradigm as the *fireplace, the hot coal*. There have been described a

series of ritual practices which the proverb invokes, used as instruments, in which "the narrative finally draws on questions and answers, from lights and shadows, from disparate images and their interpretations, from suspicions and confirmations" (Sava 2007: 17), and the proverbs justify the two invoked entities.

In the second part of the paper, we intend to illustrate the existence of archaic and regional elements in the Romanian proverb, as well as the types of antonyms and the lexical variation.

In the chapter titled *Archaic and word formation in the Romanian proverb*, we presented and analyzed archaic and regional forms, at lexical level, of the noun type, adjective, adverbial, interjectional, to signal their frequency in the proverb. Also, semantic archaisms have been identified, their presence being less numerous. We have noticed that the proverb contributes to the preservation of the archaic units, being also a source of transmission of the paremiological formulas.

In terms of the age of lexical units, the study of the lexicon, identified in the proverbs belonging to the traditional culture, revealed an occult of archaism. This constant presence of archaic units in the Romanian proverb is motivated by the fact that the levels of the language are being built upward, forming paradigms of expression of behavioral norms that come from traditional or even archaic societies and which penetrate into the present language in formal or conceptual aspect. As has been seen from the examples provided, some terms have been archaic, and others are about to be archaic, but there are, however, somewhere kept on the dialectal level. In this sense, in our study, they were called archaic regionalisms or archaic and regional forms. We considered "archaic" those lexical units that have lost their use or continue to be used only in isolated environments. These were compared with the current language, with the elements existing in the basic vocabulary, their origin being determined with the help of specialized works: DAR, DLR, MDA, Scriban, Șăineanu etc.

Within this chapter, we identified lexical units formed by means of internal word formation: derivation, composition and conversion.

Through some of these processes, units or structures are created that we have called *specific formations*. *Nonspecific formations* have been named under this concept, because they also appear in everyday language, not just in proverb, but by using in proverbial structures, it enters into the oral circuit, with a greatly increased frequency, which also

contributes when defining the national specificity. Thus, proverbs containing prefixed affix progressive derivatives were recorded: *Lesne a se-nsură / Și greu a se **dessură*** (Zanne IV 2004: 396, prov. 10122) or suffix type. From the category of progressive derivatives with suffix type affix, we identified the presence of the instrument suffix: *Cum e **spălătore** așa-i ștergătore* (Zanne III 2004: 380, prov. 7835) of the agent: *La **tabaci** cine slujesce / Pielea (pelea) i se tăbăcesce* (Zanne V 2004: 617, prov. 12944), *La lemne cïoplind **cărămidar** nu te faci, nici meșter de lemne zidind la cărămidă* (Zanne V 2004: 180, prov. 11567), derivatives for the place / origin name: ***Mehedințen** cu două-șeci și patru de măsele* (Zanne VI 2004: 201, prov. 13678), for abstract notions: ***Golăciunea** încunjură satul, (îar) fόμεa dă d-a dreptul* (Zanne III 2004: 173, prov. 7131), progressive derivatives with the suffix of the attribute: *Tocméla **dușmănescă** / Și plata **omenescă*** (Zanne V 2004: 631, prov. 13006), with the suffix of the collectivity: *A dat de dracu-n **stejeriște*** (Zanne VI 2004: 610, prov. 14995), with the suffix of the modality: *O vorbi pe **negândite** / Și eși cam pe **brodite*** (Zanne VII 2004: 239, prov. 16000).

Positive progressive derivatives with motional suffixes have been presented: *Și **ghicitórea** după **ghicitor*** (Zanne V 2004: 309, prov. 11974), but also progressive derivatives of the affix parasynthetic: ***Nemuțumitorului** i se ieà darul* (Zanne VII 2004: 418, prov. 16704) or regressive derivatives: *Care ascultă la ușă își aude **defaima*** (Zanne III 2004: 420, prov. 7995), because the proverb is based on lexical units from the old background of the language.

Progressive derivatives with diminutive suffix are often used in familiar language (Chircu 2011: 69), which proves a special specificity and justifies their existence in the Romanian proverb. In addition, it is stated that, in the case of Romance, the origin of such suffixes must be sought especially in popular Latin, "when there are profound changes in both the structure and the way of word formation, and in terms of the lexical inventory enriched with new units" (Chircu 2006: 90). In the spoken language, the use of diminutives is done "according to locators, linguistic level and living space" (Moroianu 2016: 93). An example of a unit derived with such a suffix is found in the proverbs: *Vede **binișor** în pungă, / Are ochii ce să-ți ungă* (Zanne V 2004: 524, prov. 12614) sau: *Averea bogatului mănâncă **bucățica** săracului* (Zanne V 2004: 86, prov. 11234).

The augmentative suffixes are present in a limited number of proverbs, which proves that the idea expressed paremiologically does not require such a derivative: *Așteptă **dumnéta***

*pân s-a cõce **petroũ*** (Zanne III 2004: 299, prov. 7579) being supplemented by the presence of the diminutive.

By discovering these units, we have established two criteria for classifying proverbs. Thus, after the number of derivatives, a affixal derivative can be derived at the suffix level with a lexical unit: *Se marita **pomõtul** cu gradina* (Zanne I 2003: 265, prov. 1068), prefix type with two derived lexical units: *Cu minciuna **împrânzesci**, dar nu poți să înserezi* (Zanne VII 2004: 670, prov. 17695), of the suffix type with two lexical units: *Maĩ bine țerĩnã cu **îndrãznelã**, decãt zahãr cu **cãrtelã*** (Zanne VII 2004: 819, prov. 18526), mixed type, with two units or with three lexical units derived: *Bunãtatea stofei nu stã în **înfloriturã**, ce în **țeseturã*** (Zanne III 2004: 385, prov. 7859), *Dumneđeu să te pãzescã, De mãnia **vãdicescã**, / Și de **pãra mojcescã*** (Zanne VII 2004: 220, prov. 15934).

