

Jezici i kulture u kontaktu - Zbornik radova
Languages and Cultures in Contact - Conference Proceedings

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Introduction

The Conference Proceedings includes selected papers presented at the international conference 'Languages and Cultures in Contact' that was held in Herceg Novi, Montenegro in September 2007.

The Conference, organized by the Institute of Foreign Languages, University of Montenegro, was aimed at bringing together researchers dealing with different aspects of intercultural communication through the prism of linguistics, literature, translation and language teaching methodology.

The first part of this collection contains two plenary papers presented by Michael Byram and Jagoda Granić. The rest of the collection, comprising fifty four papers, is divided into four parts: linguistics, literature, translation and language teaching methodology.

The papers selected for this collection reflect different languages, cultures and scientific approaches presented at the conference. The collection contains views as diverse as the world we live in. We therefore hope that the conference proceedings will enrich the readers' knowledge and enhance the understanding of different languages and cultures seen through the eyes of different research traditions.

Editors

I

**PLENARNA IZLAGANJA/
PLENARY PRESENTATIONS**

Michael Byram

**PLURILINGUAL, MULTILINGUAL,
PLURICULTURAL, INTERCULTURAL AND MEDIATION
Some 'European' Concepts for Discussion**

Abstract: The Common European Framework of Reference has introduced new terms and concepts, not all of which are well defined either in the document or in the discourse it has engendered. This paper analyses some of the terms with particular reference to the notion of 'intercultural competence and mediation', in the hope of clarifying and extending the discourse for the European context, whilst asking whether these concepts are transferable to other continents.

Key words: plurilingual, multilingual, pluricultural, intercultural, mediation, intercultural competence

The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) is a document which, though formally published in 2001, gained an increasing reputation and influence from the mid-1990s when early versions were widely circulated for consultation. Several informal and unpublished impact studies at the Council of Europe in the form of questionnaires to government representatives, together with one's personal experience of constant reference to the document in professional discourse have shown that it has had considerable influence. It is used in curriculum planning, in the development of examinations - not least in central and eastern European countries introducing national examinations in recent years - and it is referred to in textbooks which claim to follow the principles of the CEFR. It has also spawned numerous guides, for teachers, for teacher trainers, for administrators and so on, and in particular there will soon be a document which explains to those responsible for examinations how to calibrate the levels of competence while referring to the six levels of competence described in the CEFR.

I have several times used the words 'refer' and 'reference', the latter being a crucial word in the title of the document. The fact that there are also a number of guides and explanations suggests that this document of reference is gradually being treated as a text which needs exegesis. The purpose of this paper is however not simply to explain and interpret, but also to critically analyse the coherence of the text and some of the concepts it contains.

A document of reference and its socio-political context

One of the main purposes of the CEFR is stated as follows:

It is desirable to develop a Common European Framework of Reference for language learning at all levels, in order to:

- promote and facilitate co-operation among educational institutions in different countries;
- provide a sound basis for the initial recognition of language qualifications;
- assist learners, teachers, course designers, examining bodies and educational administrators to situate and co-ordinate their efforts (CEFR, 2001: 5-6)

Behind this call for co-ordination, co-operation, and mutual recognition lies the desire to create a Europe in which people can live and work together. When the work towards the CEFR began in the early 1990s, this European space was emerging as a political body through the European Union and was even stronger by the time of publication. However, a social and cultural commonality had been growing for many years before that in the Council of Europe and this was strengthened massively in the 1990s as countries of eastern and central Europe became members.

It is instructive to consider the Council of Europe context in which the CEFR has appeared. A general introduction to the Council of Europe on its website uses the concept of European identity:

The Council was set up to (...) promote awareness of a European identity based on shared values and cutting across different cultures. (www.coe.int/EN/Com/about_CoE)

This central idea can be traced back to the founding convention of the late 1940s, where the notions of nationality, commonality and recognition of diversity present in this statement on the purpose of the CEFR are already present.

The purpose of the CoE was described in the 1940s, inter alia, as follows:

To develop mutual understanding among the peoples of Europe and reciprocal appreciation of their cultural diversity, to safeguard European culture, to promote national contributions to Europe's common cultural heritage respecting the same fundamental values and to encourage in particular the study of the languages, history and civilisation of the Parties to the Convention.

(<http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/cadreprincipal.htm>).

Language teachers can note here the significance attributed to language learning and to 'civilisation' which today might be formulated in terms of the 'cultural dimension' in language teaching and learning. This strand is repeated, too, in the CoE's more recent statement of language education policy where reference can be found to languages as modes of communication and also as expressions of identity, with emphasis again on mutual recognition. This more recent statement also includes the political concepts of democratic citizenship and social cohesion which have emerged in the discourse of the 1990s and since:

- Democratic citizenship: participation in democratic and social processes in multilingual societies is facilitated by the plurilingual competence of individuals;
- Social cohesion: equality of opportunity for personal development, education, employment, mobility, access to information and cultural enrichment depends on access to language learning throughout life. (http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Division_EN.asp)

This political emphasis corresponds partly to the enlargement of the Council of Europe with the accession of countries of east and central Europe formerly subject to socialist/ communist systems of government.

At the same time there has been the evolution of a political dimension of the European Union, with a parliament and European elections as the most visible symptom of change, and in the mid-1990s also emphasised the significance of

language learning. The European Commission's White Paper of 1995 assigned two functions to language learning. It first argues that economic opportunities for individuals are dependent on language learning:

- Proficiency in several Community languages has become a precondition if citizens of the European Union are to benefit from the occupational and personal opportunities open to them in the border-free single market.

The second statement appears to make a stronger claim. Whereas in the first, language proficiency is a 'precondition', in the second there seems to be an assumption of cause and effect between language proficiency and European identity:

- Languages are also the key to knowing other people. Proficiency in languages helps to *build up the feeling of being European* with all its cultural wealth and diversity of understanding between the citizens of Europe. (European Commission, 1995: 67 - emphasis added)

In summary, one can identify in the European context three socio-political aspirations for language teaching and learning. First, there is the hope that language learning will facilitate mobility within a common market economy, thus strengthening its flexibility and competitiveness. Second, it is hoped that language learning creates mutual understanding and appreciation of cultural diversity with the result that there will be greater social cohesion. Third, there is the suggestion that language learning will lead to a new identification with being European. All three aspirations are yet to be tested by reality and, ultimately, we need scientific investigations of the relationships between language learning, economic success, a cohesive European society and a European identity.

A 'common language' for language teaching?

Against this background, as I said in the introduction, the socio-political purpose of the CEFR is to create a 'common language', a transparent mode of communication: 'By 'transparent' is meant that information must be clearly formulated and explicit, available and readily comprehensible to users' (CEFR, 2001: 6). This is a high ambition since language is not of itself transparent but is made so by the way we use it. The CEFR is thus an attempt to use language and create a common discourse which has the status of a reference, a text to which we must constantly return in order to ensure transparency. The ambition is all the greater because transparency is to be developed in two languages simultaneously - in French and English, the official languages of the Council of Europe - and, as time has demonstrated, also in many other languages into which the text has now been translated. There is an interesting task for future researchers to analyse to what extent transparency has in fact been maintained across languages, but in this paper I will refer only to the English text and analyse the terms introduced in my title.

Plurilingualism and multilingualism

A key innovation in the CEFR is to distinguish between plurilingualism and multilingualism (a distinction which is not made in EU documents which conflate the two and refer only to multilingualism). Often the distinction is made in terms of multilingual geographical spaces and plurilingual persons. In most, if not all regions

of Europe and beyond, there will be more than one language present and spoken by inhabitants. One can hear many languages spoken in public places, and these regions are multilingual, even though some of the people in them are monolingual. People who 'speak' - use a language for reading, or listening or oral communication - more than one language are also to be found in these multilingual spaces and are designated as 'plurilingual'. This is one way in which the two terms are used.

Somewhat confusingly, however, the terms are also used about people, to distinguish between 'the knowledge of a number of languages', created in school curricula by offering a number of languages for learning as separate subjects, and 'a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact' (CEFR, 2001: 4). At this point there is no reference to how a school curriculum can create plurilingualism, but there has been elsewhere considerable work on curricula and teaching methods which create an awareness of language in language learners. The implications for curriculum planning are considered in a later 'Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe' and a subsequent 'Guide for the development and implementation of plurilingual education curricula', the latter still being constructed.

A curriculum which creates multilingual learners is familiar to many people; it is a curriculum in which each language has separate time on the timetable and often different teachers. There is no cross-curricular interaction and learners are dissuaded from making connections for themselves. A curriculum which creates plurilingual learners on the other hand would require cross-curricular connections and new approaches to arranging timetables which are yet to be developed in detail.

Pluricultural and intercultural

The CEFR appears to draw parallels between plurilingualism, described in some detail, and pluriculturalism which is dealt with more summarily. After a detailed presentation of how plurilingualism is used by people in their daily lives and of how it develops through experience of ever widening social groups, a brief account of pluriculturalism is given:

Much of what is said above applies equally in the more general field: in a person's cultural competence, the various cultures (national, regional, social) to which that person has gained access do not simply co-exist side by side; they are compared, contrasted and actively interact to produce an enriched, integrated pluricultural competence, of which plurilingual competence is one component, again interacting with other components. (CEFR, 2001: 6)

There are no suggestions here as to the influence of education and curricular arrangements, even though the impact of schooling on socialisation is a widely noted phenomenon. It is also strange to begin with a sub-component - plurilingualism - in detail, and then only sketch the outline of the enveloping pluricultural competence.

At a later stage in the CEFR, there is a more detailed presentation of 'The user/learner's competences' (Chapter 5). At this point the term 'pluricultural competence' disappears. Instead, there is a listing of 'general competences',

including declarative knowledge, sociocultural knowledge, skills and know-how, 'existential competence', ability to learn, and there is also reference to 'intercultural awareness' and 'intercultural skills'. The phrase 'pluricultural competence' re-appears in Chapter 6 where it refers to 'knowledge of the culture of a community' (p133) and implies a community with a different language from one's own.

When the word 'intercultural' is used, there is emphasis on knowing the 'world of origin' and the 'world of the target community' and on understanding relationships between these two. The notion of 'intercultural skills' also introduces the concept of mediation: 'the role of the cultural intermediary between one's own culture and the foreign culture'. There is also some attempt to ensure that the, perhaps necessary, simplification of 'the foreign culture' is modified by saying that awareness of a foreign culture includes awareness of the diversity within it, and one's own.

There is no trace in the CEFR of analysis of cases of language learning where a language is not linked to a specific culture or cultures, as is the case with a lingua franca. This may be a consequence of the European context where languages are associated with countries. It may also be a consequence of the political sensitivity of implying that one tongue could become a lingua franca for Europe. Or it may be a lack of a research basis at the time of writing - and still largely the case today - on which to make assertions about intercultural or pluricultural competence in a lingua franca.

Mediation

The phrase 'cultural intermediary' used in the discussion of intercultural skills in Chapter 5 is anticipated in the discussion of 'Language use and the language user/learner':

In mediating activities, the language user is not concerned to express his/her own meanings, but simply acts as an intermediary between interlocutors who are unable to understand each other directly - normally (but not exclusively) speakers of different languages. (CEFR, 2001: 87)

A number of examples are then given including spoken interpretation and written translation. The relationship of mediation to interpretation and translation is worth further consideration but if we return to the earlier reference to a 'cultural intermediary', we find an intriguing statement that such a person should be able to 'deal effectively with intercultural misunderstanding and conflict situations' (CEFR, 2001: 105). This is not developed further. It is a hint at the wider concept of mediation in industrial, political and similar conflicts and may have been influenced by the notion of the 'intercultural speaker' first introduced in a working paper for the Council of Europe by Byram and Zarate but not taken into the final text of the CEFR (see Byram, 2008: Chapter 4).

Implications for practice

As pointed out earlier, there is still much to do if the implications of the concept of plurilingualism are to be realised. An 'education for plurilingualism' implies radical changes in curriculum, with a vision which embraces all foreign language learning as one activity. A more radical vision still is being developed in the current Council of

Europe project on the Languages of/in Education (Fleming, 2008) which would encompass in language learning all the languages present in education - national/official language(s), foreign languages, other languages spoken by learners from linguistic minorities, and (where applicable) classical languages.

The question of mediation has attracted less attention. The notion of mediation needs more development than it has received in the CEFR but the effort would be worthwhile because the capacity to be a 'cultural mediator', able to handle misunderstanding and conflict, is a valuable one, and increasingly so in societies which are far from homogeneous. 'Mediation' can be an objective for teaching and a learning outcome, but needs to be defined more closely. It can be a valuable process in the classroom and, ultimately, may be a factor in assessment.

