OPEN ACCESS | ORIGINAL ARTICLE
DOI: 10.47743/ lincu-2025-1-0401

HOW ABOUT LEXICALLY MEASURING EASTERN EUROPEAN LITERARY *GYPSYLORISM*? DUAL OTHERING AND LINGUISTIC STEREOTYPING OF ROMA FEMALE CHARACTERS IN THE MODERN ROMANIAN NOVEL

David MORARIU
Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu

Abstract

This paper builds on Ken Lee's concept of "Gypsylorism", as a form of Said's classical "Orientalism", and argues for a particular case of Eastern European Gypsylorism in modern Romanian literature. More specifically, the paper examines the linguistic stereotyping of Roma female characters in five Romanian novels published in the first half of the 20th century. The lexical measurement of this form of Gypsylorism uncovers the influence of the Western pattern of orientalizing hypersexualized Roma characters, contrasted with lexical selections and discursive strategies that reflect an autochthonous perspective. This study advances the West-East dichotomy as a functional structure of overlapping the literary exoticization of Roma female characters—as a result of adapting the Western model of Roma othering—with an autochthonous perspective, rooted in the reality of Roma presence in Romanian society and in a reactionary discourse against the West. Consequently, the literary stereotypical portrayal of Roma female characters brings together the Western perspective of the mysterious and exotic *femme fatale* with an internal perspective on these characters, who long to leave their nomadic lifestyle behind and fall in love with

Received: 02 April 2025 | Accepted: 03 May 2025 | Published: 30 June 2025
LINGUACULTURE VOL. 16, NO. 1, 2025 – *East≠West: Revisiting Travel and Cultural Mobility*, edited by Oana Cogeanu-Haraga and Ludmilla Kostova
ISSN (print): 2067-9696 | ISSN (online): 2285-9403 | www.journal.linguaculture.ro

Eastern European non-Roma male protagonists. In short, through the critique of this specific form of Gypsylorism, the paper intends to analyze the Romanian literary discourse and the "instrumentalization" of the fictional image of Roma.

Keywords: *East European literary Gypsylorism; Modern Romanian novel; Roma female characters; Orientalism; linguistic stereotyping*

INTRODUCTION: THE TWO SIDES OF EASTERN EUROPEAN LITERARY GYPSYLORISM AS AN OVERLAP OF WESTERN AND EASTERN PERSPECTIVES

It has long been acknowledged that one of the most frequently interrogated perspectives on the reception of Said's *Orientalism* resides in its theoretical versatility and hierarchical patterning, thus literally becoming rather plural: *Orientalisms*. Considering the statement that "every nation creates its own Orient" (Makdisi 768), reframings such as "nesting orientalisms" (Milica Bakić-Hayden 917-931), "frontier orientalism" (Andre Gingrich 60-66) and "ottoman orientalism" (Makdisi 768-796) have challenged both the ideological and spatial patterns of the classical othering discourse. Furthermore, they have been required to better delineate the specificities of orientalized cultures or those with an uncertain status within the framework of the West-East dichotomy. Among them, the cultures of Southeastern Europe, i.e., the *Balkans*, stand out, as they have been labeled with a whole array of synonymous terms: from the "semi-oriental", the "incomplete self" (Todorova 17-18) and "the outsider within" (Fleming 1220) to notions reflecting a Eurocentric power dynamic of "accommodation", due to the status of "in-betweenness" (Mudure 119). But just as it is true that Said's critical model was too rigid for the cultural identities of this bridge-region (Todorova 15-16), it is also true that the cultures on Europe's periphery perpetuated its pattern in constructing their own Orient, while simultaneously reacting to Western supremacy.

Therefore, this is why the rhetoric of "backwardness", as a constitutive narrative of Eastern Europe in relation to the West (Wolff 4), does not align with other specific forms of Orientalism, such as "Gypsylorism". As Ken Lee argues, the othering of the Roma has involved portraying them as "the exotic Other

within Europe" (132). These three discourses of orientalization can thus be reduced to three distinct models: the discourse of the othering of the estranged East (Said's classic model), the othering of Southeastern Europe, as the Other within a less defined proximity, and the othering of the Roma, as the Other with exotic origins. The difference between the first and third models—i.e., Said's model and Lee's response—becomes evident. Lee legitimizes the framework of Gypsylorism as a particular case of Orientalism by contrasting "the exotic Other *outside* Europe" with "the exotic Other *within* Europe" (132). However, the link between the second and third models poses conceptual challenges.

As far as the Balkans and the cultural identities of Southeastern Europe are concerned, their status as intermediaries reveals a dual relationship, i.e., with the "civilized" Europe and with those perceived as less civilized. This duality could be represented as concentrically structured, with Southeastern European cultures being labeled as an internal other of the Western Europe, and the Roma, as internal other within the discourses of Southeastern Europe. For the intermediaries, specifically for Romanian culture, Eastern European literary Gypsylorism represents a negotiation of its own cultural identity shaped by Western culture to which it does not fully belong. In short, the framework of this Eastern European literary Gypsylorism that this paper aims to delineate is grounded in Bakić-Hayden's concept of "nesting orientalisms", specifically in terms of replicating the West-East dichotomy (918). In addition, it draws on one of the peculiarities of Andre Gingrich's "frontier orientalism", namely the model's emphasis on the othering of "rivals" in the absence of subjugation (62) (see the case of narratives in early 20th century about nomadic Roma always depicted as willing to plunder peasants' property). Last but not least, Eastern European literary Gypsylorism capitalizes to a large extent on the rhetoric of "Ottoman Orientalism", as the purpose of "self-designation" and "resistance to Western colonialism" (Makdisi 795) serves as the legitimizing discourse for this particular form of dual othering of the Roma as well.

Unsurprisingly, the two sides of Eastern European literary Gypsylorism are thus direct consequences of the historical and social conditions of the Roma in this geographical area, the historical provinces of Romania representing a specific case. As demonstrated by some comprehensive analyses of the Romani studies paradigm (Marushiakova-Popova and Popov, 1-48), there are two distinct discourses of stigmatization, each stemming from two different perceptions of

the Roma and their social status in this region. Perceiving them as a "separate ethnic community" represents the legitimizing framework of an exoticizing perspective, while perceiving them as an "integral part of society" facilitates the emergence of a marginalizing discourse towards them (5).

Reproduced in various forms, these two stigmatizing discourses were also reflected in the peculiarities of the literary discourse that emerged under the same historical-geographical pattern. In the case of Romanian literature, for example, critical discourses have focused on uncovering the marginalizing rhetoric as being specific compared to the dominant European rhetoric of orientalization. More precisely, the fictional representation of the Roma is seen as contrasting with the exotic Western depiction, adopting instead a paternalistic perspective (Suciu 13), shaped by the Roma's presence in Romanian society. However, in line with this fascination for Western progressivism, which also generates a reactionary response, the modern Romanian novel seems to engage with these two antinomic ideologies through a dual othering of the Roma: on the one hand, they are exoticized through lexical bovarization, despite their status as the "internal other"; on the other hand, they continue to be victims of stigmatization due to subjugation and a social emancipation that remained pending throughout the first half of the 20th century.

The case of fictional discourse, in general, and of the Romanian literature, in particular, is therefore symptomatic, as the transformation of Roma into literary characters coincides with the "instrumentalization of their image" (Tudor 171-172) to meet the identity imperatives of modern Europe (124-125). The overlap of the literary image of Roma with their real identity (Matras 26; 156-167; Okely 2-3) and the circulation of their romantic motif of the "free nomad" (Marushiakova-Popova and Popov 19) serves as evidence for this instrumentalization. However, in the case of the Romanian culture of the early 20th century, and in relation to the negotiation of its own cultural identity through the othering of the Roma, the binomial of "idealization" and "denigration" (Tudor 193-194) are configured differently. "Idealization" cannot exist without appropriating the Western perspective on the Roma, i.e., their perception through the lens of the West, which serves as a convenient justification for performing the role of the civilized Westerner. Similarly, "denigration" also acquires specific connotations within the context of the

Romanian culture. As this paper will demonstrate, the Roma characters are not only portrayed through the lens of primitivism, inferiority, and cultural contempt (Tudor 183), but also depicted with moral traits that serve to contrast with the rhetoric of other characters aspiring to Western ideals.