After the derivation of the derivative, we found that there may be proverbs that first contain the lexical basis, to which the derived lexical unit is added: ***Chiria** dẽștẽptã pẽ **chirigiũ*** (Zanne V 2004: 169, prov. 11534) or proverbs in which the derivative lexical unit is remarked, followed by the lexical basis: *Vẽdut-ai vreun **ciubotar** cu **ciubote bune**?* (Zanne V 2004: 181, prov. 11571).

A derivative can be seen in the initial position: *Cu o **stropiturã** de plõie pãmãntul nu se mõiie* (Zanne I 2003: 239, prov. 959) in the initial and final position: ***Omenia**-i mai scumpã ca **avuția*** (Zanne VII 2004: 570, prov. 17312), in the median position: *Pomul **pãdureț** **pãdurețe** põme scõte* (Zanne I 2003: 235, prov. 946) or in the final position: *Butea plinã nu s-aude, butea gõlã face multã **hodorogelã*** (Zanne V 2004: 103, prov. 11292).

Proverbial lexical paradigms are obtained from verbal, adjective, interjectional bases, but there may be lexical paradigms from mixed bases: ***Fãgãduiele** datã / E datorie curatã* (Zanne VII 2004: 382, prov. 16567), ***Fãgãduința** domnilor, / Nãdejdea nebunilor* (Zanne VII 2004: 384, prov. 16571).

The derivative series is built on predefined schemes, starting from a radical, to which a number of suffixes are added, the condition being the successive attachment. It is the case of the derivation *crãșmarul* of the proverb: *Averea **crãșmarului** / În fundul paharului* (Zanne V 2004: 211, prov. 11659), obtained from the lexical basis. In another proverb, the same lexical basis is added to the suffix *-ãrie*: *Vedut-ai **crãșmãrie** / Fãrã datorie* (Zanne V 2004: 212, prov. 11661) The motional suffix *-ișã*, for the lexical unity *crãșmãrișã*, obtained from the term *crãșmar*, in its turn derived from the noun *crãșmã* + the suffix for agent *-ar*, is identified in

the interrogative proverb: *Jupânésă crîșmăriță*, / *Cunoscî astă căciuliță?* (Zanne V 2004: 212, prov. 11662).

Another internal means of enriching the vocabulary, the composition of words, is found in proverbs such as: *Un sare-gardurî* (Zanne III 2004: 165 prov.7100), *E un fluieră-baston* (Zanne III 2004: 19 prov. 6572). These composite elements behave as a lexical and semantic unit (Ciobanu and Hasan 1970: 17), especially since their synonym is one term.

Conversion is present in the Romanian proverb, through structures like: *Până nu mănâncî bunul altuia nu te faci om* (Zanne V 2004: 100, prov. 11288), *Nu-î după cum îî disa*, / *Ci-i după cum îî scrisa* (Zanne VII 2004: 151, prov. 15750) mainly by substantiation.

Its basic meaning, its secondary meaning and the figurative meaning are traceable in paremiological structures, such as: *Mușerea cicală*, *gura ei ca toca-î tocă* (Zanne II 2003: 299, prov. 4030). In other structures, it appears with its own secondary meaning: *Sacul se cruță de la gură* (Zanne III 2004: 340, prov. 7698), *Cămașă de sócră, fără de mânici și fără de gură* (Zanne III 2004: 61, prov. 6725). Other proverbial constructions illustrate the figurative meaning: *A dice (spune) pe gura cămeșei (cămeșii)* (Zanne III 2004: 63, prov. 6734), *S-a uitat pe gura cămeșii* (Zanne III 2004: 63, prov. 6735).

Analyzing the elements in this chapter, we have come to a series of conclusions on keeping and transmitting archaisms, mediated by proverbs. Archaic lexical elements can be framed in the common lexicon, which we might call "common lexic arhaic" or "common proverbial lexicon", both by its memorable character and by being preserved inside the structures. These are constituted as "time capsules" designed to contribute to the unaltered transmission of the old language terms. Derivative lexical units outnumber those composed or those obtained by conversion, which is also found in extraproverbial language. The absence of augmentative suffixes is supplemented by the presence of numerous diminutives, the proverb taking the ironic tone in both situations, although in diminutives they are considered hypochoric, in contrast to augmentative, non-expressing affection.

In the chapter titled *The problem of antonyms in the Romanian proverb. Analytical structures*, firstly, were recorded the theoretical references, the meanings of the term "antonim", the perspectives of approaching the antonyms, the formal aspects or the conditions in the determination of the semantic category of antonymy. These are semantic, dialectal, lexico-grammatical or logical. Some particularities have been identified, the nature of antonymy, depending on which antonyms in the system or contextual ones are determined.

We tried to establish some criteria for the classification of antonyms, which follow the two perspectives: the folkloric and the linguistic one, in which the compositional schemes formulated by Richard Sîrbu (Diagnostic Antonimic Contextual Contexts - CAD, Non-Diagnostic Contextual Contexts - CA), Gheorghe Bârlea or Cristian Moroianu (heterolex antonyms, homolex antonyms).