Just as importantly the experience of mediation, of taking an in-between position, could lead to a re-evaluation of one's own 'normal' position. If this were included in the purposes and objectives of foreign language teaching, then foreign language teaching would gain some of the characteristics of other subjects which deal with values education. There is potential for cross-curricular work, through projects for example, which might include education for citizenship, and in particular 'intercultural citizenship' (Byram, 2008).

The CEFR is thus a springboard for other visions of language education. It is stated on the first page of the CEFR that it 'is intended to overcome the barriers to communication among professionals working in the field of modern language', but it can also be seen as a stimulus for communication amongst professionals concerned with the whole of a person's education.

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JEZIK KULTUROM - KULTURA JEZIKOM

Apstrakt - Kultura kao antropološki fenomen bila je i još je uvijek "elastična" na razini sadržaja. Kultura kao ključni sociolingvistički fenomen pretpostavlja preciznije tumačenje. Jezik je samo jedan od vidova kulture, ali je zato njegova kultiviranost preduvjet ne samo za razvoj nego i za očuvanje kulture, odnosno civilizacije. Jezik se ne može promatrati u neutralnom položaju jednostavnog simboličkog sistema. Ni jedan jezik nije lišen kulturalne dimenzije, naprotiv, ona je važan segment njegova identiteta. Posebice jezik u mediju pisma ima vrlo važnu ulogu u perpetuiranju kulture. Prožimanjem jezika i kulture brišu se granice između njih i jezik postaje kulturom, a kultura jezikom. Jezikom komuniciramo s potencijalnim i sa stvarnim svijetom pa odatle i trostruka veza jezika i kulturā: prošle, današnje i one virtualne. Interkulturalna i multikulturalna komunikacija ruše mit o izvornom govorniku kao monolingvalnoj i monokulturalnoj apstrakciji a dijakronijska projekcija kulture i jezičnih koncepata upravo to i dokazuje.

Ključne riječi: kultura, jezik, antropologija, sociolingvistika, identitet, jezični koncepti, interkulturalna komunikacija, multikulturalizam

Uvod

Pojmovi su, kaže Weinrach (2005), "nepotpuno određene riječi", smještene u jeziku, odnosno jezicima. Takve su riječi i JEZIK i KULTURA; jezik "nepotpuno određen" jezikom, tj. metajezikom a kultura svojom polisemijom. Strukturalistički definiran jezik sistem je znakova determiniran njihovim međusobnim relacijama, skup hijerarhijski ustrojenih jezičnih jedinica koje impliciraju i opis i propis. No jezik je i više od svoje interne strukture, ovisan o raznim elementima iz svojeg konteksta, neotporan na nejezične i jezične pojave (u drugim jezicima). Nijedan jezik nije niti može biti odijeljen od kulture ili, kako kaže Claire Kramsch, "language is not a culture-free code" (Kramsch, 2000: 8). Kultura je u jeziku i jezik je u kulturi, istovremeno. A znanje o jeziku znanje je i o kulturi, no može i obrnuto: znanje o kulturi znanje je o jeziku. Budući da kultura implicira kontekstualiziranost, odnos jezika i kulture, uostalom kao i odnos jezika i društvenog konteksta čiji je on zapravo produkt, predmet je proučavanja saussureovske eksterne, odnosno kontekstualne lingvistike (v. Škiljan, 2000). Sve (ne)očekivane lingvističke promjene rezultat su promijenjenog konteksta, novih društvenih činjenica, akcija i reakcija. Bloomfieldovski bihaviorizam prepoznaje se u činjenici da su socijalne mijene stimulusi koji izazivaju reakcije u jezičnoj strukturi, no to nije beziznimna pojava. Naime, neke se pojave u izvanjezičnom univerzumu nisu uvijek reflektirale u jezičnoj stvarnosti.

Što se tiče društva, i ono je kao pojam nepotpuno određen, iako se na prvi pogled čini jednostavnom formom: skup jedinki sa zajedničkim nazivnicima, počevši od "najmanjeg", tj. nužnog - a to je jezik. Svaki jezik živi u svojoj upotrebi, u govoru, a govorni čin "ne događa se u ničijoj zemlji, već u životnoj situaciji gdje se prije govora, uz govor i nakon govora, i djeluje. Čin govora i djelovanja je u osnovi zamjenjiv. Uzmemo li kao osnovu - pomalo šturi model igre - poticaje (stimulus) i reakcije (response), gdje reakcija uvijek tvori sljedeći poticaj, dobivamo duge lance poticaja i reakcija, u kojima se miješaju jezična i nejezična djelovanja" (Weinrich, 2005: 46).

Jezik je fundamentalni društveni fenomen. Društvo je, naime, kreiralo jezik koji time postaje socijalna činjenica, a ujedno determinira društvo, odnosno sve individue koje mu pripadaju i koje upravo jezična identifikacija grupira u društvo i drži ih na okupu. Nije slučajno Edward Sapir naglašavao da je jezik velika i vrlo vjerojatno najveća sila socijalizacije (Sapir, 1984).

Odnos jezika i društva analogan je odnosu jezika i kulture. Naime, jezik se istovremeno - uz mitove, običaje, obrede, zakone, religiju, moral, navike - smatra konstitutivnim elementom kulture, što znači da bez jezika nema ni kulture jer "sva je kultura stvorena zahvaljujući jeziku, kroz jezik, a u velikoj meri i u jeziku" (Bugarski, 2005: 17), a s druge strane o jeziku se govori i kao kulturalno specifičnom artefaktu.

Trijada JEZIK - KULTURA - DRUŠTVO, dakle, upućuje na jezik kao instrument kulture i društva, odnosno zajednice u čijem je "vlasništvu", a u okviru čijeg jedinstvenog identiteta (etničkog, nacionalnog) identitet jezika, u mreži ekstralingvističkih parametara, stvara i sve (druge) jezične identitete govornika i jezičnih zajednica.

1. Ideja i percepcija kulture

1.1. Kultura - negacija prirode

Neovisno o različitim polazištima, jedno je sigurno i općevažeće - kultura je negacija prirode, ne postoji sama po sebi kao ni jezik. Ono kulturalno može se, dakle, promijeniti, no kultura podrazumijeva poštivanje pravila, "pa i to predstavlja igru između pravilima propisanog i nepropisanog" (Eagleton, 2002: 11). I jezik se može promijeniti, dapače mijenja se stalno, ali pravila u jeziku opstaju, čak i onda kad se zamjenjuju drugima, jer i na taj način, suprotno svim nadanjima i očekivanjima, jezik demonstrira svoju sustavnost. Norma se u jeziku podrazumijeva, inače jezik ne bi ispunio svoju temeljnu funkciju - komunikaciju.

Kultura kao duhovna vrednota može se izjednačiti s apstraktnošću jezika, ali se kao i jezik materijalizira. Jezik se materijalizira u govoru, a kultura, ovisno o mediju, u umjetnosti, zakonima (pisanom jeziku), običajima - tradiciji općenito. I kultura i jezik kategorije su s pridruženim, ali uvijek dinamičnim identitetima. Kultura je samo naizgled inherentno harmonična i uravnotežena jer je *per definitionem* heterogena zahvaljujući unikatnim pojedincima i njihovim duhovnim produktima.

Uzevši u obzir, dakle, sve koncepte, domene, aspekte i, dakako, vremenske i prostorne granice, kultura se može definirati kao kultura u užem i širem smislu. S obzirom na domene, kultura se etiketira kao moderna; narodna (arhaična) - upućuje na podrijetlo, korijene); visoka (nacionalna i supranacionalna) - eksternalizirana u pisanom tekstu, glazbi, filmu; masovna kultura (globalna) - s novim medijima. S obzirom na razine, aspekte i dosege, arealna kultura podrazumijeva lokalnu i globalnu kulturu. Lokalna je kultura endogena, organska, određena etnicitetom zatvorene jezične zajednice. Globalna je egzogena, heterogena, difuzna, podrazumijeva kontakte različitih jezičnih zajednica i njihovih identiteta te stvaranje novih. Granice su među kulturama slične onima među državama, regijama, zajednicama općenito. Neke su "meke", neke "tvrde". "Meke" su neodređene, propusne, zapravo otvoren(ij)e, danas moderne, dopuštaju "ograničeni 'ulaz' i 'izlaz', čime je stvorena pretpostavka za promjenu entiteta između dviju granica, dakle i nekog IDENTITETA koji je definiran tim granicama" (Granić, 2007:

201), i jezičnog i kulturalnog. "Tvrde" su pak granice oštro određene, nepropusne i obilježavaju konzervativne kulture koje ne dopuštaju stvaranje nikakve nove "kulture na granici", odnosno novog, hibridnog kulturalnog identiteta - "identiteta na granici" (v. Granić, 2007). Danas je takvih malo, jer kulture, odnosno njihovi artefakti, "putuju" velikom brzinom i, što je najvažnije, pronalaze svoje mjesto i na drugom kraju svijeta, u potpuno drugačijem kontekstu. Prenose se i kulture i jezici, posredno putem medija ("veliki" jezici) ili neposredno - u direktnom kontaktu "malih" jezika i jezika imigrantskih, neautohtonih manjinskih zajednica s većinskim jezikom/jezicima. Dokaz su ponovna pidžinizacija i kreolizacija, miješanje jezika i kultura, i to ne samo u europskom prostoru.

Neovisno, dakle, o granicama i različitim svjetovima, kultura se ipak shvaća kao dinamički, nikad završeni niz procesa, stalnih mijenja i međusobnih prožimanja.

1.2. Kultura kao antropološki i sociolingvistički fenomen

Iako su percepcije kulture prilično podudarne, nisu u cijelosti. Treba uzeti u obzir i aspekte, domene i konstitutivne elemente kulture, njihovu hijerarhiju, ali i evaluaciju kulture na svakoj razini, u čemu sudjeluju i njezini kreatori i izvanjski promatrači, svi oni istovremeno i njezini konzumenti. Kad se kultura promatra i kroz samo jednu prizmu, primjerice onu antropologijsku, percepcija nije jedinstvena. Kultura je, naime, kao antropološki fenomen bila i još je uvijek "elastična" na razini sadržaja, i to, recimo, "elastično stabilna". Ako ipak nastojimo pobliže odrediti antropološku koncepciju kulture, onda ustanovljujemo da ona obuhvaća sve ono što je zajedničko jednom narodu, njegovo ukupno društveno znanje koje se, istina, nejednako distribuira (v. Riley, 2007). Antropolozi jasno razlikuju etničke zajednice determinirane rasom, kulturom i jezikom i zaključuju da se te jedinice ne moraju podudarati, i u stvarnosti se, u slučaju jezika, često i ne podudaraju (usp. Sapir, 1978 i 1984).

Antropološka je lingvistika (etnolingvistika) kao hibridna lingvistička disciplina još od vremena Boasa, Sapira i Whorfa proučavala odnos jezika i kulture i pokušavala odgovoriti na sva pitanja koja se tiču njihova odnosa. Sapir je smatrao da različiti jezici različito i determiniraju društvene sredine u kojima se upotrebljavaju. Sapir-Whorfova hipoteza, opće mjesto antropološke lingvistike, nije jednoznačna, zapravo su dvije: hipoteza jezične relativnosti prema kojoj različiti jezici stvaraju različite poglede na svijet i hipoteza jezičnog determinizma prema kojoj različiti jezici upućuju svoje govornike na različita promišljanja svijeta (v. Dalby, 2003, 266).

Kultura kao ključni sociolingvistički fenomen pretpostavlja preciznije tumačenje. Sociolingvistika obrađuje tematiku iz domene javne komunikacije u kojoj jezik kao socijalna činjenica ima i simboličku funkciju. Različite društvene grupe čiji se članovi identificiraju i samo s jednim, ali i s više ekstralingvističkih parametara (dob, spol/rod, profesija, obrazovanje, socijalni status, politička opredijeljenost, nacionalnost, lokalpatriotizam u slučaju vernakulara itd.), kreatori su mnogih subkultura koje svoj identitet izgrađuju i potvrđuju jezikom. Jezične analize jasno pokazuju odnos idioma, nekakvog "podjezika", sociolekta i pripadajuće mu subkulture. U njemu je ugrađen ukupan život te zajednice i život svakog njezina člana - u glasu, akcentu, riječi, sintagmi, rečenici, čitavom diskursu.

Neovisno o leksičkim ili izvanleksičkim sredstvima izražavanja, odnosno verbalnoj ili neverbalnoj komunikaciji, jezik i svaki njegov stratum oblikuje kulturalnu odnosno jezičnu stvarnost koja je samo jedan, iako najvažniji, njezin dio.