POTRAYING ROMA FEMALE CHARACTERS IN THE MODERN ROMANIAN NOVEL: SYNECDOCHES OF EASTERN EUROPEAN LITERARY GYPSYLORISM

The stereotypical gender-based correlation between the "colonizer"—portrayed as a male—and the "colonized"—portrayed as a female—(Saul 125; Hasdeu, "Imagining" 356), which reinforces the discourse of domination, has become commonplace within the framework of Orientalism. Starting with Said and key-phrases such as "male-power fantasy", "unlimited sensuality", willingness (Said 207-208), the woman becomes a synecdoche for the subjugation of the colonized East by the colonizing West. Moreover, embedded within the rhetoric of the *body*, sexuality, sensuality and exoticism have come to define the attributes of the uncivilized Other (Johnson 509-529). Yet, due to one-sided and "voyeuristic" perspective, the Orientalist discourse inevitably turns into a form of "fetishism" (Hall 251-259).

Nevertheless, the stereotyping of Roma women proves to be no exception once again. The discourse of the "exotic within Europe" is primarily legitimized through the metaphor of "corporality"—both "individual" and "social" (Tudor 17)—thus underpinning the instrumentalization of the Roma, whether through exoticization or marginalization. As expected, whether discussing European (Siyam) or Romanian literature (Dumitru 1-18), other arts (Hașdeu, "Țigăncușa" [Roma Girl 83-96]; Ostapyk 82-102) or anthropology and ethnography (Hasdeu, "Imagining" 347-357), the othering of the Roma is framed by the particularization of oversexualized women (Hancock 181-191; Okely 201-214), depicted from the perspective of the non-Roma men. However, as previously stated, the framework of Eastern European literary Gypsylorism encompasses more than merely identifying linguistic patterns in the reproduction of these stigmatizing images borrowed from the West. Much like the Orientalization of Roma women in Romanian paintings, the literary image reflects a rhetoric of evaluation of the Western model. As Iulia Hașdeu also

observes, at the confluence between the 19th and 20th centuries, the depiction of Roma women in painting emerges from an "inferiority complex in relation to the West" ("Țigăncușa" [Roma Girl], 91) and primarily reflects a vision shaped by artists' travels abroad. These encounters with Western Europe instilled in Romanian artists a fascination with the "exotic other at home", whose exoticism was perceived through "the eyes of a white, male immigrant of privileged social status, studying art in an imperial capital regarded with admiration" (86).

In the modern Romanian novel, this Western-influenced stereotyping of Roma female characters aligns with a broader pattern of representation that predominantly portrays the Roma as a collective, unindividualized presence, as seen in the Romanian novels of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. The quantitative survey analyses of the Romanian novel reveal that the Roma constitute the ethnic community with the highest frequency of occurrences in the Romanian novel from 1845 to 1947 (Pojoga et al. 37; Stanislav et al. 29), yet they lack individualized representation, particularly through protagonists, in the fictional discourse. In addition, inquiries such as Chiorean's already demonstrate, without specifically addressing the orientalization of Roma female characters, the instrumentalization of ethnic minorities as a constitutive-identity strategy in the literary works of canonical Romanian authors (30-55). Consequently, this paper further develops this theoretical framework through a critical analysis approach to fictional discourse, expanding upon it by focusing on five case studies—i.e., five novels authored by non-canonical Romanian writers in the first half of the 20th century. In their case, the Roma female characters are individualized in contrast to other Roma characters, yet they are stereotyped through an oriental lexicon, thus serving as a synecdoche for both self-colonizing and reactionary discourses in relation to the West. Therefore, the next section demonstrates how this analysis of the terminology and discursive strategies related to the control of Romani women in the Romanian novels reflects a similar approach to what Laura Nader refers to as a "grid" through which the East evaluates the West (326).

IMPORTED LEXICON, AUTOCHTHONOUS NARRATIVES: FROM EASTERN EUROPEAN DEPICTION OF *FEMME FATALE* TO A METATEXTUAL-REACTIONARY DEPICTION OF EXOTISM

According to *Dicționarul cronologic al romanului românesc de la origini până la 1989* [The Chronological Dictionary of the Romanian Novel from its Origins to 1989] (Popa et al.), which has served as a methodological tool for selecting my corpus, there are five novels published in the first half of the 20th century in which a Roma female character plays a significant role in influencing the plot and is, therefore, mentioned in the novel's description in the dictionary: *Tragedia unei idile. Roman de pe meleagurile Pindului* [The Tragedy of a Romance: A Novel from the Lands of the Pindus] (1928) by Nuși Tulliu, *Vinul de viață lungă* [The Wine of Longevity] (1931) by N. D. Cocea, *A doua viață a lui Șerban Varu* [Șerban Varu's Second Life] (1933) by Luca Gheorghiade, *Fata din umbră* [The Shadow Girl] (1935) by Radu Boureanu, and *Plânge o țigancă* [A Gypsy Woman is Crying] (1942) by Mihail Bădescu.

As regards their categorization by novelistic subgenre, these five literary works, according to the same *Dictionary*, primarily represent sentimental, sensation and rural novels. Beyond subgenre labels, which often have rather vague boundaries, the authors of *The Dictionary*—except for one text—note the romantic dimension (Popa et al. 1480), mysticism (1521), the "melodramatic" tone (1567), the characteristics of erotic narrative (1626), and the "superficial exoticism" (1753). In addition, as long as the literary geography of the novels is concerned, they reflect a romantic and sentimentalist-exotic vision, alternating between the countryside—such as the picturesque Cotnari and the surroundings of Preveza—and natural landscapes, including the Jiului and Argeș valleys, alongside European and urban civilization (Brussels, Paris, Athens) and its Romanian counterpart (Bucharest). These geographical contrasts serve as primary evidence of the strategy of reproducing the civilized/uncivilized dichotomy in various forms: urban/rural, natural/artificial, and nomadism/sedentarism. Similarly, alternating between the discourse set in relative contemporaneity and the episodes conveyed through evocation further enhances the picturesqueness of these fictional texts.

Regarding the portrayal of the Roma female protagonists, they are individualized through a set of traits that reinforce the romantic model and exoticization as a constitutive approach. First, all five Roma protagonists—Mira, Rada, Ilinca, Catia, and Miranda—are characterized by a heightened sense of mystery, stemming from their unknown origins and even uncertainty regarding their Romani ethnicity. In other words, the five protagonists are subsumed into

the "orphan" prototype, both biologically and socially, a status that undoubtedly evokes the stereotypical image of the freedom of the nomadic Roma. Furthermore, when the novels do not depict this status, there is nevertheless a rhetoric of uncertainty that contrasts with the richly detailed family, social, and professional histories of the male protagonists. While Mira uses her orphan status to justify her ability to leave behind the Roma community, Rada appears as a complete stranger to the male protagonist, having returned from studying abroad. Similarly, Ilinca's status appears to mirror that of Mira, as she defends her freedom by invoking the stereotypical image of the villainous and criminal Roma (Matache and Bhabha 256). She considers herself free and unbound by parental authority, as the parents are in prison for having murdered a gendarme (Gheorghiade 101). Catia's family history and the social circles she frequents remain marked by uncertainty, while Miranda, the protagonist of Bădescu's novel, embodies another fictional cliché (Hancock 185). Miranda's origin is not only uncertain, but is also questioned by herself. Having been orphaned at a young age and never knowing her parents, she even considered the narrative that she had been stolen by nomadic Roma (Bădescu 22), which would also explain her antipathy towards them.