In this subchapter, we proposed a classification of the proverbs which refers to the topic of the lexical units trained in the antonyms report or to the number of lexical units in a proverb. Also, ascending, linear or downward antonymy was observed. The problem of the diminutives involved in the antonymy report or issues concerning the analysis of the lexical units involved in the antonymy relation in the proverbial context was addressed. The analysis surprised the antonymy at the adjective, adverbial, noun, verbal, or numeral level, which demonstrates that in the paremiological structures antonymia can be gradual or scalar (Sîrbu 1977: 144, Moroianu 2008: 6), as it also happens in everyday language. Also, the relation of antonymy at pronominal, interjectional, prepositional, propositional or between lexical units formed by gradual postfixal derivation of the prefix type was illustrated: *Când vede omul nevoia / Vorbesce ce nu-î e voia* (Zanne VII 2004: 309, prov. 16277) or the suffix type: *Maî bine e de a câştigà puţin cu dreptate, de cât mult cu strâmbătate* (Zanne V 2004: 157 11491).

The formal consequences of using antonyms in the proverbial context were discussed, in order to arrive at some considerations on the semantic category of antonymia.

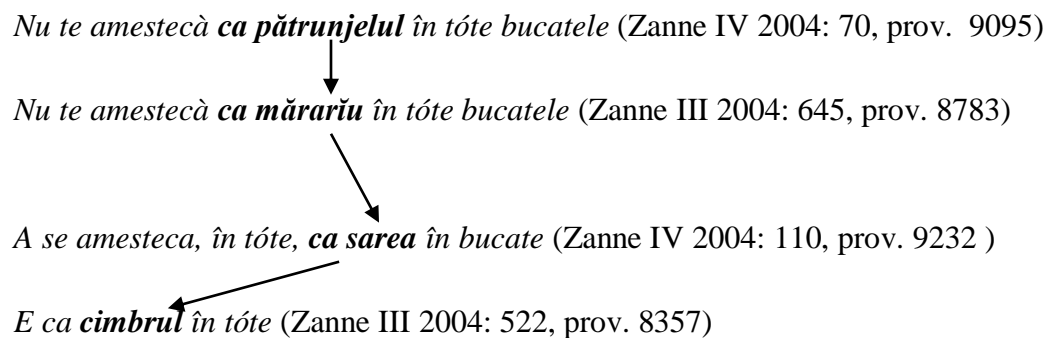
So, in our approach, we proceeded from the hypothesis that, in paremiology, antonymy is represented differently than in the free technique of discourse, and we have found a complex antonymy relationship that starts from propositional parts, reaching sentences or phrases, in the structure of which contains antonymy relations between terms, the nature of antonymia being mostly contextual: *Norocu, ori fugi de el ori dai peste el* (Zanne VII 2004: 425, prov. 16743).

We have found that, in proverbs, several lexical units are found in the antonymia relationship, which favors the extension of semantic categories to lexical units in the neighborhood. It supports the solidarity between the terms of the paremiological structure, which generates fixity and confirms the mnemotechnical character. The deviation from the conditions imposed by the statute of the antonym may be less or higher, in the sense that one can resort to the association of lexical units in their own sense, made in relation to some with figurative meaning, a frequent situation in paremiology, but less capitalized in everyday

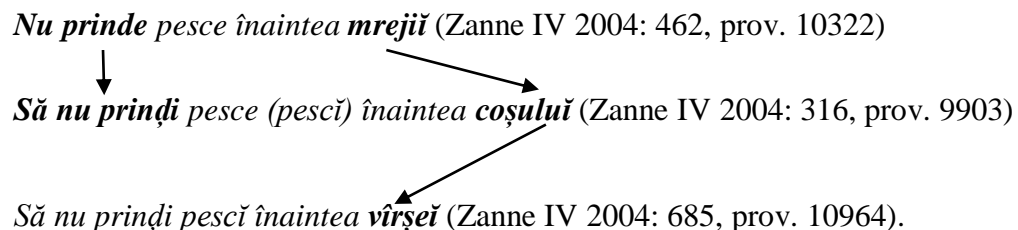
language. The consequences of this deviation from linguistic norms increase the expressiveness, which is a particularity of the proverb.

In the chapter *The lexical variation in the Romanian proverbs*, the theoretical aspects regarding the acceptance of the proverb as an element of the repeated discourse, approached from the perspective of the structural semantics, were included. The existence of proverbial variants was discussed in the subchapter *Formal motivation of the proverbial variants*. In this chapter, there were also presented methods of approaching the lexical variation, as well as the analysis strategies to illustrate the types of lexical variation.