2. Kultura - jezični koncepti - kultiviranost jezika

Premda postoji jedna čvrsta i posebna veza kulture i jezičnih koncepata, jezik je samo jedan od aspekata kulture, ali je zato njegova kultiviranost preduvjet ne samo za razvoj nego i za očuvanje kulture odnosno civilizacije. Budući da je pismo označilo početak civilizacije, bliskost jezika, njegova pisana oblika, i kulture i time se potvrđuje. "Sve kulturno ponašanje javlja se u obrascima" (Sapir, 1984: 121). Svaka norma ukida kaos, pa i kulturno ponašanje - znači i uljuđena komunikacija, posebno ona javna - pretpostavlja postojanje, poznavanje i primjenu obrazaca, odnosno pravila. Stoga se i kultiviranost jezika vezuje za standard, za jezik u javnoj komunikaciji, posebice u medijima).

Sapir upozorava i na nesvjesno stvaranje koncepata, obrazaca jezičnog ponašanja koji se mogu otkrivati i u nekim elementima strukture, čak i na fonološkoj razini (v. Sapir, 1984).

Što se tiče čvrste veze kulture i jezičnih koncepata, u literaturi često citirani Boasov primjer konceptualizacije pojma snijeg u eskimskom (*aput* 'snijeg na zemlji, tlu', *quana* 'snijeg koji pada', *piqsirpok* 'snijeg nošen vjetrom', *qimuqsuq* 'zamet') slijedili su i drugi lingvisti, često pretjerujući u pronalaženju novih, a sve u želji da dokažu kako je u britanskom engleskom takvih riječi puno manje. No, činjenica je da i u eskimskom i u engleskom postoji nekoliko inačica tog koncepta, ali su značenja različita, iz čega zaključujemo da se radi o drugačijoj konceptualizaciji spomenutog pojma, a to nas opet upućuje na različite izvanjezične univerzume. U britanskom engleskom uz *snow* postoji i *flake* 'pahuljica; padati u pahuljicama', *sleet* 'susnježica', *slush* 'bljuzgavica' *drift* 'snježni zamet', dakako i složenice kao što su *snowstorm* 'mećava', *snowball* 'gruda snijega' itd. (usp. Dalby, 2003: 253 i Ottenheimer 2006: 15). Drugi je primjer riječ eukaliptus (posuđenica iz botaničkog latinskog), engl. *eucalyptus*, fr. *eucalypte*. Šumar u zapadnoj Australiji poznaje pak i koristi 8-10 riječi za taj pojam s obzirom na njegovu upotrebu i svrhu, a ne posebnu vrstu (ako ih uopće i ima).

U kontekstu pitanja što je bilo prvo: jezični koncepti ili kulturne norme, može se reći da su uglavnom zajedno nastajali, ali i utjecali jedno na drugo, s tim da treba priznati da jezik ipak ograničava slobodu oblikovanja jer bi inače izgubio svoj identitet.

Budući da je jezik sistem znakova koji imaju kulturalnu vrijednost, govornici se prepoznaju u upotrebi jezika, za njih je jezik simbol društvenog identiteta. Zabranu njegove upotrebe govornici, "vlasnici tog jezika i te kulture" doživljavaju kao poniženje svoje zajednice i kulture, kao manje vrijedne. Stoga s pravom možemo reći da je jezik simbol kulturalnog realiteta bilo koje jezične zajednice.

Ako su gramatike u jezicima samo konvencionalne norme i socijalne korektnosti, onda se može tvrditi da su rječnici norme političke korektnosti ili bi to trebali biti (primjerice, stvaranje novih imenica u engleskom lišenih bilo kakve rodne identifikacije, kao *chairperson*, što je također pokazatelj postojećih i novih društvenih odnosa). Premda neki pokušavaju kvalificirati standardni jezik kao artificijelan idiom zbog njegove neutralnosti u odnosu prema drugim idiomima,

činjenica je da standard podrazumijeva kultiviranost, a ne samo strogu eksplicitnu normu. Kultiviranost je na jednoj višoj razini, jer je izbor onog najboljeg u jeziku u određenom kontekstu kako bi mogao biti i najbolje sredstvo komunikacije i ekspresije.

3. Kulturalna dimenzija jezika i identite jezika

Jezik se ne može promatrati u neutralnom položaju jednostavnog simboličkog sistema. Ni jedan jezik nije lišen kulturalne ili vrijednosne dimenzije (Bugarski je naziva sociolingvističkom dimenzijom, uostalom kultura je i sociolingvistički fenomen), odnosno vida identiteta. Kulturalni (vrijednosni) identitet kao jedan od tri (još i genetski i tipološki) varijabilan je jer je i kultura takva - znači da je moguće i promijeniti identitet samog jezika, što opet ponovno potvrđuje tezu o dinamičnosti identiteta uopće pa i identiteta jezika i jezičnog identiteta, dakako (v. Granić, 2007). Bliske veze jezika, kulture i identiteta očituju se u kulturalnim markerima kojima je kultura i kodirana. Premda nije egzaktno lingvistički određen kao genetski i tipološki vid identiteta, govornici, članovi jezične zajednice, ne griješe u prepoznavanju svojih i "tuđih" kulturalnih markera, čak ni onda kad se miješaju. Tada je prožimanje dvostruko: prožimaju se jezik i kultura u jednoj zajednici i, na drugoj razini, s drugim jezikom/jezicima i drugom kulturom, odnosno drugim kulturama. Nekad su to paralelni procesi, a nekad nisu, slijede jedni za drugim i svaki ostave svoj trag, ovisno o svojoj moći i utjecaju koje imaju na tu jezičnu zajednicu. Kultura je uvijek "ideja o Drugome", čak i onda kad je pripisujemo sebi, rekao je Frederic James. Budući da je kultura mreža zajedničkih značenja, onda se ona kao takva stalno mijenja jer se mijenja i kolektivna praksa njezinih članova (Eagleton, 2002: 142-143).

4. Prožimanje jezika i kulture

Prožimanjem jezika i kulture brišu se granice između njih i jezik postaje kulturom, a kultura jezikom. To posebno vrijedi za jednojednoznačno pridruživanje gdje je jednom jeziku pridružena jedna i samo jedna kultura. U slučaju kad se nekoliko jezika identificira s jednom kulturom, očito je da kultura nije *differentia specifica* tih zajednica nego jedino jezik. Jezik i kultura, odnosno jezici i kulture, uza sve druge relacije, i sami su u nekakvom odnosu između sebe i s drugima (neovisno o smjeru, ali ovisno o broju):

jezik ↔ kultura / kulture
kultura ↔ jezici
jezik / jezici ↔ jezik / jezici
kultura / kulture ↔ kultura / kulture

Ove relacije imaju smisla ako, neovisno o prožimanjima i identifikacijama, jezik i kultura jesu dva entiteta, a ne jedan. One se dodatno opterećuju kategorijom broja, koja je za Humboldta veoma važna kategorija. Naime, Humboldt pravi razliku između jednog i više jezika jer je za nj jezik jedna slobodna, nezavisna kategorija, gotovo konstrukt u usporedbi s jezicima koji to nisu, ovisni o nacijama kojima pripadaju (v. Granić, 1991). Također je nužno definirati razinu i granice kulture, s obzirom na to da kultura može biti nadnacionalna (globalna), ali ona se prepoznaje i kao nacionalna i čak kao lokalna (stratifikacija je analogna *vertikalnoj* - dokaz su razni oblici subkultura: determiniraju razne društvene grupe koje se identificiraju raznim sociolektima - i *horizontalnoj raznolikosti*: lokalni idiomi, vernakulari,

mjesni govori koji se identificiraju s lokalnom kulturom, odnosno obrnuto, i u tom je slučaju triječ o isključivo jednojednoznačnom pridruživanju).

1 idiom (sociolekt) → 1 (sub)kultura (socijetalna/grupna)

Primjerice, subkultura je jedan od njezinih aspekata i koncepata kojima se razlikuju njezini tvorci od ostatka jezične zajednice na višoj razini; pridružen joj je idiom s rangom jezika, a ne nekog socijalnog stratuma (sociolekta) koji determinira pripadnike te subkulture. Kao što se svaki idiom, bez obzira na rang i mjesto na hijerarhijskoj ljestvici svih idioma, bori za svoj status, tako i svaka kultura, neovisno o parametrima koji je definiraju i razlikuju od drugih traži svoje mjesto na "kulturalnoj karti svijeta".

Jezik je važan i za izražavanje i za transmisiju kulture, no u jezičnim se kategorijama, govorio je to još i Sapir, ne vide nikakve korelacije između tipa kulture i strukture jezika. Osim toga, jezične promjene ne odvijaju se istom brzinom kao većina kulturalnih promjena. U leksiku se ogleda kultura jedne zajednice, jednog naroda, a promjene značenja (i onda kad ono implicitno, a zabilježeno u rječniku, postane eksplicitno), nestajanje riječi i nastajanje ili posuđivanje novih ovise o ukupnoj kulturi te zajednice i njezinu odnosu prema jeziku.

Kad govorimo o kulturi, postavlja se pitanje i hijerarhije, odnosno **evaluacije**. U komparaciji s jezikom, hijerarhija i tu postoji, jer je na ljestvici svih idioma standardni jezik na najvišem mjestu i kompatibilan je s visokom kulturom. S druge strane, kad uspoređujemo različite jezike, nema govora ni o kakvoj hijerarhiji, jer ne postoje, davno je to Franz Boas rekao, primitivni, odnosno nerazvijeni i razvijeni jezici. No, kad govorimo o kulturi, onda je moguće (iako se ni u tome svi ne slažu) koristiti takve kvalifikacije. Dakako, problem je tko na najbolji način može ocijeniti i uz pomoć kojih kriterija vrednote neke kulture, *insider* ili *outsider*?

Pisana forma jezika ima vrlo važnu ulogu i u evaluaciji i u perpetuiranju kulture. Pismenost je u potpunosti izmijenila kanale javne komunikacije, ekspanzija je veća, i difuzija, također.

5. Kulturalna difuzija: gubitak jezika - gubitak kulture?

Kad god se spomene lingvistička karta svijeta, spomene se i broj jezika pa slijedom toga i "ugroženi jezici" i "jezici u opasnosti". O "ugroženim kulturama" i "kulturama u opasnosti" nitko ne govori, kao da kulture s tim nemaju nikakve veze. Potiskivanje pak jedne kulture drugom, pa i onom superiornom, možda i globalnom, anticivilizacijski je korak makar se čini suprotno. Očito je da kulture kontaktiraju na isti način kao i jezici, sa sličnim ili jednakim posljedicama. Analogija je posve jasna. Adstrati i super/sub/strati posljedica su jezika u kontaktu. *Akulturacija* koja zbog dodira kultura pretpostavlja kulturalno približavanje, poistovjećuje se s adstratom. *Asimilacija* pak znači potpuno nestajanje kolektivnog identiteta (gubitak statusa, novi identitet), kao što to znači i superstrat koji je potpuno nadvladao supstrat - nestao je iz upotrebe i u ograničenom je komunikacijskom kontekstu.

Posuđivanje je proces paralelan s kulturalnom difuzijom: etimologija pokazuje smjer utjecaja, i jezičnog i kulturalnog. Posuđenice (kontaktemi), odnosno jezik, prenoseći svoju kulturu sudjeluje u stvaranju druge, nove kulture.

Gubitak jezika znači gubitak kulture (samo kad vrijedi: 1 jezik=1 kultura), odnosno gubitak različitosti. Primjer je havajski (Dalby, 2003, 207) koji nestaje u dva stoljeća: prati ga gubitak havajske političke nezavisnosti, nestanak kulture, gubitak

prirodnog okoliša... Gubitak jezika, iz ovih ili onih razloga, gubitak je svega što je njim u vezi, bilo da je jezik bio sredstvo ili cilj, za neke je i gubitak identiteta: "Speakers commonly remark that when they speak a different language, they say different things and even think different thoughts" (Dalby, 2003: 252).