By contrast, the portrayal of the male protagonist reveals another common denominator of these literary texts—one that serves as a new strategy of polarizing the narrative according to the West-East dichotomy. Apart from Valeriu Vifor, the protagonist of Bădescu's novel, Spana Bociari, the nobleman in Tulliu's novel, Manole Arcașu, the boyar in Cocea's novel, and Șerban Varu, the eponymous character in Gheoghiade's novel, but also Boureanu's male protagonist, Anatol, have all undergone a formative experience in the civilized West or have been exposed to a Western-inspired civilized lifestyle. In other words, the protagonists' exposure to the outside world is made possible by their access to education, which is a direct consequence of their elite status. This social status, which demands this formative experience, actually validates the hypothesis that Romanian literary discourse in the first half of the 20th century also cultivates the orientalization of the autochthonous space by adopting a Western perspective.

In the case of these novels, the fictional discourse focuses on depicting education in European cities or in those directly influenced by the European

model. Spana Bociari is studying in Athens, a city strongly influenced by the cultured and civilized spirit, which contrasts with the orientalized Preveza, still under Ottoman rule (the novel, as the author himself notes, was written during the Balkan War in 1912). In turn, Manole Arcașu was sent to study in Paris, his revolutionary spirit being shaped and strongly influenced by Western civilization, despite his superficial education during his years abroad. Varu, a student in Paris and "secretary of legation" in Brussels, will irreversibly adopt the Western perspective, while Anatol clearly recalls his evenings spent with an entourage fascinated by the Western model. As for Valeriu Vifor, the protagonist of Bădescu's novel, there is an implicit reference to his "highborn" origin and his family's expectations regarding the selection of an educated fiancée (Bădescu 47). Therefore, the particularities of the Eastern European literary Gypsylorism emerge from the juxtaposition of these two similarities, which generally apply to all five novels. The mysterious family history of the female protagonists, on one hand, and the westernized social and professional status of the non-Roma male protagonists, on the other, legitimize the discourse of exoticizing the former, which is often complemented by paternalistic and autochthonous narratives.

As for the exoticization strategy, the Eastern European literary Gypsylorism in these novels stems from a second-hand exoticization at the level of the lexicon used to portray Roma female characters. However, this exoticization is counterbalanced by the autochthonous aspects of certain narrative episodes and lexical tags that contrast with their exotic image. More precisely, the process of dual othering results from the fact that the novels rely on a narrative artifice based on lexical bovarization and the borrowing of the Western perspective on Roma ethnicity in general, and Roma women in particular, while also drawing on autochthonous discourses constructed through the instrumentalization and marginalization of Roma female characters. Lexical bovarization involves the use of lexical clusters that reproduce exoticism and mysticism, recycling a stereotypical image frequently conveyed in Western literature. This reproduction emerges from a comparative analysis of the nominal and adjectival groups that make up the portraits of the protagonists in the five novels, to which I have added the portrait of Carmen, "the most famous Roma character in history" (Tudor 13), as derived from a lexical analysis of the novella with the same title by Mérimée—one of the cornerstone narratives for the "fictionalization" of Roma in European literature.

Figure 1 presents a network representation in Gephi of a selection of lexical clusters directly describing Roma female characters as *femmes fatales*—sensual and exotic—as well as lexical groups that actualize comparisons within the same lexical field. The selection of these lexical clusters was followed by a standardization aimed at uniformizing the occurrences.

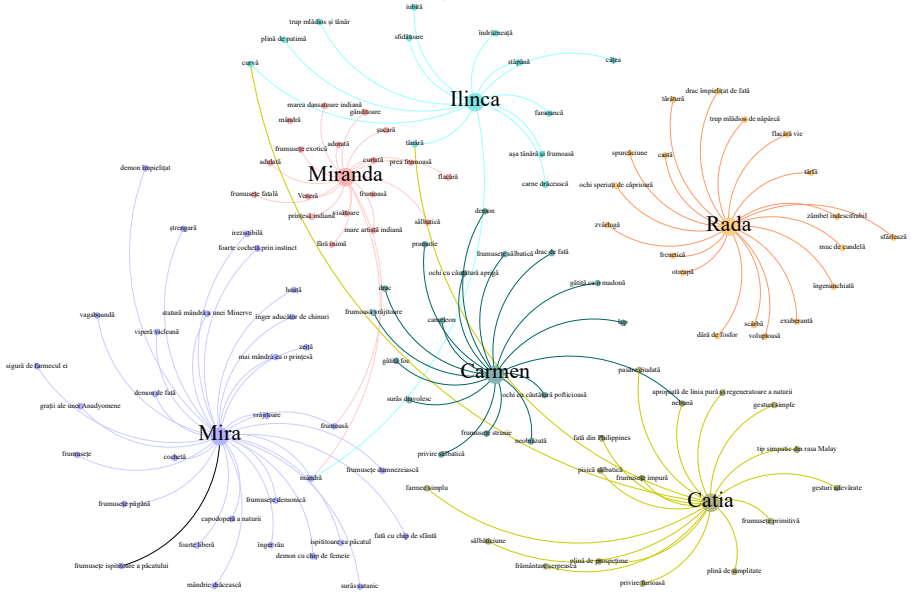

Figure 1. Roma Female Characters as *Femme Fatale*: A Network Representation of Lexical Clusters

Despite using the Romanian translation of Mérimée's novella (1965) to avoid affecting the process of identifying common nodes in Gephi, lexical interactions remain minor due to lexical variations, syntactically complex groups, and series of synonyms within the same lexical-semantic field that define the stereotypical image. More specifically, the image of the "she-devil", as one of the possible representations of the femme fatale (Praz 196), emerges from the following clusters constructed with a series of "religionyms", i.e., a term that emphasizes the religious dimension in the process of othering (Reisigl and Wodak 52): "frumusețe demonică" [demonic beauty], "frumusețe ispititoare a păcatului însuși" [the tempting beauty of sin itself], "ispititoare ca păcatul" [tempting as sin], "demon de fată" [she-devil]; "frumusețe păgână" [pagan beauty], "vrăjitoare"

[witch], "viperă vicleană" [cunning viper]; "înger rău" [evil angel], "înger aducător de chinuri" [tormenting angel], "demon împielițat" [true devil], "demon cu chip de femeie" [demon in a woman's guise], "fată cu chip de sfântă" [saint looking girl], "surâs satanic" [satanic smirk], "mândrie drăcească" [devilish pride], "frumusețe dumnezeiască" [godly beauty] (Mira); "drac împielițat de fată" [true she-devil], "trup mlădios de năpârcă" [svelte adder body], "târâtură" [promiscuous woman] (Rada); "carne drăcească" [devilish flesh] (Ilinca); "frumusețe impură" [impure beauty], frământare șerpească" [serpentine twisting] (Catia) and "frumusețe fatală" [fatal beauty] (Miranda). All these lexical clusters are similar to those used to exoticize Carmen, particularly "demon" [demon], "drac" [devil], "vrăjitoare frumoasă" [beautiful witch] or "surâs diavolesc" [devilish smirk].

In addition, there are other lexical clusters (see *Figure 2*) that reinforce the stereotypical image of the "carefree" and "defiant" Roma (Trumpener 860), thus capturing the adventurous and mysterious spirit for which these have become "generic figures" (873). The syntactic groups that form this lexical field of freedom, associated with primitivism, include, among others, "foarte liberă" [truly free], "motan sălbatic" [wild cat], "vagaboandă" [vagabond], "ochi de pui de tigroaică" [tigress cub eyes], "fiară mortal rănită" [deadly wounded beast], "bucurie feroce" [fierce joy], as well as "primitivă" [primitive], "sălbatică" [wild], "sfidătoare" [defiant], "sălbăticiune" [savage]. The comparisons with wild and exotic animals (such as "pisică sălbatică" [wild cat], "tigroaică" [tigress], "viperă" [viper], "șarpe" [snake], "vulpe" [fox], "năpârcă" [adder], "șacal" [jackal], "panteră" [panther], "căprioară" [deer], "țipar" [eel], "găinușă" [hen], "veveriță" [squirrel], "maimuță" [monkey], "rândunică" [swallow] and "mierlă" [blackbird]) are also noteworthy. In fact, the number of occurrences that make up this category of "animalising metaphors" (Reisigl and Wodak 243) could constitute a separate study, one that traces this othering through "primitivisation" (50).