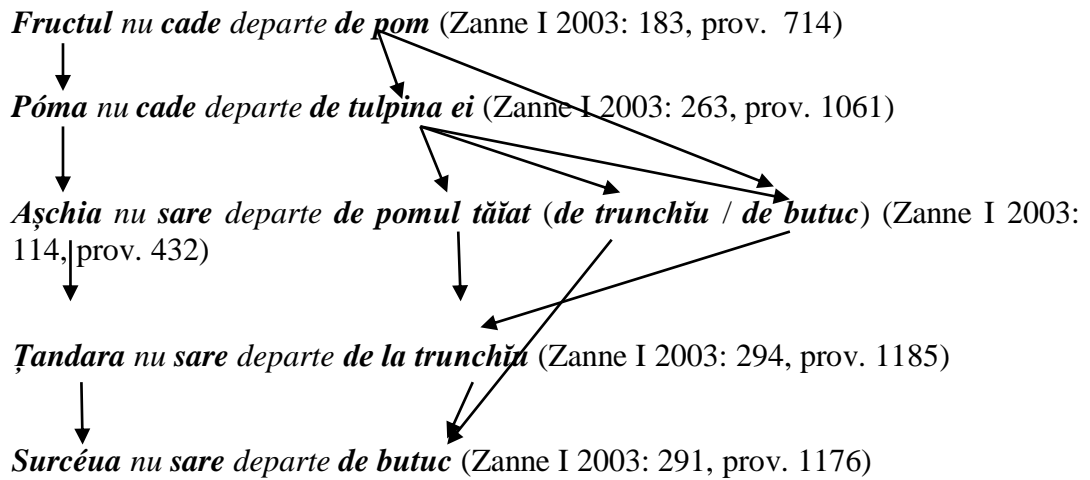
Within this chapter, criteria for classifying the lexical variation have been established. Thus, a first criterion tracked the number of switchable lexical units that gave simple variation in the initial, median or final position:



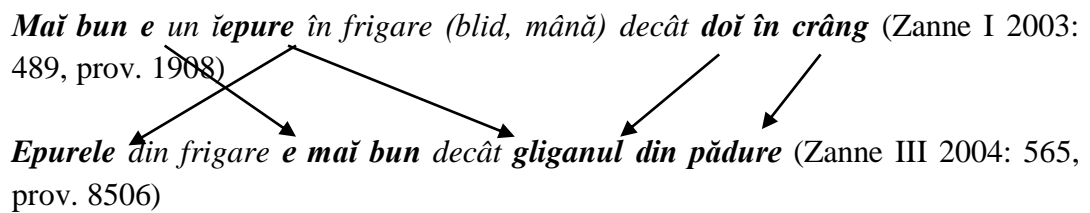
Based on the same criterion, we found the existence of the double lexical variation in the initial and the final position, the successive or the alternate variation.



The variation with three lexical switches, called *triple variation*, can be successive or intercalated. The complexity of the process has been proven by the presence of a larger number of lexical switchable units. Thus, in addition to the types mentioned, the ascending or the downward variation was observed.




The second classification criterion, after the position of the lexical switching units, demonstrated the existence of the lexical variation in the first part of the proverb, in the second part or the variation of the topic.




From these, we chose the variation of the topic, because this type was found with a considerable frequency in the Romanian proverbs, being found at verbal, noun, propositional level, but also in expressions or habits. Most of the times, the topic is objective by placing the object designated by the verb, but also proverbial constructions in which subjective topical is observed.

The third criterion, based on the semantic class of the lexical combinatorial units, took into account the synonymous lexical variation, starting from the principle stated in the phraseology by Cristinel Munteanu (2012: 147), followed by the model imposed by Eugeniu Coseriu (1992) synonymous "being a" creative process, illustrating the natural linguistic change that starts from a fixed pattern (an expression or a native origin), producing by dialect ("immutatio") diachronic, diatonic, diastolic and diaphasic phraseological synonyms" (Munteanu 2012: 147).

Based on the same criterion, we delineated another type of variation, which we called an *antonimizative*, by analogy with *the synonymous* variation. Since lexical variation involves a process based on a relationship, it can not be denoted by the notion that designates that relationship (in our case, the antonymy), which has made us call it *antonimizable*. Assuming the terminology proposed by Constantin Negreanu (1983: 38), which uses the notion of "microcontext" as the proverb, we consider that the relations established between the constituents can be called "intermicrocontextual relations". Thus, the antonimizable variation can also be called *intermicrocontextual antonymy*. This is illustrated in the examples below.

*Tot grasu e frumos, și tot **avutu cinstit*** (Zanne II 2003: 578, prov. 5321)

*Tot grasul e frumos, și tot **slabul ticălos*** (Zanne II 2003: 578, prov. 5321)

The fourth criterion, based on the linguistic nature of the variation, has capitalized on the cosmopolitan tripartite to distinguish between diatopic variation, illustrated by variants that turn to archaic and regional forms, identified in limited linguistic areas, being dialectally saved in these regions.

*I-a atîrnat **cinghelu** de nas* (Zanne V 2004: 172, prov. 11543)

*I-a atîrnat **îevașéua** de nas* (Zanne V 2004: 329, prov. 12018)

Following this criterion, we have identified proverbs in which it is possible to demonstrate the existence of the diastatic variation, which surprisingly, from a social perspective, the proverbial language, contributing both to the preservation and the transmission of the information that can be cultural, historical, religious etc. In the case of diastatic variation, it is possible to establish "the priority of a formula, the canonical, from which the synonyms start" (Dumistrăcel 2006: 210).

Nu-î ajungî cu strămurarea la nas, de înfumurat ce este (Zanne II 2003: 308, prov. 4079)

Nu le ajungî nici cu strămurarița la nas (Zanne II 2003: 308, prov. 4079)

Nu ajungî cu prăjina de opt boi la nasul lui (Zanne II 2003: 308, prov. 4079)

Nu-î ajunge cu prăjina la nas (Zanne II 2003: 308, prov. 4079)

The diaphasic variation exploits the linguistic differences that - at the same socio-cultural layer - characterize biological groups (men, women, children, youth) and professional" (Coșeriu 2000: 263).