Što se tiče gubitka jezika, no ne s takvim "smrtnim" posljedicama, njega uvijek ima, gotovo u svakom prijevodu, jer nikad sve nije "prenosivo" na drugu stranu, posebno neki diskursi u nekim domenama. Nekad je taj prijenos u granicama jedne kulture (jer je oba jezika dijele), a nekad iz jedne u drugu. Dalby (2003) spominje i tzv. "ciljnu kulturu" (*target culture*), jer postoje i "ciljni jezici". Shodno tome govorimo i o "izvornoj kulturi", jer postoje i "izvorni jezici" i njihovi govornici. Izvorni govornik nije neka monolingvalna i monokulturalna apstrakcija. I on je, kao i svaka kultura, stalno izložen hibridizaciji. Međujezik, *interlanguage*, kao što su *Spanglish* ili *Inglenol* stvarni su pokazatelji hibridizacije koju najčešće provode imigrantske manjine, jer nemaju drugog izbora, ne znaju jezik i onda "miješaju" idiome. Takav je primjer i mala zajednica potomaka talijanskih useljenika u australskoj Viktoriji koja je miješanjem engleskog i talijanskog stvorila hibridni idiom koji ne razumiju ni domaći Australci, niti novi talijanski doseljenici (v. Mesić, 2006: 253). U Njemačkoj je hibridizacija naročito naglašena: primjer je pejorativno označeni *Türken-deutsch*. Od 90-ih godina 20. stoljeća jezični *slang* (*Mischung*) stvorila je druga i treća generacija mladih useljenika turskog podrijetla - *Kanak Sprak* (njemački iskrivljeno *Sprak* prema *Sprache*). *Kanake* je pogrdan izraz za strance koji govore nekakav *falsch* njemački i drugačije izgledaju. *Kanak Sprak* je "namjerno iskrivljen spoj uličnog, lokalnog njemačkog jezika s turskim te crnačkim, reperskim engleskim" (Plićanić-Mesić i Kužić, 2007: 472). Nije homogen, ima varijacija koje se prepoznaju u različitim imenima (*Kanakisch*, *Streetslang*, *HipHop-Slang*, *Türken-Slang* itd.). Tvorci *Kanaka* uglavnom su bilingvalni, govore i njemački i turski. Njihov je novi hibridni jezik izraz njihova višestrukog ili hibridnog identiteta, osjećaja da u potpunosti ne pripadaju turskoj kulturi, a da istovremeno nisu do kraja integrirani u njemačku, nego da su uhvaćeni u nekakvom raskoraku i napetosti. Dvostruku kulturnu alijenaciju oni su pretvorili u pozitivnu identifikaciju, u novi hibridni identitet - sami sebe označavaju *Kanaken...*" (Mesić, 2006, 254). No bez obzira na svoju pozitivnu identifikaciju, činjenica je da je jednako važno i to kako ih kao govornike jednog etnolekta prihvaća okolina. U ovom slučaju - pozitivno, jer tih tristotinjak riječi koliko ih *Kanak Sprak* ima koriste i Nijemci, zahvaljujući ponajprije medijima koji su taj etnolekt i promovirali. U ovom slučaju kulturna difuzija iznjedrila je jedan novi, hibridni identitet, a kulturna hibridizacija očit je primjer interkulturalizma. Ima mišljenja da se hibridizacija podrazumijeva u svim kulturnim inovacijama, te da nijedna kultura nije imuna na utjecaje drugih. To ne mogu spriječiti nikakve zabrane ni preporuke, uostalom kao ni u jeziku, jer on živi u i sa svojim govornicima.

6. Dominantni jezik u multikulturalnom svijetu

Globalna kultura poništava razlike ili ih barem želi poništiti. Engleski je općepoznati globalni jezik. Pitanje je postaje li dominantni (globalni) jezik sličan umjetnom jeziku, "neprirodan", unificiran, lišen svih semantičkih nijansi te možemo li govoriti o varijanti engleskog jezika kao "globalnom engleskom" koji je po svojoj jednostavnoj strukturi nekakav *esperanto*, *lingua franca* ili *Transnational English*, uz, primjerice, varijantne oblike (*Standard-English*, *British Colloquial*, *Hiberno-English*, *Talking Black*, *Hispanic-American-English*, *South-Atlantic-English*, *West-*

African-English, Oceanian English, East-Asian-English itd.). Disimilacija vodi varijante prema novim jezicima - *New Englishes* (Dalby, 2003: 25).

Umjetni jezik (svjesno konstruirani međunarodni jezik) ne predstavlja neki poseban narod niti kulturu i nema simboličku vrijednost kakvu ima svaki prirodni jezik. Sapir je davno predvidio međunarodnu budućnost engleskog jezika (zajedno s ruskim i španjolskim!). U višejezičnim sredinama znanje i upotreba dominantnog jezika pitanje je prestiža. Interkulturalna i multikulturalna komunikacija ruše mit o izvornom govorniku kao monolingvalnoj i monokulturalnoj apstrakciji, jer je pod utjecajem različitih kultura i subkultura. Kulturalna difuzija najlakše se prepoznaje u leksiku. **Multikulturalizam** priznaje etnički (kulturalni) pluralizam, za zadržavanje kulturalnih specifičnosti, pretpostavlja statičke kulturalne odnose.

S druge strane, multikulturalno društvo shvaća se kao manje tolerantno, jer svatko živi u manjim zatvorenim homogenim zajednicama, u paralelnim svjetovima koji se nikad "ne sijeku", među njima nema nikakve interakcije, ne samo jezika, nego ni kultura, drugim riječima, stvarnosti (izvanjezičnih univerzuma). A kad nema komunikacije, nema ni razumijevanja. Interkulturalizam i *Kanak Sprak* pokazuju jedan drugi put kojim treba ići a koji omogućava normalan suživot dviju ili više jezičnih zajednica na zajedničkom teritoriju. One zapravo dijele prostor i vrijeme, pa je normalno da i njihove kulture interferiraju (transkulturalizam je radikalniji oblik). Ako i ne bude prožimanja, razlike u jeziku i kulturi premostit će globalni jezik (engleski), premda i on toliko divergira jer je osvojio čitav svijet, i stvarni i virtualni. Zajednica danas nije definirana samo geografski, jer postoje virtualne zajednice bez prostora i mjesta ("u vakuumu"), sa svojim govornicima na virtualnim agorama i virtualnim kulturama koje promiču i nekakav virtualni jezik, što omogućuje stvaranje višestrukih realnosti i višestrukih identiteta. Internet omogućava lako preoblikovanje za potrebe instant-zajednica i okruženja. Zajednički simboli, emotikoni i akronimi pokazatelji su konvergencije, unisone komunikacije i iste takve kulture lišene bilo kakve raznolikosti. Takva virtualna zajednica polako postaje globalna zajednica koju razdvajaju samo vremenske zone a, s obzirom na intenzitet komunikacije na mreži, i one više ne predstavljaju nikakvu zapreku jer u nekim intervalima samo malo usporavaju globalnu komunikaciju.

7. Umjesto zaključka

Veza jezika i kulture, iako tijesna i neposredna, vrlo je složena, osobito važna kad jezik ima vrijednost nacionalnog simbola. Budući da su i jezik i kultura dinamičke kategorije, a to je izvjesno, jer jezik postaje kulturom a kultura jezikom, pitanje je u kojem smjeru ide taj dinamizam, je li rezultat eksplicitne jezične politike i kakav odjek ima u društvu. Akulturacija je svakodnevnica, kao i isprva tuđica, a onda i posuđenice u leksiku, ali i na drugim razinama. Ako je disimilacija "čuvarica", korektiv fonološkog sustava svakog jezika, jer bi ga u protivnom asimilacija poništila, pitanje je hoće li divergiranje i varijantnost jezika biti dovoljan jamac multikulturalizma i treba li ih pred naletom globalizacije još u tome i poticati. U svakom slučaju, većina državnih jezičnih politika ima nimalo lak zadatak, no ohrabruje, ako se tako može reći, varijantnost dominantnog jezika i nekih drugih velikih jezika koji se sve više udaljuju od nečega što bi trebalo predstavljati neutralni jezični sustav, odnosno standardni oblik. Povijest se ponavlja. Veliki jezici postaju žrtve babilonizacije (v. Maurais, 2004). Fragmentacija to dokazuje, jer ide posve suprotnim smjerom od globalizacije jezikom i kulturom. No, time i zatvara lingvistički krug.

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II

LINGVISTKA / LINGUISTICS

HIPONIMIJA I MERONIMIJA U JEZIKU MAŠINSKE STRUKE "KOLIKO SU POUZDANI SEMANTIČKI MARKERI?"

Apstrakt: Cilj rada koji je ovde predstavljen je sagledavanje semantičkih odnosa hiponimije i meronimije u domenu mašinske tehnike. Iz literature nam je poznato da odnosi hiponimije i partonimije najčešće kolociraju sa izvjesnim markerima, označivačima, tj. signalizatorima. Stoga je cilj istraživanja bio da steknemo uvid u rasprostranjenost ta dva semantička odnosa, te distribuciju i pouzdanost njihovih markera. Nastojali smo da sistematizujemo ove signalizatore, te da ih ekstrahujemo iz savremenog i reprezentativnog korpusa engleskog jezika iz oblasti mašinske tehnike objavljenog u elektronskom časopisu *Journal of Mechanical Engineering*. Da bismo to postigli, upotrijebili smo softver za izlistavanje konkordanci *MonoConc 2.2*. U našem radu smo potvrdili hipotezu o tome da su hiponimija i meronimija čvrsto strukturirani odnosi, veoma često praćeni markerima, a krajnji rezultat ukazuje da su semantički markeri meronimije pouzdaniji od markera hiponimije.

Gljučne riječi: leksička semantika, hiponimija, meronimija (partonimija), semantički markeri, konkordanca, pouzdanost

Uvod

Glavni fokus ovog rada će biti domen leksičke semantike, s posebnim osvrtom na semantičke odnose hiponimije i meronimije. Iz literature (Lajons, 1977: 311-17, Kruz, 2000: 152, Vintar/Gorjanc, 2000:3) nam je poznato da ova dva odnosa kolociraju sa izvjesnim markerima, tj. signalizatorima. Stoga je cilj istraživanja koje ćemo predstaviti sagedavanje rasprostranjenost ta dva semantička odnosa, te distribucija i pouzdanost njihovih markera. Ugao iz koga smo sagledali ova dva odnosa i njihove markere je bio izazovan za istraživanje, jer je pažnja usmjerena na specifičan diskurs - disukrs mašinske tehnike. Prvo ćemo se osvrnuti na izvjesne definicije, svojstva i podtipove hiponimije i meronimije

Hiponimija

Lajons (1977: 291) hiponimiju definiše kao „odnos koji se javlja između konkretnije, podređene lekseme i uopštenije ili nadređene lekseme“. Hiponimija je vertikalni odnos koji odražava hijerarhijsku ustrojenost koja karakteriše vanjezičku stvarnost i preslikava je na jezički leksikon. Hiponimija u logičkom smislu najčešće podrazumijeva **pripadanje nekoj klasi**. Ako uzmemo da *x* označava klasu cvjetova, a da se *y* odnosi na klasu lala, onda logički sledi da klasa *x* uključuje klasu *y*“. Ali ovde se javlja i jedna logička nedosljednost. Prema obuhvatnosti, nadređena leksema je šira, ali ako uzmemo u obzir njenu sadržinu, posebno u smislu klasične komponentne analize, hiponim je širi jer ima više značenjskih komponenti (npr. lale imaju sve osobine cvijeća, ali i neke dodatne osobine koje ih razlikuju od ruža, zelenkada, itd.). Osim ovih osobina, hiponimiju karakteriše tzv. **jednosmjerna implikacija**. Naime, rečenica *She was wearing a red dress* (Nosila je crvenu haljinu) implicira rečenicu *She was wearing a crimson dress* (Nosila je grimiznu haljinu). S druge strane, ako se hiponimija definiše kao jednosmjerna implikacija, onda se sinonimija može definisati kao dvosmjerna, simetrična implikacija: ako je *x* hiponim

y, a y hiponim x, onda su x i y sinonimi. **Prava hiponimija** se stoga definiše kao jednosmjerna, asimetrična implikacija.

Još jedna arhetipska karakteristika koja se obično vezuje za hiponimiju jeste njena **tranzitivnost**, odnosno **prelaznost**. Ako je x hiponim y, a y je hiponim z, onda je x hiponim z. Na primjer, cow (krava) je hiponim lekseme *mammal* (sisar), a *mammal* (sisar) je hiponim lekseme *animal* (životinja); iz stoga slijedi da je cow (krava) hiponim lekseme *animal* (životinja).

Usmjerićemo se na identifikovanje sledećih podtipova hiponimije iz odabranog korpusa:

1. **taksonimijska hiponimija** (prema Kruzu, 1986)
2. **funkcionalna hiponimija** (prema Čefinu i Hermanu, 1984, Kruzu, 1986, Personu, 1990, Marfi, 2003)
3. **supstantivna hiponimija** (prema Personu, 1990)
4. **lokativna hiponimija** (prema Čefinu i Hermanu, 1984, Marfi, 2003)
5. **hiponimija aktivnosti** (prema Čefinu i Hermanu, 1984, Marfi, 2003)
6. **hiponimija stanja** (prema Čefinu i Hermanu, 1984, Marfi, 2003).