As shown in *Figure 2*, references to the natural setting, i.e., "naturalizing metaphors" (76), and to these characters perceived as "natural creatures" (Williams 12) are also part of this depiction. Lexical groups such as "capodoperă a naturii" [a masterpiece of nature], "vijelioasă ca o furtună" [stormy as a tempest], "apropiată de linia pură și generatoare a naturii" [close to the pure and creative essence of nature], "ferigă verde de codru" [wood green fern] further reinforcing these stereotypical images.

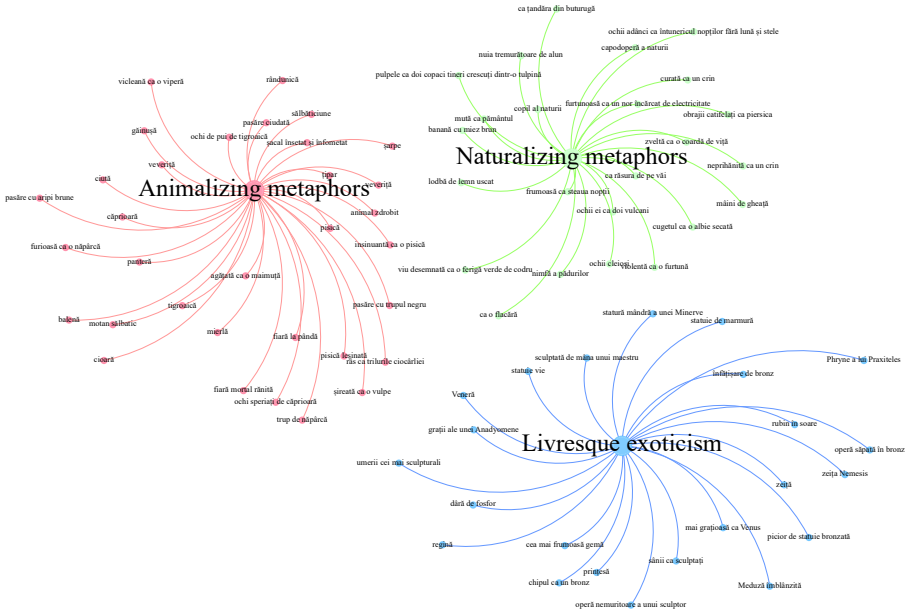

Figure 2. Network Representation of Lexical Clusters Depicting Animalizing Metaphors, Naturalizing Metaphors and Livresque Exotism

The associations with the plastic arts, particularly sculpture, through lexical groups such as "statuie de marmură" [marble statue], "operă nemuritoare a unui sculptor" [eternal work of a sculptor], "operă săpată în bronz" [bronze sculpture] are also notable in this context. These associations lead to one of the components that reveal another peculiarity of lexical bovarization, namely livresque exoticization. This lexical particularity is also illustrated in *Figure 2*, through lexical clusters comparing the characters to famous mythological figures: "statură mândră a unei Minerve" [an imposing Minerva-like stature], "grație a unei Anadyomene" [grace of Anadyomene], "Phryne a lui Praxiteles" [Phryne of Praxiteles], "nimfă a pădurilor" [nymph of the woods], "zeița Nemesis" [goddess Nemesis], "Meduză îmblânzită" [tamed Medusa], "mai grațioasă ca Venus" [more graceful than Venus]. Besides this livresque dimension, there is also a metaexotic and metaorientalizing one, which once again reveals the strategy of lexical borrowing and the appropriation of stereotypical syntagms. This category

includes descriptions such as “fatală” [fatal], “ochi fatali” [fatal eyes], “frumusețe fatală” [fatal beauty], “frumusețe exotică” [exotic beauty], as well as comparisons such as “prințesă indiană” [Indian princess], “mare artistă indiană” [great Indian artist], “fată din Philippines” [Filipino girl], and “tip simpatic din rasa Malay” [charming Malay type].

Last but not least, the most representative lexical field is that of corporality and sensuality, which is constructed according to the same pattern of bodily representation, primarily through descriptions of the “eyes”—the most frequent feature in terms of corporality—as well as “hair”, “lips” and “skin”. There are many common lexical patterns in the depiction of the Roma female characters, as demonstrated in *Figure 3* through the lexical interactions within the following network:

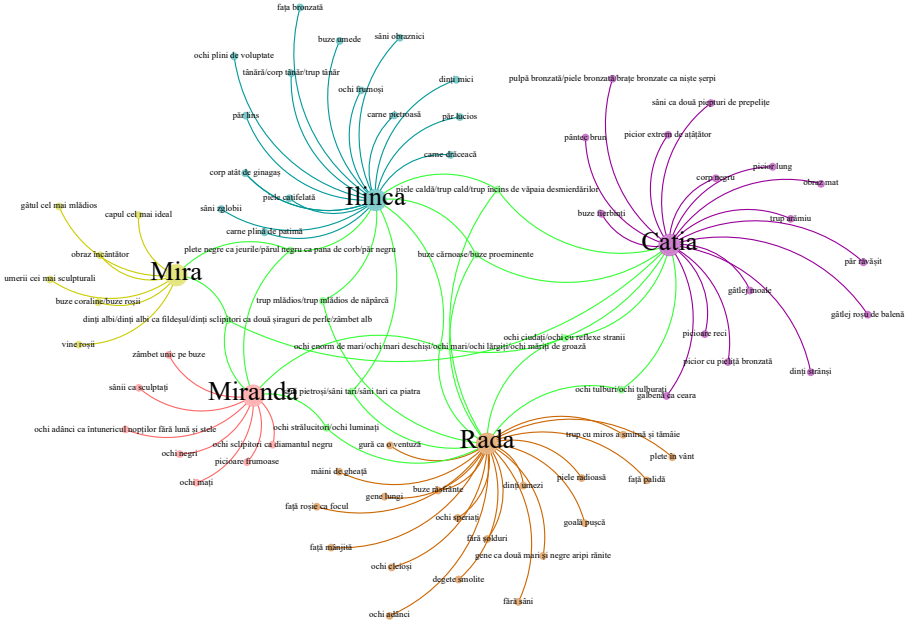

Figure 3. Network Representation of Lexical Clusters Depicting Corporality

Nevertheless, two questions need to be addressed when demonstrating the constructed images through stereotypical lexical clusters: 1. What constructive particularities of female Roma characters and narrative episodes, reflecting the appropriation of the Western perspective, individualize each of the

five novels analyzed in the sections below? 2. How are these lexical reproductions of stereotypical images of Roma female characters countered, allowing the second component of this dual othering discourse to emerge? In other words, what strategies reinforce the autochthonous dimension and frame the Roma as the Other in order to emphasize cultural identity?

MIRA IN *THE TRAGEDY OF A ROMANCE: A NOVEL FROM THE LANDS OF PINDUS*: A TYPICAL *FEMME FATALE*?

From a lexical perspective, Mira, the feminine Roma character of Nuși Tulliu's novel written in 1912 and published in 1928, is the most clearly defined in terms of attributes of the *femme fatale*. As evidence, the highest degree of lexical similarity between Carmen and Mira is found in the references to the "she-devil" prototype of the *femme fatale*. In this context, even the references to a recurrent laughter—such as "surâs diavolesc" [devilish smirk] și "surâs satanic" [satanic smirk]—serve to individualize the two characters in relation to the other four in the Romanian novel. Additionally, Mira's character is constructed precisely according to the model that Stevie Simkin describes, which contrasts "surface beauty" with "inner corruption" (29). Many of the lexical clusters in Mira's portrait reproduce this opposition and are constructed oxymoronically, such as "frumusețe demonică" [demonic beauty], "înger rău" [evil angel], "demon cu chip de femeie" [demon in a woman's guise], "chip de înger, dar apucături de demon" [angelic face, but demonic habits].