Muerea (mușerea) care nu va (vré) să plămădescă totă ziua cerne (Zanne II 2003: 286, prov. 3949)

Femeea care nu voesce să frământa, totă ziua cerne (Zanne II 2003: 154, prov. 3348)

Femeia care nu vré (vra) să frământa (plămădescă) totă ziua (ziua) cerne (Zanne II 2003: 155, prov. 3348)

Muerea care nu va să facă azimă totă ziua cerne (Zanne II 2003: 286, prov. 3949)

Mușerea care nu vré să facă mămăligă totă ziua cerne (Zanne II 2003: 286, prov. 3949)

Femeia care nu vré să facă mămăligă totă ziua crene (Zanne III 2004: 610, prov. 8646)

Cine nu va să frământa, totă ziua cerne (Zanne III 2004: 564, prov. 8503)

Cine nu vré să facă pâine totă ziua cerne (Zanne IV 2004: 58, prov. 9049)

Cine nu vre să plămădescă cerne totă ziua (Zanne IV 2004: 92, prov. 1639)

The fifth criterion refers to the conceptual field of the lexical switchable units. We started from the theory that "proverbs belonging to the same concept fit into what we called etnocâmp", equivalent to a "conceptual field" (Negreanu 1983: 39), this report being valid only for proverbs. In view of these assertions, we have referred to the notion of "etnocâmp" or "conceptual field", that is, the grouping of several microcontexts (= proverbs), in order to set up a structure consisting of the proverbial variants circumscribed to the same theme.

We have included a number of proverbial variants in a macrocontext, which we have lectured to illustrate the process, which can be observed on small or large partial systems, depending on the number of lexical units that can be switched. For the analysis of the lexical units that are part of the proverbs and are involved in the process of variation, we used the term "lexical field" based on the theory belonging to Eugeniu Coșeriu (1994: 109-110), considering that in the paremiological structures there exist that area of common significance within the elements identified in the variants. We have referred to the lexical element, not just its significance in the paremiological context, especially since we were interested in the lexical units involved in the process of variation, which can be integrated into a lexical field. The meanings that lexicon fields acquire relate not only to the lexical entourage within the same proverb, but to the vertical, by substitution of terms.

Thus, in the Romanian proverbs, one can illustrate the ethnofamily of the *Family*, which can also be divided into the macrocontext *Woman*:

Mușerea cinstită, / Pétra neprețuită (Zanne II 2003: 294, prov. 3987)

Mușerea cinstită, podóba casei tale (Zanne II 2003: 294, prov. 3988)

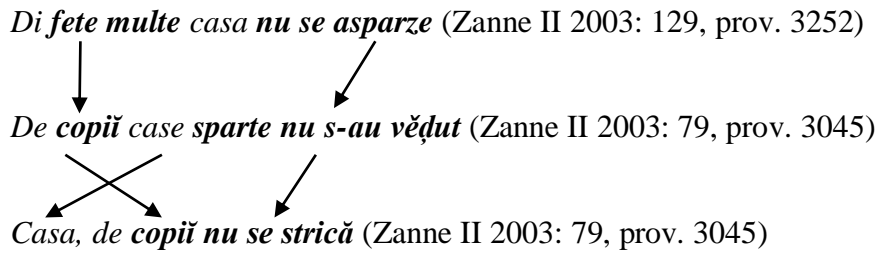
Within the same ethno field, you can configure the macro context *Man*:

Două mușeri într-un loc / Nu trăesc, se cert de foc (Zanne II 2003: 292, prov. 3976)

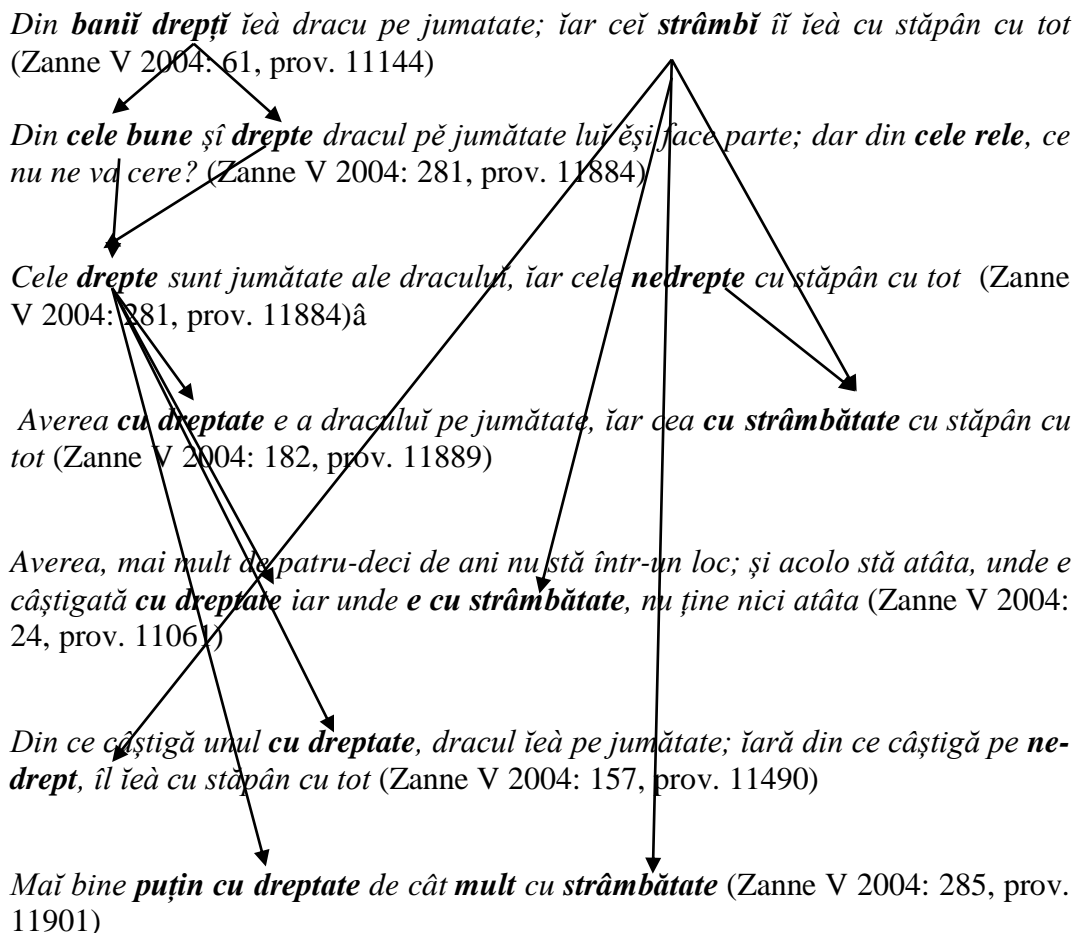
Doi bărbați la un loc tot pot lăcuși, iar două mușeri într-o casă, nici cum pot trăi (Zanne II 2003: 292, prov. 3976)