Prototip hiponimije je svakako **taksonimijska hiponimija** (predstavljena formulom A-KIND-OF), značajna kod definicija i kategorizacija. U literaturi se njoj najčešće suprotstavlja **funkcionalna hiponimija**. Ovaj drugi tip se definiše formulom IS-USED-AS-A-KIND-OF. Na primjer, leksema *piston* (*klip*) je u taksonimijskom odnosu prema *car part* (dio automobila) (*piston is a kind of car part*), ali u funkcionalnom odnosu prema leksemi *sealing* (*zaptivka*), jer je istinita rečenica *piston is used as a kind of sealing* (*klip ima funkciju zaptivke*).

Do sada nije bilo pokušaja sistematizacije semantičkih markera hiponimije i meronimije, ali mnogi autori navode fraze, tj. „formule“ kojima se ovi odnosi najčešće ekstrahuju iz teksta. Odnosi podređenosti i nadređenosti, odnosno hiponimije i hiperonimije se u tekstovima (kako opšteg, tako i stručnog registra) često javljaju praćeni sljedećim semantičkim markerima (v. Lajons, 1977: 291-295, Kruz, 2000: 152, Vintar/Gorjanc, 2000: 3, Marfi, 2003: 220), koje stoga možemo nazvati **eksplicitni tipski semantički markeri hiponimije**. Sistematizovano je njih 11 i na njima je zasnovano naše istraživanje:

1. X **such as** Y (e.g. cars **such as** Nissan, Volvo, Toyota)
2. **such X as** Y (e.g. **such** symptoms **as**: fever, pain, high temperature)
3. X is a **kind of** Y (e.g. tulip is a **kind of** flower)
4. X is a **type of** Y (e.g. evidence grows that Alzheimer's is a type of diabetes)
5. X is a **sort of** Y (e.g. teriyaki is a **sort of** Japanese dish)
6. X is a **variety of** Y (e.g. rhodolite is a **variety of** garnet with a raspberry-red purplish-pink hue)
7. X **includes** Y (e.g. invertebrae **include** corals, jelly fish and sea anemones)
8. X **belongs to** Y (e.g. humans **belong to** the group of mammals)
9. X is **categorised** as / among Y (e.g. wines are **categorized** as very healthy drinks)
10. X is **counted among** Y (ponies are **counted among** horses)
11. X is a **way of** Y (highlighting is a **way of** identifying key ideas).

Hiponimiju određuju tri svojstva: (a) ista morfosintaksička klasa hiperonima i hiponima (upor. Kruz, 2002), (b) hiperonim i hiponim su zasebne lekseme i (c) obje lekseme su ostvarene u jeziku. Kao dijagnostički test za utvrđivanje hiponimije može poslužiti obrazac: *a(n) X is a type of Y* (X je vrsta/tip Y), gdje X predstavlja hiponim.

Odstupanje se javlja kada se kao hiperonim javlja leksema koja pripada drugoj morfosintaksičkoj klasi, poput imenice *emotion* (emocija) prema pridjevima *happy, sad, angry* (srećan, tužan, ljutit) (upor. Lajons, 1977: 299). Ovo se u literaturi obično naziva **kvazi-hiponimijom**, a ponekad i **pseudo-hiponimijom**.

Meronomija

Meronomija se definiše kao usmjereni odnos od cjeline prema djelovima - **meronomije** ili djelova prema cjelini, kada imamo **holonomiju** (*cockpit - meronim, airplane - holonim*). Ovaj semantički odnos je takođe vertikalni i paradigmatički, a zbog svoje prirode se naziva i **partonomijom** (*partonymy*) ili **odnosom dela i celine** (*part-whole relation*). To znači da je leksička jedinica A **meronim** leksičke jedinice B (tj. B je **holonim** A) ukoliko je značenje lekseme A sastavni dio lekseme B.

Kao kod hiponimije, ovdje imamo odnos između semantičkog prostora koji izvjesne lekseme pokrivaju, a ne odnos između samih leksema odnosno riječi. Odnos cjeline i dijela najjasnije se očitava između fizičkih predmeta koji su izraženi konkretnim imenicama. Druga bliskost s hiponimijom ogleda se u značaju meronomije kod definicija.

U literaturi ne postoji saglasost oko statusa i definicije meronomije. Verner i Toper (1976) meronomiju smatraju podvrstom taksonimije. Oni dijagnostičku rečenicu: *An engine is a part of car* (Motor je dio automobila) transformišu u rečenicu: *Engine is a kind of car part* (Motor je vrsta automobilskog dela). Time se meronomija podvodi pod odnos pripadanja klasi, što je arhetipska odlika taksonimije.

Usmjerićemo se na identifikovanje sljedećih podtipova meronomije iz odabranog korpusa:

1. **komponentna (partitivna) meronomija** (prema Ajris et al, 1988 i Vinston et al, 1987)
2. **funkcionalna meronomija** (prema Ajris et al., 1988)
3. **meronomija članstva** (prema Vinston et al., 1987)
4. **supstantivna meronomija** (prema Vinston et al., 1987)
5. **meronomija aktivosti** (prema Vinston et al., 1987)
6. **mesna (lokativna) meronomija** (prema Vinston et al., 1987)

Eksplicitni tipski semantički markeri meronomije koji su prepoznati u literaturi i na kojima je bilo zasnovano naše istraživanje su:

1. X is a **part of** Y (e.g. arm is the **part of** the body)
2. X is a **member** of Y (e.g. Chicago Bulls are **members of** the NBA league)
3. X **comprises** Y (e.g. this paper **comprises** thirty pages)
4. X **contains** Y (e.g. the upgraded program **contains** several applications)
5. X **involves** Y (e.g. the theorem **involves** a lot of hypotheses)
6. X **includes** Y (e.g. the show **includes** numerous episodes)

Korpus i metod

Baza našeg istraživanja je sinhronijski jednojezični korpus specijalizovanog žanra engleskog jezika koji je poslužio kao ilustrativni uzorak jezičkog domena koji proučavamo. Korpus obuhvata 147 članaka objavljenih tokom 2005. i 2006. godine (kriterijum aktuelnosti) u elektronskom časopisu *Journal of Mechanical Engineering* koji je posvećen isključivo mašinskoj tehnici, što ga čini reprezentativnim i tipičnim za ovaj jezički domen. Korpus sadrži 249.309 riječi.

Metod koji smo koristili u ovom istraživanju zasnovan je na kvantitativno-statističkoj analizi i obradi podataka. Ta vrsta analize nam je omogućila da steknemo uvid u frekvenciju pojavljivanja konkretnih semantičkih markera. Osim sagledavanja učestalosti, utvrdili smo koliko je svaki marker pouzdan kao signalizator ovih odnosa.

Za osnovnu jedinicu analize uzeli smo rečenicu u okviru koje smo posmatrali ova dva semantička odnosa. Glavni preduslov za analizu je pojavljivanje rečeničnih djelova koji potencijalno mogu imati funkciju nadređenog pojma (hiperonima, tj. holonima) i podređenog pojma (hiponima, tj. meronima). Stoga nisu ubrojani oni primjeri kada se hiponimija, odnosno meronimija prostiru kroz dvije ili više rečenica uz pomoć anaforičkog upućivanja, npr. upotrebom zamjjenica ili determinativa (npr. *The vehicle was recently designed. It contains some advanced gears.*).

Primjeri za hiponimiju iz korpusa:

- **Taksonimijska hiponimija:**

Fourier's view of homogeneity makes it necessary to create parameters [[such as]] resistances and coefficients because without them, engineering phenomena cannot be described by homogeneous equations.

→ Hiperonim parametri je kategorijalno nadređen u odnosu na dva hiponima: *otpori i koeficijenti*.

- **Funkcionalna hiponimija:**

In Japan, where utilities are required to generate a portion of their energy from renewable sources [[such as]] wind, the utility J-Power added a 4 MW, 90-minute (6 MWh) vanadium-based flow battery to an existing 30 MW wind farm.

→ Hiperonim obnovljivi izvori je kategorijalno nadređen u odnosu na hiponim vjeta.r

Primjeri za meronimiju iz korpusa:

- **Komponentna meronimija:**

This 2.8-liter diesel engine, being manufactured in Cento, Italy, as [[part of]] a joint venture between DaimlerChrysler and VM Motori, will power Chrysler's 2005 Jeep Liberty.

→ Holonim zajednički poduhvat između DaimlerChryslera i VM Motora predstavlja cjelinu koja obuhvata meronim: *2,8 litarski dizel-motor*.

- **Supstantivna meronimija:**

Electrical and electronic equipment sold in the European Union after July 2006 can't [[contain]] more than certain levels of lead, mercury, cadmium, hexavalent chromium, polybrominated biphenyls, and polybrominated diphenyl ethers.

→ Holonim električna i elektronska oprema koja se prodaje u Evropskoj Uniji od jula 2006. predstavlja celinu koja obuhvata šest meronima: *određeni nivoi olova, žive, kadmijuma, heksavalentnog hroma, polibromni bifenili i polibromni difenil-etri*.

Rezultati istraživanja

Statistički pokazatelji eksplicitno izražene hiponimije

U tabeli su prikazani markeri i učestalost njihovog signaliziranja hiponimije:

Marker hiponimije	Broj pojavljivanja	Signalizator hiponimije	Procenat pouzdanosti
such as	166	150	90,36 %
such [X] as	10	9	90,00 %
kind of	36	1	2,78 %
type of	43	3	6,98 %
sort of	5	0	0,00 %
variety of	36	12	33,33 %
belong	2	0	0,00 %
category/categorize	10	2	20,00 %
count [X] among	1	1	100,00 %
way of	21	3	14,29 %
include	264	105	39,78 %

Analiza pokazuje da je najpouzdaniji marker hiponimije *count among*, s procentom pouzdanosti od 100,00%, ali se javlja samo jedanput u našem korpusu, te nije dovoljno reprezentativan. Od učestalijih markera svakako je napouzdaniji *such as* sa 90,36%. Dva markera - *sort of* i *belong* nisu nimalo pouzdani, te ćemo ih nazvati neostvarenim markerima. S druge strane, tri markera - *kind of*, *type of* i *way of* ispoljavaju pouzdanost manju od 20,00%.

Ukupni procenat, tj. aritmetičku sredinu pouzdanosti svih markera dobijamo kada saberemo ostvarene slučajeve signaliziranja hiponimije (zbir vrijednosti iz treće kolone u tabeli) i podijelimo ih brojem njihovog ukupnog pojavljivanja (zbir vrijednosti iz druge kolone u tabeli):

$$\bar{X} = 286 / 594 = 48,15 \%$$

Statistički pokazatelji eksplicitno izražene meronimije

U tabeli su prikazani markeri i učestalost njihovog signaliziranja meronimije:

Marker meronimije	Broj pojavljivanja	Signalizator meronimije	Procenat pouzdanosti
part of	124	60	48,39 %
member of	23	23	100,00 %
material of	2	2	100,00 %
comprise	10	10	100,00 %
contain	65	61	93,85 %
consist of	32	29	90,63 %
involve	0	0	0,00 %
include	264	134	50,76 %

Kod signalizatora meronimije analiza ukazuje da čak tri markera: *member of*, *material of* i *comprise* imaju procenat pouzdanosti od 100,00%, ali pritom se *material of* javlja sasvim rijetko - samo dva puta u našem korpusu. S druge strane, najučestaliji marker meronimije je *include* sa 134 pojavljivanja u korpusu i

priličnom pouzdanošću od 50,76%. Marker *involve* se, začudo, nijednom ne pojavljuje u korpusu, pa nismo stekli uvid u njegovu pouzdanost.

Ukupni procenat, tj. aritmetičku sredinu pouzdanosti svih markera meronimije dobijamo na isti način (zbir vrijednosti iz treće kolone podijeljen zbirom vrijednosti iz druge kolone u tabeli):

$$\bar{X} = 319 / 520 = 61,35 \%$$

Upoređujući sveukupnu aritmetičku sredinu ova dva odnosa od 48,15% za hiponimiju, te 61,35% za meronimiju, uviđamo da su markeri meronimije na našem uzorku pouzdaniji za 13,20% , te da bolje strukturiraju rečenicu.