These lexical clusters also reveal her antagonist profile, an aspect that further distinguishes her. Unlike her, the other Roma female characters are not constructed as negative figures, but rather reflect the objectification and instrumentalization, failing to actively influence the unfolding of the narrative. More precisely, Mira, in contrast to Fila, the innocent female character to whom all the contempt of the Roma woman is directed, influences, albeit more or less indirectly, the course of this sentimental novel's plot. However, despite this strongly negative profile, there are several features that individualize Mira and challenge her classification within the *femme fatale* prototype. It is evident that no one can overlook the fact that the variety of *femme fatale* subtypes is a primary consequence of the recurring presence of this character. Considering that, since the latter part of the 19th century, the portrayal of the *femme fatale* has been

discussed not only in literature but also in art in general (Bade 6), a more specialized approach and a typology encompassing as many examples as possible (Praz 191) became necessary.

However, since the aim of this text is not to verify the applicability of this typology in the Romanian novel, I will instead highlight some of the particularities that call into question Mira's status. In addition, fulfilling one of the research objectives of this paper, these characteristics turn her into a marginalized Other who, despite the novel's melodramatic ending, does not succeed in corrupting Spana Bociari, the non-Roma male protagonist. More specifically, despite borrowing formulas designed to exoticize Mira's portrait and demonstrating the adoption of the Western model of exoticization, the process of dual othering also transforms her, as previously stated, into an instrument for reinforcing the national identity through the protagonist's resistance to her charms. Written during the Balkan War, the novel also explores the struggle for liberation from the Ottoman rule and the Aromanians' courage, inspired by the national ideal (see "O lămurire" [A Clarification], the opening section of the novel). In this context, Preveza becomes an orientalized space (Praz 193; Siyam 73-81), while also remaining autochthonous, especially when contrasted with Athens, the cultural center that grants access to European civilization for a nobleman like Spana Bociari.

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that, despite living in Athens and being exposed to its "pagan" influence, with the novel stating that the protagonist "had read much and embraced all the magic and harmony of pagan classicism"[1], Spana remained untainted and "as pure as a flower" (Tulliu 32). At the time of Spana and Mira's first meeting, the scene is framed as a clichéd portrayal of the dancing female character. The singularization of the female protagonist, however, is based on a comparison influenced by the male protagonist's cultural experience: "Spana thought of all the marbles in Greece and Italy and could not recall ever having seen such beauty anywhere" (41).

Moreover, one of the particularities of this Eastern European literary Gypsylorism lies in the way Mira's beauty not only amazes the male protagonist, but also captivates all the other characters, who are equally fascinated by her physical appearance. However, the discourse is built upon a series of antitheses

[1] All translations are mine.

that highlight the double othering of the Roma. One of the lines said by a secondary character encapsulates this ambivalence, which is linguistically conveyed through an adversative statement. By portraying them through a series of paradoxes regarding their lifestyle, he concludes: "[n]ice people, but useless" (52).

Moreover, Mira's attitude contrasts with that of independent Carmen, as she insists on being taken to serve in the house of the Bociari nobles. Although the novel emphasizes Mira's decision—"I wish to live in the city, for I've had enough of this life" (42)—her speech is also accompanied by a statement that seems to reflect her "uncontrollable" spirit, as she tells the nobleman that, once she starts missing nature, she will leave. However, the perspective of the other characters also seems to support her exodus from the nomadic lifestyle. The voice of the Roma community speaks out against wandering, as "the old Gypsies begged him to take her, for—they said—it is a pity for such a girl to waste away on the roads" (42).

By contrasting her with innocent Fila, the other female protagonist with whom Mira competes for Spana's love, the portrayal of the Roma woman takes on grotesque overtones, emphasizing her profound immorality, that she conceals only through her external beauty. This stereotypical contrast is highlighted in all the narrative episodes that lead to the novel's tragic and melodramatic ending. Yet, although he is not indifferent to Mira's charm, the noble Spana will not fall into her trap, a detail that further reinforces the novel's emphasis on the resistance discourse and the incorruptible spirit of the Aromanians, despite their backwardness in relation to the civilized West. In other words, a lexical search reveals that the discourse capitalizes on this state of in-betweenness, emphasizing the inferiority complex in relation to the West, while advocating for the Platonic love model as the "European ideal" in contrast to oriental sensuality (Stamm 232):

> "Love is rather a satisfaction of a moral sense, a necessity of the soul's drive towards something beautiful, illusionary and powerful, than a filthy, animalistic sensuality; hence that Platonic love (…). Through atavism and through a culture and civilization that were highly refined in the past, today's generations, though relatively behind in culture compared to the West, have nevertheless preserved an innate aesthetic sense (…). And here, of course, we are

> talking about the Romanians and the Greeks, peoples with a civilized past, not about the Turks and other nations, whose sensuality denotes a primitive origin (...)." (Tulliu 130)

In the end, Mira seems to remain the *femme fatale* only in her relationship with Curda, a Roma male character who, frequently compared to a "faithful dog" (43), complies with Mira's desire to have Spana killed in exchange for the promise of her love. The discourse, therefore, does not favor the outcome where the fatal woman is killed by the "emasculated" protagonist (Siyam 92). On the contrary, it presents a reversed situation, the protagonist being killed by one of his "rivals", at Mira's command. Her dignity, however, can be seen at the end of the novel, which capitalizes on instrumentalizing the Roma character to exalt the autochthonous image. The bond between Mira and Balazzo, the famous Aromanian outlaw, who is revealed to be Mira's father, ultimately humanizes her, emphasizing her dignity while accepting her fate. Just like Balazzo, exactly in the same place, despite the gendarmes being fascinated by her beauty and intending to set her free, and despite the admiration from the crowd, she chooses to serve her punishment, and so does Curda, out of the same devotion.

RADA IN *THE WINE OF LONGETIVITY*: PRE-PARIS MARGINALIZATION AND POST-PARIS EXOTICIZATION

Unlike Mira, Rada—the female character who stands out in N. D. Cocea's novel (published in 1931 and reedited in 2020)—embodies the othering of Roma through a paternalistic attitude, as her status as an enslaved woman of the boyar Manole Arcașu remains a defining aspect in shaping their relationship. In addition, since she is presented solely from this one-sided perspective of the male character, who recalls and narrates his life, the stereotypical image of the Roma results from the overlap between his perspective before leaving for the West and after studying abroad. Furthermore, some of the rumors spread among the novel's secondary characters remain unverified, inevitably leading to the uncertainty regarding the tragic end of Rada's life.

As for the protagonist, the novel highlights several aspects of the reactionary discourse against the Western spirit, which, it seems, did not benefit the young boyar. Being sent in Paris "too early", Manole Arcașu exchanged his

parents' ideal of receiving an education abroad for a life "with all sorts of promiscuous women and street hustlers" (21). Moreover, the fictional discourse emphasizes how he continued to tarnish his family's good name with revolutionary ideas he sought to implement upon returning to Romanian land. It is worth noting in this context, given that the narrative's time frame does not align with the time of the events recounted, is that the episode of his departure and return from Paris seems to coincide with the 1848 Revolution, thus before the emancipation of the Roma. That is why one of the ideas imported and rejected by his family was that of Roma emancipation, a condition that the young Western-educated boyar considered a "disgrace" (Cocea 113). However, there are also multiple references to other habits, books and ideas that Manole brought with him from Paris. Specifically, regarding the "plethora of books" he returned with, the characters discuss the one picturing "naked women" in the so-called "museums" (23-24), as the mayor of Cotnari describes them after his conversation with the subprefect. Similarly, his successful love life in Vienna and other places in France have remained embedded in the memory of the locals, fascinated by the legendary aura of this boyar.