Dece Români pot ședé într-o casă că să-mpacă, da douo femeș ba (Zanne II 2003: 292, prov. 3976)

This ethno field includes the macrocontext *Children*:



The sixth criterion, according to the internal vocabulary enrichment means, subclassified the derivative variation, which may be affixed, of the suffix type:



The same criterion has circumscribed variants in which the posterior derivative lexical variation with diminutive suffixes or compound lexical units is observed, as can be seen in the examples below.

Cine ține doi pepeni într-o mână rămâne fără niciunul (Zanne II 2003: 248, prov. 3785)

Nu p^ote ține cineva doi pepeni într-o mână (Zanne II 2003: 248, prov. 3785)

Doi pepeni într-o mână nu poți ține (Zanne II 2003: 248, prov. 3785: 248)

Also, the presence of lexical variation by conversion was found:

Cine se culcă flămând se sc^olă fără datorie (Zanne III 2004: 554, prov. 8473)

Cine se culcă nemâncat se sc^olă fără vreme (Zanne IV 2004: 82, prov. 8886)

Cine se culcă nemâncat codri vis^eză (Zanne IV 2004: 82, prov. 8887)

Flămânda codri vis^eză și vrabia me^ui (Zanne III 2004: 551, prov. 8466)

The seventh criterion, based on the type of proverb, set lexical variation in opposition type proverbs. Oppositions are identified in affirmative statements, in which lexical variation can be at the substantive, verbal, adjective or numerical levels. Proverbs of this type signal the existence of oppositions and negative proverbial statements.

Lapte fierț l-a opărit / Suflă și-n cel covășit (Zanne II 2003: 651, prov. 5623)

Cine s-a ars cu ciorba suflă și în iaurt (Zanne II 2003: 476, prov. 4850)

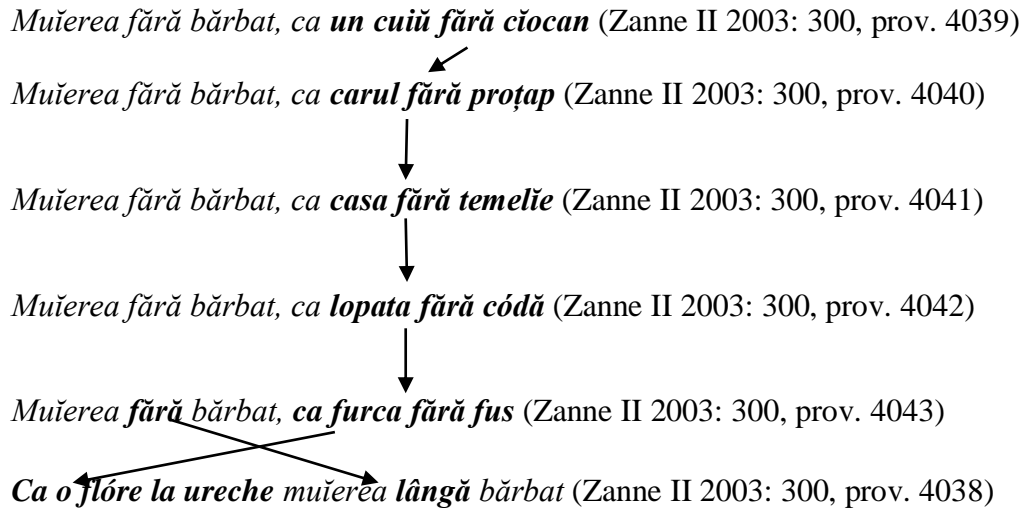
Cine o dată ș-a^u ars sufletul de bucate fierbinți suflă și în cele reci (Zanne II 2003: 476, prov. 4849)

There may also be lexical variation in non-positive proverbs, which subclasses the lexical variation by negation, with an affirmative sentence and two or more negative propositions or a negative sentence and two or more affirmative sentences.