Najzanimljiviji marker u analizi je bio *include*, jer se ispostavilo da signalizira oba semantička odnosa, i to: hiponimiju 105, a meronimiju 134 puta. Ovo ukazuje na činjenicu da je linija između ova odnosa ponekad dosta „tanka“, a rečenice u kojima se pojavljuju često dvosmislene.

Prepoznavanjem semantičkih markera moguće je lakše ekstrahovati leksikon određenog jezičkog domena, po principu jezičkih “formula”. Kao primjer možemo uzeti medicinsku literaturu u kojoj se određeni leksički šabloni javljaju dovoljno često te ih možemo formalizovati u svrhu ekstrahovanja određenih znanja, npr. *Lek X prouzrokuje bolest Y* (navedeno u Cimino/Barnett, 1933, cit. u Vintar i Gorjanc). Slične metode predlažu i drugi autori koji se bave stručnom terminologijom, bilo s ciljem automatizovane izrade naučnih baza podataka po principu semantičkih polja (Bouden et al., 1996), kod izrade tezaurusa i rečnika. (Ričardson et al., 1998).

Upoznavanje sa semantičkim odnosima hiponimije i meronimije (partonomije) i njihovih markera nam može pomoći da bolje tumačimo stručnu literaturu. Razumijevanje pročitnog se može podići na viši nivo upoznavanjem učenika/studenata sa semantičkim markerima, koji će poslužiti kao signali određenih značenjskih odnosa. Drugim riječima, ukoliko čitalac posjeduje dublje poznavanje *formalnog ustrojstva teksta*, moći će da izvuče više iz pročitnog.

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O JEDNOM (NE)SRPSKOM JEZIČKOM IZRAZU NA KOSOVU I METOHIJI DANAS¹

Apstrakt. Srpski jezički izraz u glasilima i spisima Kfora i Unmika i privremenih kosovskometohijskih institucija znatno odstupa od srpskog standardnojezičkog sistema. U radu se ukazuje na naročiti uticaj engleskog na srpski jezik, te na nekompetentno prevođenje i nedovoljno poznavanje srpskog jezika i pravopisa.

Ključne reči. Srpski jezik, engleski jezik, jezička politika, kontakt, prevođenje, Kfor, Unmik, javna glasila, Kosovo i Metohija.

Uvodne napomene

Službenu i javnu komunikaciju na Kosovu i Metohiji danas karakteriše široka upotreba albanskog i engleskog jezika i redukovana upotreba srpskog jezika.² A u tekstovima informativnih i inih glasila i spisa međunarodnih i privremenih pokrajinskih institucija na srpskom jeziku redovno se javlja beskrupulozno zamaglivanje kosmetske društvene i političke realnosti: u velikoj meri je prisutna osebujna manipulacija jezikom,³ kao i nepoštovanje gramatičke i ortografske norme srpskog standardnog jezika. Dobrani deo nestandardnih pojava u jeziku rečenih glasila i spisa produkt je naročitog i nekontrolisanog uticaja engleskog na srpski jezički standard – posebno u prevodilaštvu (isp. Милорадовић 2002: 277-279).

Dugogodišnje slabljenje statusa srpskog standardnog jezika na Kosovu i Metohiji rezultira iz širenja aktuelnih političkih paradigmi superiornijeg dela međunarodne društvenopolitičke zajednice čija je pažnja dugo bila usmerena prema osnaživanju albanskog separatističkog bloka, koji pak nastoji da s kosmetskog prostorja Republike Srbije protera značajniju većinu pripadnika srpskog narodnosnog i jezičkog korpusa. A današnji neveliki broj kosovskometohijskih govornika srpskog jezika i njihova veoma nepovoljna lingvogeografska slika, starosna, obrazovna i profesionalna struktura znatno doprinosi ionako neprimerenom položaju srpskog standardnog jezika na Kosovu i Metohiji (isp. Станковић 2002: 251-253).

Uopšte uzev, srpski jezički izraz u javnim i službenim glasilima Kfora i Unmika i privremenih kosmetskih ustanova u velikoj meri odstupa od srpskog standardnojezičkog sistema i ne zavređuje determinaciju – srpski. Mogao bi se imenovati jedino odredbenicom – anglosrpski (Дилпарић 2002). Znači,

¹ Ovo je skraćena i donekle izmenjena verzija saopštenja *Srpski i engleski jezik u kontekstu aktuelne jezičke politike na Kosovu i Metohiji* (International Conference *Languages and Cultures in Contact*, Herceg Novi, 16. septembar 2007). Tako je ponajpre obim teksta usaglašen sa uputstvima za tehničku obradu i pripremu rukopisa za štampanje.

² Od početka misije Kfora i Unmika (1999) upotreba srpskog standardnog jezika na Kosmetu –kako su i u jesen 2002. godine našli dvadeset i sedmoro lingvista na sastanku u Kosovskoj Mitrovici – „ni u jednom segmentu službene i javne komunikacije ne može se oceniti kao zadovoljavajuća“. Više o ovome vidi u: „Закључци с научног скупа *Srpski jezik u kontekstu aktuelne jezičke politike na Kosovu i Metohiju*“ (Милорадовић 2002: 276-280).

³ Na primer: imenovanje ove srbijske pokrajine samo jednočlanim imenom *Kosovo* [i Metohija], imenovanje podeljenoga grada na njenom severu bez geografske i dinstinktivne odredbenice [Kosovska] *Mitrovica*, imenovanje stanovnika Kosova i Metohije albanizmom *Kosovar / Kosovari*, imenovanje oblasti u kojima žive Srbi neadekvatnom opštom odrednicom *enklava / enklave* i dr.

determinativom kojim se u savremenoj srbistici obuhvataju neopravdane inovacije koje u srpskom jeziku nastaju pod uticajem engleskog jezika. Međutim, istraživani korpus rečenog jezičkog izraza predstavlja pak ekstremniji vid takvog idioma i može se determinisati jedino kao tzv. anglosrpski jezički izraz. To je izuzetno nakaradna mešavina srpskog i engleskog jezika koja je katkad još i prožeta leksičkim ili nekim drugim elementima albanskog jezika (Дилпарић 2002). Kako je zvanični srpski jezički izraz na Kosovu i Metohiji danas oskrnavljen i na leksičkom i na gramatičkom planu a njegova ortografska norma svedena (da tako kažemo u nedostatku klasifikacije odstupanja od propisane ortografske norme) na pravopisnu kašu, u istraživanju smo identifikovali veličajan broj anglosrpskih jezičkih i ortografskih pojava. Počev od pravopisnih, pa preko gramatičkih i leksičkih tzv. inovacija, u radu ćemo prikazati samo „najilustrativnije anglosrpske kreacije“ prenoseći pritom sve slovne pogreške i izvornu upotrebu interpunkcijskih znakova.⁴

Upotreba pisama. Danas je srpsko ćirilično pismo poprilično potisnuto iz zvanične upotrebe na Kosovu i Metohiji. Svi tekstovi istraživanog korpusa sa izuzetkom tekstova u novinama *Данас* и *Супра* ispisani su latiničnim slovima – i to veoma često nestandardnim ili pogrešnim znakovima. Srpske latinične grafeme s dijakriticima javljaju se s neodgovarajućom ili pak bez svoje razlikovne nadredne oznake: ... *za godišnju spoljašnju reviziju (...)* i *izvestavanje kvaliteta finansijskog menadžmenta ...* (I15). Gotovo redovno mešaju se slova č i ć: ... *da se mora vratiti kući u devet sati uveče ...* (I14: 24), kao i grafeme đ i dž: ... *ka dubokom deficitu kosovskog budžeta ...* (I12: 7). Umesto latiničnog š sreće se i digraf sh: *Shekspira – On citira Shekspira u izobilju* (I1: 23); tako se izrodila i niska različitih latiničnih ispisa imena najvećeg kosmetskog grada: *Priština, Pristina, Prishtina* i albansko *Prishtinë*.

Pisanje velikog slova. Osim velikog broja svakojakih akronima koji se počesto pojavljuju u neadekvatnim likovima, te otežavaju čitanje i razumevanje teksta, učestalo se sreće i nekonvencionalna upotreba velikog početnog slova. Pored imena meseca (v. u ovom tekstu kod ispisivanja datuma), velikim početnim slovom nepravilno se pišu i:

1) sve reči u višechlanim nazivima ustanova, javnih službi, organizacija, udruženja, partija, vojnih jedinica, programa, akcija, projekata, fondova i sl.: ... *na Prištinskom Univerzitetu ...* (I9: 3); ... *sa Institutom za Javno zdravlje ...* (I5); ... *diplomu Granične Policijske Akademije ...* (I2: 2); *Svetska Banka je jedan od donatora koji će podržati Centre Mladih (...)* preko *Departmana za Omladinu ...* (I14: 79); *Sef Centralne Jedinice za Osmatranje Zdravlja Zivotinja, Veterinarska Sluzba Kosova ...* (I5); ... *da kontaktirate vasu Civilnu Kancelariju za Registraciju Manjina ...* (I5); *HBO* [nevladina organizacija] *Дечја Радост...* (I3: 10); ... *sekretara Kosovske Biciklističke Federacije ...* (I9: 20); ... *у програм под називом Барка Мупа ...* (I4: 10); ... *у акцију "Дар од Срца" ...* (I4: 7); *У оквиру Иду и Вуду посете ...* (I3: 12); ... *reviziju Kosovskog Konsolidovanog Budžeta ...* (I15);

2) sve reči u višechlanim nazivima časopisa, novina, zakona, dokumenata i sl.: *Нову број Данас и Супра ...* (I4: 2); *Kosovska Policijska Sluzba, Novine Kosovske Policijske Sluzbe* (I11: 2); *Član 9 Univerzalnog Sporazuma o Ljudskim Pravima*

⁴ U radu su zbog prilagođavanja rukopisa zadatim tehničkim smernicama izostavljeni paralelni engleski kodovi.

naglašava ovo, kao i stav 5(2) *Evropskog Sporazuma o Ljudskim Pravima* ... (I2: 3); *Kosovski Mozaik 2006* (I10: 1); U izveštaju (...) pod nazivom "Strateški Nivo Plana Tranzicije u Kosovskoj Policijskoj Službi" ... (I2: 14); Videti (...) u *Službenom Listu, Beograd, 1974.* ... (I10: 11);

3) titule, zvanja, njihove skraćene i zanimanja: ... kaže *Gospodin Bechmann* (I11: 15); *Branitelj ispitaio Puk Reshat Maliqi* ... (I2: 2); ... za imenovanje *Zamenika Komesara Policije i Asistenta Zamenika Komesara Policije* ... (I2: 14); ... g. *Ekrem Gashi, Visi Sluzbenik Ljudskih Izvora, Kancelarije Generalnog Revizora* ... (I15); *Регионални Командир УНМИК Полиције* ... (I4: 9); *Izveštavajući Višem Prevodiocu, Prevodioc je odgovoran za* ... (I15); *Djeca u Pristini vjeruju Policajcima* ... (I11: 17);

4) prisvojni pridevi na -ski/-čki izvedeni od etnika ili drugih vlastitih imena: ... *Srpsle, Romske, Ashkali, I Albanske nacionalnosti* (I1: 25); ... od 18 *Goranskih sela* ... (I7: 6); ... *ne-Srpske manjine* ... (I10: 8); ... izuzev *Skandinavskih zemalja* (I14: 82); ... *prezentacija Austrijskih gradova, zvukova Austrijske kulture* ... (I1: 13); ... *обезбеђују их Словачки војници* ... (I3: 6); ... *расељених Срба из Ораховачке општине* ... (I4: 12); *Poznavanje Albanskog Jezika* ... (I15); ... *Albanski ili Srpsko-hrvatski jezik* ... (I5).

O interpunkciji. Neadekvatna je upotreba osnovnih interpunkcijskih znakova: tačke i zapete. Tačka izostaje i na kraju rečenice, a osobito posle rednog broja, što je u saglasju sa engleskom ortografskom normom: ... *sa kurikulima za 1, 6 i 10 razreda, dok je školske 2005/2006 godine izradio kurikule za 4, 5 i 13 razred* (I14: 42); ... *na 4-to mesto* ... (I7: 12); ... *na 4011tom sastanku Saveta Bezbednosti* ... (I2: 5). Izostavljanje tačke se redovno sreće u pisanju datuma koje je pak prožeto raznovolikim kombinovanjem engleskih i srpskih pravopisnih pravila: ... *od 21-22 februara 2006 godine* ... (I14: 27); ... *od 23 marta 2005. do 01 jula 2005.* ... (I1: 13) ... *2-og marta 2003. godine* ... (I11: 14); ... *izmedju 10-tog i 20-tog juna 2006* ... (I10: 67); ... *od februara 2000-e godine* (I11: 12); ... *02 Maj 2003* (I5). Krucijalni primer direktne upotrebe engleske norme predstavlja sledeći ispis datuma: *21^{vi} Maj 2007* (I15). Pod uticajem engleske prakse u pisanju decimalnih brojeva koristi se tačka: ... *prosečan očekivani životni vek na Kosovu je 68.8 godina (67.8 za muškarce i 69.9 za žene)* (I13: 15); a u dužem nizu arapskih brojki stavlja se zapeta: *Nekih 21,000 lica* ... (I6: 11). Zapeta se prekomerno upotrebljava, bez ikakvog poštovanja srpske pravopisne norme. U rečenici se zapetom odvajaju subjekat od predikata: *Од када је отворена, Канцеларија за везе са судовима у Осојану, није уживала посебно поверење мештана* ... (I4: 2).