The narrative sequence in which Manole Arcașu first glimpses Rada is also important from the perspective of my study. The setting is similar, if not identical, to that recounted in *The Tragedy of a Romance*, as the clichéd motif of sensual dancing appears once again. Therefore, the first description of Rada perpetuates the same pattern. If Mira was compared to all the marbles in Greece and Italy, the exoticization of Rada is evident in her comparison to the amorous conquests of the boyar in the West: "He [Manole] had seen all kinds of women in Paris, some more beautiful than others (…) But that night (…), he forgot all the beauties of the world and he only had eyes for Rada" (115). Portrayed solely through the lens of objectification and instrumentalization, Rada's image is far from being linked to that of a *femme fatale*, despite the boyar's obsession with having her.

What is relevant, however, is how Rada's portrait changes following the years Manole has spent in Paris. Presented before his departure through a series of lexical clusters that reflect an othering with a paternalistic undertone—such as "zvârlugă" [lively], "drac împeliţat de fată" [true she-devil], "goală pușcă" [bare naked], "fără sâni" [breastless], "fără șolduri" [hipless], "degete smolite" [dirty

fingertips], "față mânjită" [filthy face], "slabă ca o pisică leșinată" [as skinny as a half-dead cat] and "(...) ca o maimuță" [like a monkey]—the portrayal of Rada will undergo a fundamental shift after Manole's exodus to the West. In fact, from her "glowy skin" ("piele radioasă") and "fleshy lips" ("buze cărnoase") to her scent of "myrrh and frankincense" ("smirnă și tămâie") (141), the lexical field of sensuality evoked by this vocabulary reflects Manole's fascination with Rada's body.
Actually, this fascination serves as a particular example of male domination, remaining unchanged throughout the novel. Even the final image of the "wine of longevity", a symbol of the intimacy between the boyar and the female protagonist, "kept with sanctity" (147), reflects the same stereotypical portrayal. The self-criticism of the "bonjurist" (146) Manole on the episode of the physical aggression against the Roma to make them confess what happened to Rada does not save the discourse from this dual othering, based on the combination of a Western model of fascination with the abuse of power legitimized by a local legal-social status.

ILINCA IN *ȘERBAN VARU'S SECOND LIFE*: THE BACKUP PLAN AFTER FAILING IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Șerban Varu, the male protagonist of Luca Gheorghiade's novel, published in the interwar period (1933), best exemplifies the trend of Westerners traveling to Eastern Europe to study and even infiltrate in the Roma communities (Okely 46; Williams 13-14). Even before meeting Ilinca, the novel's Roma female protagonist, Șerban's character is constructed within a self-colonizing framework. Passionate about travel narratives from a young age, the character becomes a student in Paris, and his fascination with exotic women and oriental spaces is clearly emphasized. At the lexical level, nouns and noun phrases such as "gheișe" [geishas] and "femei fugite din haremuri" [women escaped from harems] reflect this fascination, since "he [Șerban] had always dreamed of adventurous journeys, of loves encountered on the road, of geishas or women escaped from harems" (Gheorghiade 9-10).

However, the novel focuses on his integration into a community of nomadic Roma led by Dragnea, an integration that, for Șerban, symbolizes both abandonment and a desire for freedom. As the protagonist reflects, "why shouldn't I leave with them? I, too, will be free (...)" (70-71). However, this

abandonment is not a consequence of suffocation within civilization or a mere desire to escape social constraints. For Șerban Varu, there is no disgust with the West civilization. On the contrary, after his failure in Brussels and his forced return to Romania, coupled with the protests in Bucharest that left him injured, he chooses the nomadic lifestyle. As for the time he spent as a "secretary of legation" (3) in Western Europe, the protagonist considers it "the only time worth reliving", as "he was happy in that city of ancient culture" (12-13). Escaping with the Roma community, therefore, is not a longing for freedom that stems from a voluntary rejection of civilized life, but rather a result of his inability to overcome the forced exodus from the good world of Brussels. This aspect is also evident in the attitude of the Roma characters who are individualized in the novel. Ilinca, the female character, dreams of a peaceful life in Bucharest, without wandering "aimlessly". Consequently, at some point, seeing the aggressive and plundering lifestyle of the Roma, Șerban realizes that he would prefer a "quiet life" too (162). Even Dragnea, the leader who initially inspired Șerban Varu's idea of freedom, is constantly busy robbing others to ensure a decent living throughout the winter (155). Within the Roma community, the same stereotypical pattern persists, as seen in the legend told by the elderly woman Safta, who claims that the nomadic lifestyle is a curse the *Gypsy*'s descendants (an emperor's son) must bear due to his decision to run away with the shepherd's daughter instead of marrying Sheba, Pharaoh's daughter (182-184).

In continuing along the same narrative path, the encounter with Ilinca gives Șerban only the illusion that he can overcome his love affair with Maud in Brussels, who he still thinks about even when he is fascinated by the Roma female character. For the male protagonist, Ilinca is nothing more than a physical presence, with the process of othering mirroring the exoticization of her body. Expelled from the Western paradise, the Roma community and Ilinca represent that inferior Other who can still tickle Șerban's civilized ego, allowing him to project the same superior vision of Platonic love, sharply contrasted with sensual love:

> "Do I love her, or has the flame of her youth [Ilinca's] ignited in me the remnants of a life not lived? I feel no need for any soul communication when I am by her side. (...). I think only of her being, which constantly instills in me the desire to have her. (...). It is not love that binds me to her, but her devilish flesh, her Gypsy

> flesh full of passion, which has taken control of my body, still untouched by the torments of the soul." (Gheorghiade 185-186)

CATIA IN *THE SHADOW GIRL*: REPLACING CORPORALITY WITH THE AUTHENTIC-SUPERFICIAL DICHOTOMY

The last two Roma female protagonists, Catia and Miranda, embody the most consolidated reactionary discourses as, through their portrayal, the fictional discourse reinforces a vehement critique of Western cultural importation. In Catia's case, for example, as demonstrated by the lexical clusters that construct her depiction, the fictional discourse seems to shift the emphasis from the exacerbation of corporality and sensuality to the antinomy between authenticity and artificiality. The overall image clearly retains the nuances of a stereotypical and discriminatory depiction, particularly in the associations with "frumusețe primitivă" [primitive beauty], "banană cu miez brun" [brown-core banana] or "linia pură și generatoare a naturii" [the pure and creative essence of nature], as well as the references to "fată din Philippines" [Filipino girl] and "tip simpatic din rasa Malay" [charming Malay type], accompanied by the protagonist's introspection on her Romani ethnicity and the complaints synthesized by the question, "[w]hy was I born a gypsy?" (30).

However, the discourse seeks to instrumentalize the Roma woman to counter the tendencies of imitating Western culture within Romanian society. The image of Catia is, therefore, contrasted with that of Luiza Timurian, Anatol's former lover—the male protagonist of the novel. The opposition between the two female figures is fueled by the authentic-superficial dichotomy. More specifically, Anatol's love for Catia is justified by her primitivism, which is contrasted with Luiza Timurian's longing for worldliness. Noteworthy in this case is that the reactionary discourse does not target Western cultural models themselves, but rather the attempts at replication, which become defining features of Luiza. *Figure 4* provides a comparative analysis of nominal and adjectival groups that reflect this dichotomy at the lexical level. The opposition between "gesturi adevărate" [genuine gestures], "farmec simplu" [simple charm], on the one hand, and "viață de fantoșă" [puppet-like life], "tip provincial" [provincial type], "alcătuire sufletească searbădă" [empty soul] or "tânără

cocoțică din hârtie" [a bland promiscuous young lady], on the other, shifts the focus away from the rhetorics of the body.