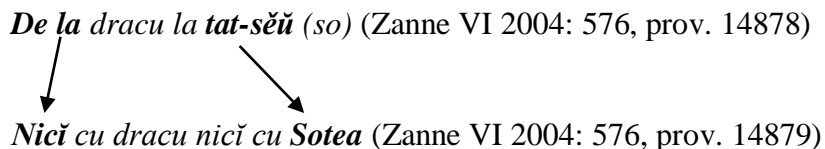
Dacă veⁱ să trăiesci liniștit, să nu veⁱ, să n-a^uđi, să tacⁱ (Zanne II 2003: 794, prov. 6251)

Cine va să trăiescă în pace, / Aude, vede și tace (Zanne II 2003: 778, prov. 6153)

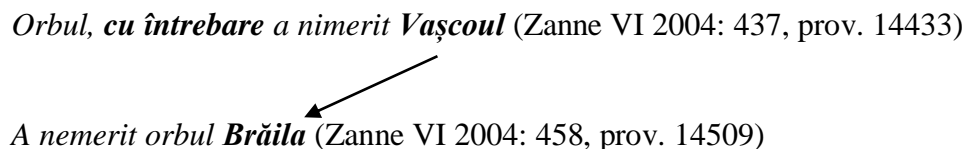
The eighth criterion had in mind the stylistic value of the switchable lexical units, according to which lexical variation was identified in the list or in comparison, as noted in the examples below.



The ninth criterion has capitalized the class of the lexical switchable unit, by which the lexical variation between the common noun and the noun was established:



It is also noteworthy the lexical variation with toponyms:



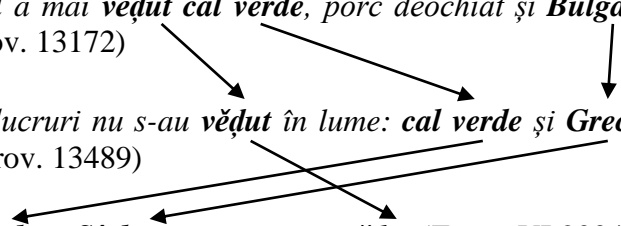
with ethnonyms:

Cal verde și Arman cuminte cine dracul a mai vĕđut (Zanne VI 2004: 13, prov. 13146)

Dracul a mai vĕđut cal verde, porc deochĭat și Bulgar deștept (Zanne VI 2004: 23, prov. 13172)

Două lucruri nu s-au vĕđut în lume: cal verde și Grec cuminte (Zanne VI 2004: 135, prov. 13489)

Cal verde și Sĕrb cuminte nu s-a vĕđut (Zanne VI 2004: 135, prov. 13489)



In the subchapter "*Considerations on the procedure of lexical variation*", we tried to motivate the existence of proverbial variants, which is justified by the fixed character of the statements, which allows only small deviations and those remarked on the formal plane, representing forms of manifestation of the proverbial message transmission. These are achieved both by the stylistic artifice and by the persuasive force of the proverb or the need for adaptability to the linguistic or extra-linguistic context.

We can say that the mechanism that motivates the appearance of variants of proverbs can be explained by the fact that the language lexicon is constantly changing. The determinant functions that impose change rules change in every action of language, with each new form, and the proverb is also subject to these norms. There is no clear rule in the process of creating lexical variation. In some embodiments, the process does not create essential changes, and they also address formally and not semantic aspects. A special interest was the way of forming the lexical units, the processes to which they were subjected, both synchronous and diachronic.

There has been a high frequency of types of variation that are obtained by synonymy, which also justifies the circulation of the proverb on extensive linguistic areas, but this can be motivated by the need to adapt the proverb to the extra-linguistic context. Within the same sapiential formulas, different variation types were recorded, resulting in a difficulty in establishing the criteria for enclosing the proverb or a judicious classification.

By lexical variation, a rich complex of meanings leads to intercontextual relationships. Changes that interfere with the inner structure of the proverb do not bring a resemnation to it in the linguistic context, precisely because the global meaning is not commutative. So, we have demonstrated that the hypothesis that sustains the existence of this process can be constituted in the thesis, and the multitude of variational types demonstrate that the lexical

variation intervenes in partial systems. Otherwise, we are witnessing paremiological synonymy, and not variants of the same proverb, since the inventory of terms that make up the proverbs leads to connotative meanings.

In the *General conclusions* chapter, we have signaled that proverbs are showing shortcomings, with fewer ones being laudatory. This attitude comes from the archaic or traditional mentality of discovering and correcting some behavioral deviations.

The analysis of the unitary structure of the proverb requires the formulation of conclusions on this type of text / statement (notions assumed by linguists) or species (framing by ethnologists and folklorists). Thus, one can speak of a paremiological linguistic register, by the way the language is used on the texts. The structure of the proverbs is most often propositional, but there may be proverbs made up of phrases, which contradicts the opinion of the specialists about the concision. However, this feature can be demonstrated by the existence of lapidary, elliptical predicate formulas. The proverb is formed on the basis of a lexical, stylistic or morphosyntactic structure that functions in synchronicity, but also in diachrony, following etymological families identified in different epochs or linguistic areas.

The ensemble of properties of the constituents of a proverb, in relation to the general process of communication, makes it possess multiple functions, such as evocation, expressive, poetic, facial or metallurgical. In addition, proverbial language has a normative character, establishing rules that all members of the community have to respect, and aims to sanction the deviations and to determine the circumstances of the blame, formulating a series of customs. The multitude of principles recorded by Romanian paremiology are identified in proverbs belonging to other cultures, proof being that they circulate with variants found in the farthest corners of the world. In this regard, one can speak of a globalization, at least at a cultural level, because the collective mentality captures the individual as far as it is archetype. The message of the proverb is fully understood by the individuals of a society, given that the receiver demonstrates knowledge of a particular culture or mentality, having a code of world reporting and knowledge.