Neppravilna upotreba crtice i apostrofa zabeležena je, među ostalima, i u narednim slučajevima: *Nje-n/gov maternji jezik* ... (I5); ... *pročitam prvo izdanje Branitelj-a* ... (I1: 1); ... *svoje dvo-dnevne misije* ... (I7: ii); ... *tri pod-stanice dodate su* ... (I2: 7); ... *mi selektujemo dobro-obučene policajce* ... (I2: 23); ... *za primo-predaju* (I1: 16); ... *na (...) međunarodnom polu-maratonu* (I7: 12); ... *4-godina star Granit Sijarina* ... (I2: 25); *Na opšte-kosovskom nivou* ... (I10: 7); ... *za kontrolu-mase* (I2: 6); ... *spajanje ovih šumskih-rendžera* ... (I2: 6); ... *Rdana Grupa Krađa-Auta* ... (I2: 24); ... *'90-tih godina* ... (I14: 39); *S'moje tačke gledišta* ... (I1: 23); *S'obzirom da* ... (I1: 23); ... *za odnose s'javnošću* ... (I2: 1); *Pamtite svoju službu s'ponosom* ... (I2: 23); ... *s ` tim da 2006 godine* ... (I11: 20).

Iz gramatike. Na ovom jezičkom planu kao naročiti ilustrativni primeri izdvajaju se sledeće pojave koje nisu svojstvene srpskom standardnojezičkom sistemu:

1) nepravilna kongruencija u rodu i/ili broju: *Oni su imale važnu ulogu ... (I14: 77); Nizak stepen učešća mladih (...) praćena je krizom ... (I14: 76); ... govori da novi porast broja nezaposlenih su sistematski veći od ... (I14: 63); ... da su ove dve opštine najviše pogodjena ... (I10: 35); ... u trinaest opština su osnovani Omladinske skupštine mladih ... (I14: 76); Stručno obrazovanje i osposobljavanje odraslih je veoma ograničen (I14: 46); Ukupni troškovi za obrazovanje (...) nisu znatno porasla (I14: 49).*

2) pogrešna upotreba posesivnih zamenica: *... kada čovek počinje da izražava svoja mišljenja van njegove porodice i društvu (I14: 73); Mladi Kosova su tradicionalno vezani njihovim porodicama ... (I14: 13);*

3) nestandardni oblici komparativa: *... bez kojeg će tranzicija biti mnogo težija (I14: 31); ... rast uslužnog mnogo bržiji od proizvodnog sektora ... (I14: 28); ... modernizacija kurikula napredovala bržije od reformi predavanja (I14: 44); ... ljudi su postali više pesimističniji o sveukupnom pravcu ... (I10: 8);*

4) nepravilna upotreba padeža: *... direktor (...) pri američkom Instituta za mir ... (I12: 4); ... da (...) udje u Vladi ... (I12: 11); ... bojkotovali učešće na oktobarske izbore ... (I12: 5); ... nakon nekoliko nedelja ispijanja kafi (...) do dna ... (I7: ii); ... Zavod se i dalje pridržava staroj tradiciji rada ... (I14: 68); Ova transformacija je stavila Kosovo pred velikim iskušenjima i izazovima ... (I14: 43);*

5) nepravilna upotreba predloga: *... u nasem web sajtu ... (I15); Na paralelnom sistemu nastava se odvijala ... (I14: 39); ... Direktor (...) u Prištinskom Univerzitetu ... (I10: 4); Evropska politka o kvalifikacijama je neutralna nad Nacionalnom politikom ... (I14: 46); ... da je poverenje u medije opalo ili je nepromenjeno u odnosu sa razvijenim zemljama ... (I14: 82); Mladi imaju razna mišljenja oko njihovog učešća ... (I14: 81); ... raseljeno lice u srpskoj teritoriji ... (I15);*

6) neadekvatna determinativna upotreba imenica, akronima, fraza i rečenica: *Bolonjski i Kopenhagen proces ... (I14: 46) [Kopenhagen proces se kasnije naziva i proces Kopenhagena: ... u cilju uključenja u proces Kopenhagena (I14: 52)]; ... Program Analitičar ... (I10: 4); ... u Roma Mahalu ... (I7: 14); „Belouška“ bicikl ... (I8: 22); ... biznis zajednica ... (I14: 88); ... priprema opomen sistem za bolesti ... (I5); ... u fokus grupama (I14: 88); ... u Policijskom Trening Centru ... (I2: 25); Iz NORBAT kancelarije za štampu i informisanje (I11: 15); ... prevoz koji se vrši UN vozilom ... (I8: 20); ... LMT timovi ... (I9: 3); Mesečni KFOR magazin ... (I8: 1); ... prethodni korak-po-korak Tranzicioni proces ... (I2: 14); On je imao dobar razlog za njegovu “protegnuti noge” rutinu (I1: 2); У оквупу “уџу u виџу” носете ... (I3: 8); ... да се организује “уџу u обавесту” носета ... (I3: 8);*

7) učestala i neadekvatna upotreba glagolskog priloga sadašnjeg u pridevskoj službi: *... sa padajućim trendom u opadanju kriminala ... (I1: 7); ... похвалио (...) одлазећег директора ... (I4: 3); Udeo samoizdržavajućeg farmerstva ... (I13: ix); ... sveuključujuće rasprave ... (I10: 6); ... jedini najviše pritiskajući problem ... (I10: 8); ... drugo najviše preokupirajuće pitanje ... (I10: 32); O uslovljavućem karakteru standarda ... (I12: 3); ... naspram rastućih zahteva ... (I14: 28); ... bio je opravdavajući refren za ovo neadresiranje (I12: 4); ... ne*

mogu da verujem "guglujućim" doktorima ... [osim toga i: ... video sam da "gugluje"!; ... koje je on lako mogao da "izgugluje" ...] (I6: 15);

8) učestala i neadekvatna upotreba pasivnih konstrukcija: *Podsticaji za manjine mogu biti obezbedeni* (I5); *Kandidati manjina i zenskoga roda su posebno ohrabljani da apliciraju* (I5); *To je u vezi istorijskih događaja ili velikog značaja političkih događaja, koji su donešeni u toku ovog perioda ...* (I14: 81); *Oni čija je dužnost da osiguraju da svi rade pravu stvar moraju biti viđeni da se pridržavaju zakona ...* (I2: ii); *Zvanične Aplikacijske Forme (...) mogu da budu uzete na ulazu Kancelarije Generalnog Revizora ...* (I15).

Iz leksike. U ne malom broju u tekstovima istraživanog korpusa javljaju se engleske lekseme ili skraćenice koje su direktno, bez ikakve adaptacije, prenesene u srpski jezički izraz: *Progress u sprovođenju mera ...* (I14: 26); ... *veruju u pravni system ...* (I11: 19); ... *tri nastavnika Likovne culture ...* (I1: 25); *Zemlje koje su postale članice Evropske Unije u 2004 su: Poljska, Estonija, Madjarska, Latvija, Slovakia, Slovenia, Republika Česke ...* (I14: 92); *Dopisnici: Anonimous ...* (I6: 1); *Treba li on/ona biti subject krivične procedure ...* (I1: 3); *Design i izvedba: ...* (I13: ii); ... *oštećene infrastructure ...* (I14: 27); ... *MA.Sabri Kicmari ...* (I14: 3); ... *Capt. Gry Remme, 1.Lt. Linda Stromsod, Sgt. Jim Pettersen ...* (I11: 2); *Certifikat vs. Ugovora rada* (I14: 67).

Pored navedenih, nailazimo i na „čudesne englesko-srpske kombinacije“ tipa: ... *na četiri glavna stuba: kurrikule, školske udžbenike ...* (I14: 43); ... *angažovanja političkog lideršipa ...* (I12: 23); *I-mail addressa: ...* (I5); ... *donošenje kuote za zapošljavanje ...* (I14: 69); ... *S&M, Kosovo, Džordžia, Armenija, ...* (I14: 29); ... *konferencije u Nju Jorku ...* (I7: ii); ... *certifikat za položene kurseve ...* (I14: 67); ... *rankiran je na vrhu liste problema* (I10: 31); *Nizak nivo (...) hijerarhije na Balkanu ...* (I14: 74); ... *procedura tokom rekrutacije* (I14: 14); ... *zemlje sa razvijenom demokracijom ...* (I12: 5); ... *u inostrana finansijska tržišta ...* (I12: 18); *Univerzitet u Mitrovici ...* (I14: 49); *Konservativizam i nepoverenje ...* (I14: 60); ... *mislim da je on svoj posao počeo na veoma energičan način i konsumira se apsolutno da bi postigao progres u standardima ...* (I12: 10); *Provinsija obuhvata prostor ...* (I2: 5); *lako dialog između Prištine i Beograda ...* (I12: 7); ... *17 fakulteta na kojima se pripremaju specialisti ...* (I14: 46); ... *od volonterskog rada ...* (I14: 79); *Riformulisanje standarda ...* (I12: 3); *Kapt. Flora Hajra ...* (I1: 20); *Staf UNDP na Kosovo: ...* (I14: 3).

U slučajevima kada leksički fond srpskog jezika pak pruža mogućnost izbora između autohtone i strane reči, anglicizam (bez obzira na vremenski period usvajanja) redovno potiskuje domaću leksemu. A u pojedinim kontekstima sreće se i zanimljiv, odn. neočekivan izbor autohtone srpske ili ranije adaptirane strane leksike: ... *тренинзи о лeкoвитoм бeљy* (I4: 10); ... *mogućnost ne nastavljanja školstva devojaka nakon određenog uzrasta* (I14: 57); ... *ubrzavajući odliv pameti sa sela ...* (I13: 3); ... *g[r]upna doba od 14-24 godina* (I14: 22); ... *kada se zna da je pouzdanost mladih u medije u znatnoj meri* (I14: 83); *Mnjenje je autora ovog izveštaja da ...* (I12: 7); *Veoma nizak obuhvat u srednje visoko obrazovanje mladih iz ostalih zajednica ...* (I14: 44); *Zadovoljenost sa javnim uslugama ...* (I10: 45); *Prevodjenje razvoja na humano blagostanje* (I13: 10); ... *Izveštaja Humanog Razvoja ...* (I14: 1); ... *imajući u obzir ...* (I12: 16); *Razvoj nepoljoprivrednog sektora u ruralnim zonama zakašnjen* (I14: 66); ... *policijci su dobro podešeni da*

se povinuju ... (I2: ii); Nisam bio **upoznat** sa turskom kafom ... (I7: ii); **Aktuelno**, departman saraduje sa 40 organizacija za mlade (I14: 79); **Dodatno**, nivo domaćinstava povezanih na javni kanalizacioni/odvodni sistem je nizak ... (I10: 7); **Posledično**, Arbitražna komisija (...) došla je do zaključka ... (I10: 11); ... dokazano da političke partije imaju poteškoća da **navuku** mlade da se bave politikom (I14: 81); Премудрост (...) **поздравуо** је УНМИК Царину за њен рад ... (I4: 3); ... Kosovo se **razvrstava** na posljednjem mestu među balkanskim zemljama ... (I14: 32); ... organizacija koje su **prostrane** po celoj zemlji ... (I14: 78); **Delimo žalost** sa njegovom porodicom ... (I11: 20); Departman je struktura kojoj se **adresiraju** NVO-a za mlade ... (I14: 79); Šta opšta javnost **oseća** o svojoj lokalnoj vlasti? (I10: 6); Dok je 44 procenata ispitanika (...) **izjavilo** ove prihode ... (I10: 22); Izveštaj ne samo da se **osniva** na analize (...) podataka, **pridobijenih** od raznih izvora, nego se **osniva** i na sveobuhvatnom pristupu ... (I14: 7); U početku se **odvila** jedna anketa (...) i **odvile** su se devet javnih diskusija ... (I14: 7); Običaj je za organizatore parade da svoje goste pozovu na malo osveženja nakon ceremonije, kao Indija, koja je iskoristila svoju priliku da **napadne** svoje 'kulinarski za interesovane goste za njihovu nacionalnu kuhinju ... (I1: 13). Ovde ćemo posebno izdvojiti dva rarednija prevoda latinskoga *ibid*: prvi, ... **gornja beleška** ... (I10: 13) i drugi, **Takođe tu** ... (I14: 93).