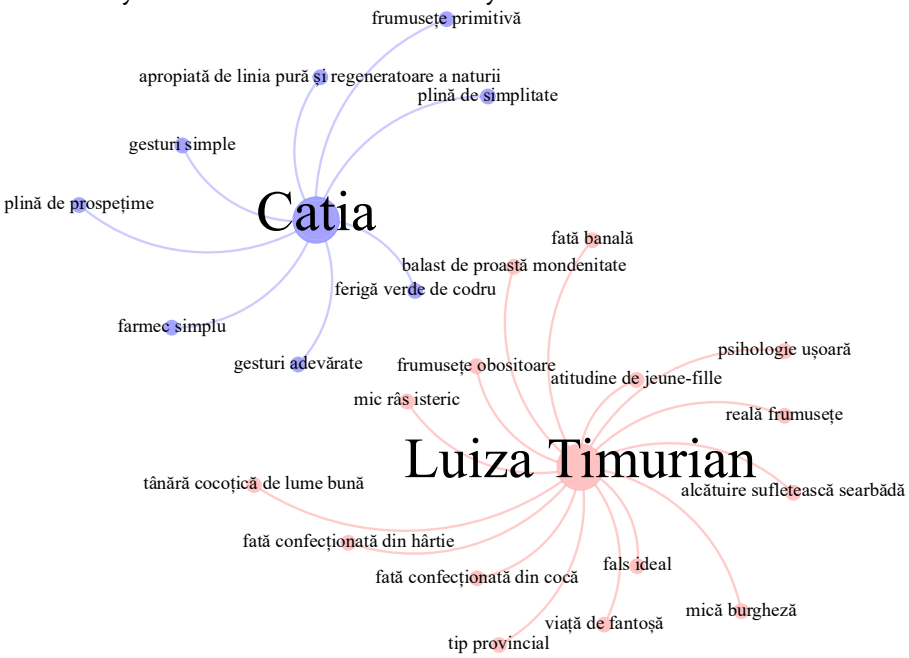

Figure 4. Network Representation of Authentic-Superficial Dichotomy

Moreover, the deconstruction of the body cliché is explicitly marked, since Anatol "[d]id not turn her [Catia] into an ideal painting (...)" (Boureanu 29). Additionally, in relation to Luiza, he wondered "(...) why he had clung for so long to a false ideal, if there wasn't for her true beauty", realizing that "beauty becomes tiring when nothing soulful frames it (...)" (41). The fictional discourse in *The Shadow Girl* also conveys this dichotomy by drawing a parallel between bodily hygiene and "soul hygiene" (92). In the context of being accused of perversity by Luiza—who justifies her claim by pointing to the allegedly precarious hygiene of the Roma woman he loves—Anatol refocuses on the spiritual precariousness of the female protagonist with Western aspirations. In short, despite the novel's tragic ending, Catia's instrumentalization arises from her contrast with the provincial Danube town's tendency to replicate the Western mentality. This discourse is

thus rooted in the exaltation of an autochthonous perspective, relying on metatextuality to negotiate the relationship between the West and the East.

MIRANDA IN *A GYPSY WOMAN IS CRYING*: ENVISAGING THE MARKETABLE EXOTICISM

An even more coherent metatextuality regarding the orientalization of the Roma seems to emerge in the case of Miranda. This time, the lexical analysis reveals a selection of terms that highlight the female protagonist's othering through metatextual occurrences, such as "frumusețe fatală" [fatal beauty], "prințesă indiană" [Indian princess], "mare artistă indiană" [great Indian artist] or "frumusețe exotică" [exotic beauty]. However, these lexical selections shape Miranda's profile, particularly in the later sections of the novel, rendering a form of discursive artificiality and "superficial exotism" (Popa et al. 1753). The plot is typical of a sensation novel and both the depictions of the Roma community and the protagonist are steeped in stereotypes. More specifically, in Miranda's case, her uncertain origin serves as a justification for her repulsion towards the other members of the Roma community and for her longing to escape this lifestyle.

The first encounter between the two protagonists happens once again through a dance scene, with Valeriu Vifor, the young boyar, captivated by Miranda's beauty. The female protagonist seizes the opportunity and escapes with Valeriu. Their first interaction, however, is marked by discursive artificiality due to a foray into Roma history and the invasions of Tibet (Bădescu 50), triggered by the boyar's association of Miranda with "an Indian princess" (50). The birth of their child, Florian, reshapes the perspective from which Miranda's character is constructed, with her role as a "mother" shifting the focus from the exotic features towards a paternalistic discourse that reflects her uncertainties and her fear that she will one day be abandoned for a "rich, white and, of course, of great descent" woman (61).

The sensationalism in the following narrative episodes, which involve the murder of Florian and Valeriu, triggers Miranda's journey to Bucharest. The metatextual dimension of Eastern European literary Gypsylorism is more effectively reflected in the portrayal of this cultural space and the female protagonist's treatment thereof. The discrimination to which she is exposed,

both as a victim—being called "feral" on the street (73)—and as a witness, exacerbates her inferiority complex. The encounter with Gena Bârsan, a Roma singer who performs in one of the capital's restaurants, made her aware of the Bucharest public's taste for the sensational and the exotic: "The clients fall in love with me, and money flows like water—hundreds, thousands" (74). The pivotal moment in the novel's critique of the export of Western exoticism to the East occurs when Miranda is presented as the one who attracts Bucharest's high society audience to her dance performances, carefully orchestrated to win over the easily deceived spectators. Thus, as a market strategy—since Bucharest is represented as a cultural space highly receptive to imported Western trends—Miranda becomes "the famous Indian dancer MIVANDA":

> It was a frenzy. After a week, the bar could no longer accommodate any more clients. Unprecedented crowds. The 'elite' was mesmerized by the exotic, fatal beauty and the highly artistic Indian dance. No one would have suspected the trick. The impresario had a keen eye and knew how to strike gold. Money was flowing in waves." (Bădescu 78)

The impresario's "keen eye", in relation to Bădescu's eye—who exposes the marketable side of Western perspective on exoticism by instrumentalizing the Other from within—represents an interesting yet unexplored artifice of *myse and abyme*, reinforcing the metatextual dimension of fictional discourse.

CONCLUSIONS

Before drawing the main conclusions, a clarification is needed, as my study is part of a critical analysis of literary discourse. Although I used subgenre categorization to legitimize certain discursive patterns in the novels, aesthetically validating or ranking these five novels exceeds the objectives of my study. Therefore, highlighting the peculiarities of certain narrative episodes—which may serve as subgenre markers to varying degrees—was intended to support this paper's objectives, specifically as discursive features aimed at illustrating both the exoticization and marginalization of Roma female characters. As for the five novels, the depiction of these characters reflects both

the Western gaze, foregrounding their exoticism, and the autochthonous perspective, which emphasize national identity through their marginalization as "rivals".

Concerning the dual othering, the modern Romanian novel reveals: 1. a particular perspective on the influence of Mira, as the Roma *femme fatale*, whose influence does not trap the Aromanian male protagonist and whose dignified death is a consequence of her mixed ethnic descent; 2. a dual perspective reflected in the way Manole, influenced by his travels abroad, exoticizes Rada, while abusing his power over her, as an enslaved woman; 3. a distinctive perspective in Ilinca's case, where Șerban's Eastern European spirit and wounded Western ambitions drive him to choose a nomadic lifestyle and love a Roma woman, ultimately criticizing this primitive kind of love; 4. an instrumentalization of Catia's depiction to reinforce a reactionary discourse against the adoption of the Western model, which results in superficiality. 5. a critique of the Romanian elites' taste for orientalism through a discourse that capitalize on the marketability of Miranda's exoticism.

Works Cited

Bade, Patrick. *Femme Fatale: Images of Evil and Fascinating Women*. Mayflower Books, 1979.

Bădescu, Mihail. *Plânge o țigancă* [A Gypsy Woman is Crying]. Imprimeriile Remus Cioflec, 1942.

Bakić-Hayden, Milica. "Nesting Orientalism: The Case of Former Yugoslavia." *Slavic Review*, vol. 54, no. 4, 1995, pp. 917-31, doi:10.2307/2501399.