The role of proverb as an important factor in education is given by the multitude of paremiological structures that offer an alternative to the chaotic behavior of today's society, which is oriented towards purely material values and neglects the most important aspect of development, namely education, whose purpose is to shape the character of individuals. Most proverbs that relate to education are imperative, and the semantic category they are targeting

is anthonymia, both ascending and descending, proverbs based on the metaphorical and antithetical side of the proverbs, most relationships the opposition being contextual.

The author of the proverb approaches historical events and materializes them in a personal manner and, after this process of elaboration, the proverb is subjected to proof of time, that is, exposed to receivers that analyze, understand, confirm, interpret its meanings or, on the contrary. If accepted by the majority, the proverb is invoked in extrasapientic language, through the established formulas: "that word ..." or other, topical, such as: "in a proverbial expression ..." etc. On the contrary, if objected, the proverb is canceled, becoming irre recognizable, but denial can also attract recognition by formulas such as "do not do as the proverb says ...", formulas acknowledged especially in the current political discourse.

In the case of the proverb, one can speak of an aptitude, in the way it works at the level of the individual, through the concrete experience, formulating a value judgment that can be assumed as a valid and generally an object, as well as a hypothetical or real narrative, since, at the time they were pronounced, the proverbs were expressions of concrete facts. Over time, their meaning has gained generality by which empirical value can also be proven. Repeated experiences are constituents of reference, which were then synthesized paremiologically to outline the profile of an individual.

The insertion of the proverb in the current language is based on the fact that the proverbs are semantic units fixed in the linguistic tradition; placement in a new context determines their valorisation, which shades in speech. It generates the acquisition of expressive valences, but can also contribute to the value of tradition.

The fund of lexical units that make up proverbs leads to the use of their connotative meanings. Operate, based on the same lexical unit, to a semantic transfer, depending on the unitary value of the parima. The lexical proverbial inventory is made up of lexical units in the basic vocabulary, to which a considerable number of archaisms and regionalisms are added, language facts that require a diachronic analysis. These findings have led to the analysis of proverbs to discover the types of lexical or semantic archaisms, which demonstrate in particular the diachronic nature of the proverb, its own way of constituting a way of preserving the vocabulary of a language.

In an intention to retrieve and transmit some lexical units from the old fund of the language, we have recourse to a considerable number of proverbs, which we also analyzed

from the perspective of linguistic evolution, which proved that, through the proverb, it is possible to discover specific formations, those lexical units that the proverb has consecrated by frequency and which give it identity. This is a way of expressing the oral and, implicitly, mnemotehnic character, because derived derived lexical elements are easily identified and retained by the collective memory, which will transmit them as close as possible to the original form.

The internal means of enriching the lexicon are also present in constructing the proverb's structure. Derivatization, composition, conversion can be justified by calling on the same analytical strategies. Therefore, there is a close relationship between the lexicon, the syntax (both the sentence and the sentence) and morphology.

We have tried to identify examples of less proverbs that have been researched and analyzed so that the elaborated Iuliu A. Zanne collection is known and capitalized in the present period, given the wealth of proverbs collected by the researcher and the collector's effort to gather this impressive number of texts, through which he obtains the most voluminous paremiological work, unmatched so far.

We have found a difficulty in how to approach proverbs, especially in the delimitation of the corpus, because the multitude of proverbs leads to an impossibility to fit the variants on a single criterion. The same impediment intervenes in their analysis, which has led to an interdisciplinary approach and imposed some own criteria of classification, but also a terminology based on analogies from the current linguistics (especially the cosmic theories on the types of diastratic, diatopic, diaphatic variation) , but also by valorizing the consecutive semantic categories: synonymy, antonymy, paronymia, from which the types of synonymous and antonimizative, paronimizational variation (the latter being found in a limited number) have resulted.

From a semantic point of view, we have demonstrated that synonymy, in proverbs, is one of the ways in which the lexical variation process can be supported, the substitutions between terms acting on partial structures and in various ways, and when the basic terms are replaced, synonymy paremiology. Antonimia has shown that by contamination, this relationship extends to some lexical units which, in the spoken language, do not prove these connections, being contextual or occasional antonymy.

We believe that through the research we have been able to open new directions of study on the proverb, its heterogeneous character allowing other onomasiological or

semasiological approaches. For example, an anthropological analysis can also be applied, since the proverbs were collected from all the regions inhabited by Romanians, as it is formulated in the subtitle of the collection which was the corpus of our work. From this point of view, imaginative structures or archaic and traditional mentality can be observed, on the distinct areas in which they circulate, the human perception of the respective regions on the aspects of the immediate reality. The proverb allows a treatment from the perspective of the poetic syntax, in order to identify the stylistic processes related to the topic of the sentences. From the morphological point of view, paremiology opens new ways of analyzing the formal changes that have occurred in these structures as a result of the lexical variation. From a phonetic point of view, archaic or regional lexical units can be analyzed, starting from an analysis of historical phonetics, in order to follow the laws that have altered the sounds of lexical units, from the time of sapiential formula collection to the present. It is also possible to undertake studies from a didactic, historical or legal perspective, given the formal and structural features and characteristics, but it can also be analyzed from a pragmatic perspective, as the implications of proverbs are known both on the transmitter and on the receiver. Contrastive studies of proverbs could reveal new valences of these statements of great sophistication and complexity.

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