Boureanu, Radu. *Fata din umbră* [The Shadow Girl]. Editura „Națională-Ciornei" S.A., 1935.

Chiorean, Maria. "Racialized Modernity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Romanian Literature." *Metacritic Journal of Comparative Studies and Theory*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2023, pp. 30-55, doi:10.24193/mjcst.2023.15.02.

Cocea, N. D. *Vinul de viață lungă* [The Wine of Longevity]. Second edition. Editura „Cultura Națională", 1931.

Dumitru, Teodora. "Obiectul artei și problema reprezentării romilor în literatură" [Art's Object and the Issue of Roma People Representation in Literature]. *Transilvania*, no. 10, 2023, pp. 1-18. no. 10 (2023), doi:10.51391/trva.2023.10.01.

Fleming, K. E. "Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 105, no. 4, 2000, doi:10.2307/2651410.

Gheorghiade, Luca. *A doua viață a lui Șerban Varu* [Șerban Varu's Second Life]. Editura „Universala" Alcalay & Co, 1933.

Gingrich, Andre. "The Nearby Frontier: Structural Analyses of Myths of Orientalism." *Diogeness*, vol. 60, no. 2, 2015, pp. 60-6. doi: 10.1177/0392192114568266.

Hall, Stuart. "The Spectacle of the 'Other'." *Representation*. Second edition, edited by Stuart Hall, Jessica Evans and Sean Nixon, Sage, 2013, pp. 215-287.

Hancock, Ian. "The 'Gypsy' Stereotype and the Sexualization of Romani Women." *"Gypsies" in European Literature and Culture*, edited by Valentina Glajar and Domnica Radulescu, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 181-191.

Hasdeu, Iulia. "Imagining the Gypsy Woman." *Third Text*, vol. 22, no. 3, 2008, pp. 347-357, doi:10.1080/09528820802204714.

Hașdeu, Iulia. "Țigăncușa și idealul național: reflecții pornind de la o expoziție depictură" [The Gipsy Girl and the National Ideal: Reflections from a Painting Exhibition]. *Transilvania*, no. 1, 2024, pp. 83-96, doi:10.51391/trva.2024.01.10.

Ken, Lee. "Orientalism and Gypsylorism." *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 44, no. 2, 2000, pp. 129-156.

Makdisi, Ussama. "Ottoman Orientalism." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 107, no. 3, 2002, pp. 768-96, doi:10.1086/ahr/107.3.768.

Marushiakova-Popova, Elena Andreevna, and Veselin Popov. "Orientalism in Romani Studies: The Case of Eastern Europe." 2017, pp. 1-48, https://hdl.handle.net/10023/12240.

Matache, Margareta, and Jacqueline Bhabha. "The Roma Case for Reparations." *Time for Reparations: A Global Perspective*, edited by Jacqueline Bhabha, Margareta Matache, and Caroline Elkins, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 253-271.

Matras, Yaron. *I Met Lucky People: The Story of the Romani Gypsies*. Penguin Books, 2014.

Mérimée, Prosper. *Carmen*: nuvele [Carmen: Novellas]. Translated by Al. O. Teodoreanu, Editura pentru literatură, 1965.

Mudure, Mihaela. "Orientalism and the Eastern European Periphery." *Linguaculture*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2022, pp. 105-21, doi:10.47743/lincu-2022-2-0319.

Nader, Laura. "Orientalism, Occidentalism and the Control of Women." *Cultural Dynamics*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1989, pp. 323-55, doi:10.1177/092137408900200304

Okely, Judith. *The Traveler-Gypsies*. Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Ostapyk, Solomiya. "Representing Romani and Travellers: Sexualized 'Gypsy' Women and (Self-) Orientalism in *My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding* and *Gadjo Dilo*." *Confetti: A World Literatures and Cultures Journal* / Un journal de littératures et cultures du monde, vol. 5, 2019, pp. 82-102.

Pojoga, Vlad, Daiana Gârdan, Ștefan Baghiu, Cosmin Borza, Iunis Minculete, Denisa Frătean. "Diversitate identitară în romanul românesc (1844-1932)" [Diversity

and Identity in the Romanian Novel (1844-1932)]. *Transilvania*, no. 10, 2020, pp. 33-44.

Popa, Mircea, Elena Stan, Doina Modola, Aurel Sasu, Mariana Vartic, Ion Istrate, Valentin Tașcu, Ioan Milea, Augustin Pop. *Dicționarul cronologic al romanului românesc de la origini până la 1989* [The Chronological Dictionary of the Romanian Novel from its Origins to 1989]. Editura Academiei Române, 2003.

Praz, Mario. *The Romantic Agony*. Second edition.Translated from the Italian by Angus Davidson, Oxford University Press, 1951.

Reisigl, Martin, and Ruth Wodak. *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism*, London: Routledge, 2001.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books, 1978.

Saul, Nicholas. "Half a Gypsy: The Case of Ezra Jennings in Wilkie Collin's *The Moonstone* (1868)." *The Role of the Romanies: Images and Counter-Images of 'Gypsies'/Romanies in European Cultures*, edited by Nicholas Saul and Susan Tebbutt, Liverpool University Press, 2004, pp. 119-130.

Simkin, Stevie. *Cultural Constructions of the* Femme Fatale*: From Pandora's Box to Amanda Knox*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Siyam, Nadya. *The Romani People in the European Cultural Imagination: Alexander Pushkin, Prosper Mérimée and Virginia Woolf*. Master's Thesis, American University in Cairo, 2024, https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds/2229/.

Stamm, Ulrike. "Oriental Sexuality and Its Uses in Nineteenth-Century Travelogues." *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by James Hodkinson, John Walker, Shaswati Mazumdar, and Johannes Feichtinger, Camden House, 2013, 228-41.

Stanislav, Cătălina, Vlad Pojoga, Daiana Gârdan, Ștefan Baghiu, Bianca Crăciun, Alexandrina Savin, Ana-Maria Stoica. "Diversitate identitară în romanul românesc (1933-1947)" [Identity Diversity in the Romanian Novel (1933-1947)]. *Transilvania*, no. 9, p. 25-34, doi:10.51391/trva.2021.09.04.

Suciu, Pavel Cristian. *Imaginea romilor în literatură* [The Image of Roma in Literature]. PhD Dissertation, Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj Napoca, 2010.

Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford University Press, 2009.

Trumpener, Katie. "The Time of the Gypsies: A 'People Without History' in the Narratives of the West." *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 18, no. 4, 1992, pp. 843-84.

Tudor, Ciprian. *Ficțiunea „Libertății sălbatice" în secolul al XIX-lea: Carmen între mit cultural și stereotip etnic* [The Fiction of "Wild Freedom in the 19th Century: Carmen between Cultural Myth and Ethnic Stereotype"]. Tritonic Books, 2018.

Tulliu, Nuși. *Tragedia unei idile. Roman de pe meleagurile Pindului* [The Tragedy of a Romance: A Novel from the Lands of the Pindus]. Tipografia Centralei Cooperativelor, 1928.

Williams, Susan. "The 'Civilized Trap' of Modernity And Romanian Roma, 1918-1934." *The Anthropology of East Europe Review*, vol. 25, no. 2, 2007, pp. 12-27.

Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford University Press, 1994.

BIONOTE

David MORARIU is a PhD candidate at *Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu* and teaching assistant with the *Department of Romance Studies, Faculty of Letters and Arts*. His research interests include the analysis of literary discourse and the linguistic strategies of othering in the Romanian novel of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Drawing on frameworks such as corpus-assisted discourse studies, discourse-historical approach and corpus-based literary onomastics, his PhD thesis explores linguistic stereotyping and name-based discrimination of Roma characters in the Romanian novel published between 1845 and 1947. He was part of the digitization team for the research project *The Digital Museum of the Romanian Novel (1845-1947)*. He is currently involved in other research projects focusing on media discourse analysis and emerging paradigms in teaching Romanian as a foreign language.

E-mail: **david.morariu@ulbsibiu.ro**