Određeni broj domaćih leksema i adaptiranih tuđica pojavljuje se sa izmenjenim, nestandardnim likom: ... **kvalitet** u (...) **kordinaciji** poslova ... (I12: 7); **Objavljivanje** Izveštaja Humanog Razvoja je **koofinansiran** od strane ... (I14: 2); ... da povećaju šanse da **polagaju** novi uvedeni ispit ... (I14: 45); **Emigriranje** je **iskušenije** nego bezposlenost ... (I14: 68); ... kao posledica **protivrečenih** poziva ... (I12: 9); **Ocenjivanje** kvaliteta **obrazovanog** sistema ... (I14: 52); **Sveobuhvatana** reforma (I14: 52); **Monitorisanje** brojnih strategija ... (I14: 84); **Menadžiranje** ove tranzicije, iako se smatra da je to pitanje samih mladih ... (I14: 13) [od engl. *Managing this transition to adulthood is personal to each individual ...*].

Zaključni osvrt. S pragmatičke tačke gledišta, prikazana lingvistička i ortografska kaša – koju u ovom radu imenujemo odredbenicom tzv. anglosrpski jezički izraz – zasigurno stvara značajan šum u komunikacionom kanalu između pošiljaoca i eventualnog primaoca poruke, odn. srpskog čitaoca kojemu se tako oduzima mogućnost (i pravo) razumevanja sadržaja poruke. Budući da smo u istraživanim diskursima nailazili i na sasvim besmislene iskaze, slobodno možemo zaključiti da u izvesnim slučajevima čak i najkompetentniji srpski čitalac – koji zna engleski jezik i koji se u svojoj struci bavi problemom o kojemu se u određenom tekstu govori – često bezuspešno tumači ono što je makar uspeo „da pročita“.

A na kraju ovog izlaganja o jeziku nesrbijskih i nesrpskih kosmetskih glasila i spisa na srpskom jeziku više od ostalih iz grupe značajnijih sociolingvističkih pitanja nameće nam se baš sledeće: Ko su autori ovakvih tekstova i prevoda i zašto su međunarodne i privremene pokrajinske institucije na Kosovu i Metohiji baš njima poverile ulogu stvaralaca „srpske javne i informativne reči“!? – Može li se odgovor na ovo pitanje bar donekle naslutiti u sledećem segmentu iz građe kojom smo se u ovome radu koristili: **Prevod: “Sluzba za prevod i interpretaciju u konferencijama” (I14: 2)!**?

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ACADEMIC CULTURAL CONVENTIONS
FOR RA INTRODUCTIONS

Abstract: The study sets out to show how research article introductions are structured to perform different rhetorical functions. The analysis reveals academic cultural conventions for two fields of transport and traffic engineering, and confirms the hypothesis that Swales's (Create a Research Space - CARS) model is applicable to these settings. English is therefore used here as lingua franca to help scientists communicate their findings, ideas and opinions, and RA introductions are cross-cultural and multicultural.

Key words: genre analysis; RA introductions; air and telecommunications traffic fields; academic cultural conventions

Purpose

The rationale of this paper is to show how research article (RA) introductions in air and telecommunications traffic fields are structured to perform different rhetorical functions, and to confirm the hypothesis that Swales's (CARS) model can be applied to these two academic settings. This model is presented in Swales (1990/1997:141).

Method

The Swales's model is preceded by the Toulmin-Zappen model (a problem-solution model of article introductions). Zappen (1983) examines introduction structures in the field of engineering, and his analysis follows this series of subcontexts: *goal* in the first paragraph, *current capacity* (the best we can do at the moment), *problem* (However, ..), *solution* (In the present work, ...) and *criteria of evaluation* (see Swales, 1997:138). Many other researchers have tried to account for the rhetorical movement in article introductions. Some of them are Cooper (1985) and Hopkins (1985), Crookes (1986) and Adams Smith (1987). The Swales's approach offers three Moves and a number of possible Steps within each Move. Genre analysis is also employed here in this paper to reveal academic cultural conventions for the two RA introductions (*Diagram 1* and *Diagram 2*).

Diagram 1

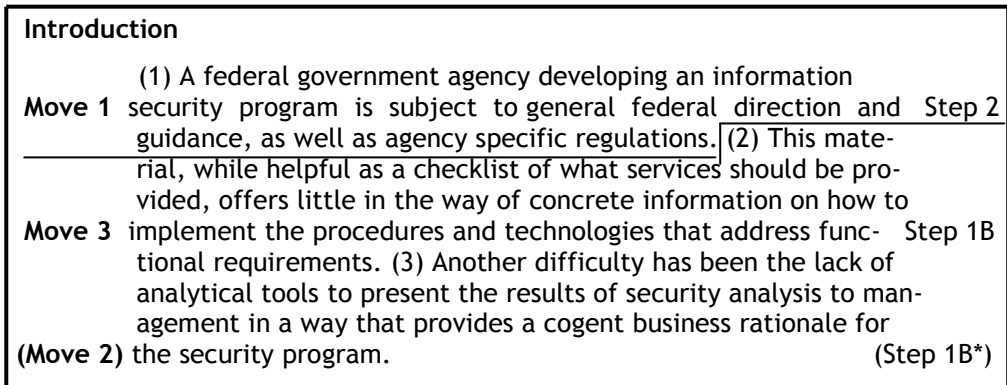


Diagram 1 (continued)

<p>(4) Two things are needed:</p> <p>(5) - The first is a set of generic procedures that security professionals can follow to identify threats, perform assessments,</p> <p>Move 1 evaluate risk mitigation techniques, and ensure that all relevant requirements are included in the Protection Profile.</p> <p>(6) - The second is a management tool to quantify the potential costs of residual risk and to help analyze alternative mitigation techniques.</p>	<p>Step 1 Step 1*</p>
<p>(7) This paper proposes two models to address these needs. The techniques have been developed in support of a Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) program and will be validated in practice during calendar year 1999.</p> <p>Move 3</p> <p>¹ These include the Computer Security Act of 1987, which provides a general mandate for security; Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Circular A-130, Appendix III, 'Security of Federal Information', which requires federal agencies to prepare security programs; and the Federal Information Resources Management Regulation (FIRMR), which regulates the use of computer resources in federal agencies.</p> <p>² A protection profile is a program document that spells out security requirements.</p>	<p>Step 2</p>
<p>Ramsey, B., "Cost-Effective Information Security Architecture Based on the Common Criteria", <i>Journal of Air Traffic Control</i>, October-December 1998: 50-4.</p>	

Diagram 2

<p>Introduction</p>	
<p>(1) Further communication satellites are expected to support a wide variety of services, including text, data, voice, image and video, as well as ISDN (Integrated Services Network) Digital / B-ISDN (Broadband ISDN) compatible traffic [4-7].</p> <p>Move 1</p>	<p>Step 3</p>
<p>(2) To accommodate these diversified services and the inherent traffic fluctuation, a network with packet switching capability is desired since it statistically multiplexes packets and can better utilize the resource.</p> <p>Move 2</p>	<p>Step 1D</p>
<p>(3) As technology advances, it is possible to incorporate more on-board processing capability on satellites [1,8, 14]. (4) NASA Lewis Research Center is currently investigating a geostationary communication satellite MCSPS (Multi-channel Communication Signal Processing Satellite), which can support the required packet switching capability and</p>	<p>Step 3</p>

provide direct-to-the-user services [11,16]. (5) The satellites

Diagram 2 (continued)

can demodulate the aggregated input signals, convert the broadband signal to baseband, extract packet header information, automatically route the packet to its destination beam, and then

Move 1 modulate and distribute the signal to downlink beams. (6) The system employs Multiple Frequency Time Division Multiple Access (MF-TDMA) for up-link transmission and burst TDM for downlink transmission. (7) There are eight 160 Mbps down-link beams each covering eight spot areas known as *dwells*. (8) Figure 1 shows the abstract block diagram of the satellite. (9) The switch is similar to the packet switch used in ATM (Asynchronous Transmission Model) networks.

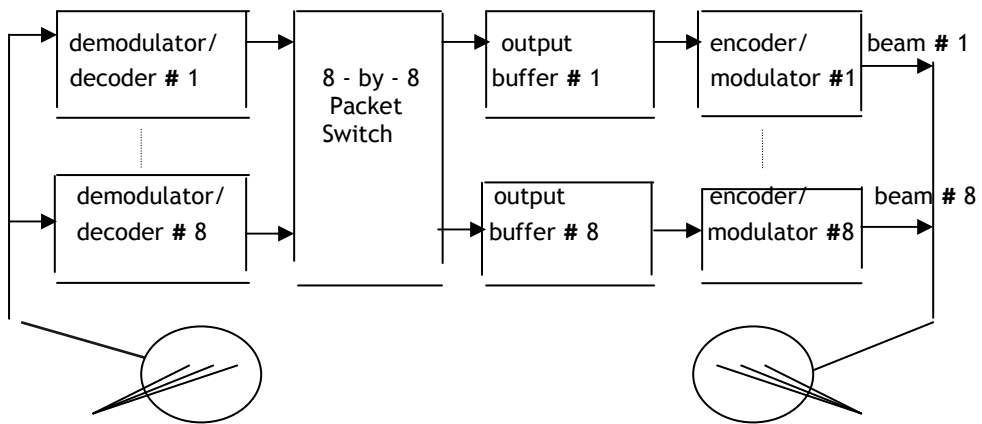


Figure 1. Block diagram of the on-board switch

Move 2 (10) Because the bandwidth for the packet switching network is allocated on demand, statistical fluctuation may occur and thus buffering capability is required. (11) The buffer configuration has a significant impact on the performance and is

Move 1 an active research topic for the ATM switch [3,9,12].

Move 2 (12) Although the satellite based packet switch is similar to that of a terrestrial network, their outgoing link characteristics are different. (13) In an outgoing satellite link (i.e., a beam),

Move 1 there is an extra overhead when the transmission changes from one dwell to another. (14) The overhead is primarily due to the beam forming process and may also include 'certain housekeeping' chores [11], such as the transmission of synchronization information to the ground stations. (15) We define this over-

Move 3 head as *dwell setup time*. (16) Because of the small packet transmission time (it takes only 6.25 μ sec to transmit a 1kbit packet by the 160 Mbps beam), the influence of the dwell setup time cannot be ignored. (17) This study investigates the impact of dwell setup time on the output buffer design. (18) A theoret-

ical M/G/1 model and multiple-queue, single-service (polling)

Diagram 2 (continued)

model are used to analyze various configurations and service disciplines. (19) Two major performance criteria are the mean queue length and mean waiting time. (20) The former gives an indication of the required buffer capacity, and the latter shows the delay due to the buffering and dwell setup process. (21)The

Step 1B

Move 3

(22) The analysis shows how the output buffer configuration effects the design of beam forming electronics and vice versa.

(23) The remaining article is organized as follows: section 2

describes the general system model and overviews polling system; section 3 analyzes the single buffer system; section 4 and 6 analyze multiple buffer system with fixed and adaptive beam forming patterns, respectively; section 5 analyzes multiple buffer system with fixed service time allocation; section 7 gives some numerical results for the MCSPS architecture; and the last section concludes the study.

Step 3

Chu, P.P., "The impact of beam forming on the performance of an on-board output buffer", *Telecommunication Systems*, 8, 1997:229-256.

Results

After the analysis has been carried out, the following introduction structures are obtained. *Diagram 1* comprises Move 1 (Step 2) - Move 3 [Step 1B (Move 2, Step 1B*)] - Move 1 (Step 1, Step 1*) - Move 3 (Step 2), and *Diagram 2* consists of Move 1 (Step 3) - Move 2 (Step 1D) - Move 1 (Step 3, Step 2) - Move 2 (Step 1D) - Move 1 (Step 3), Move 2 (Step 1D) - Move 1 (Step 3) - Move 3 (Step 1*) - Move 2 (Step 1D) - Move 3 (Step 1B, Step 3).

Discussion

Apart from Move 1, Move 2 and Move 3 and their appropriate steps within each Move in the discussed introductions that conform with the Swales's model, there are also two new parts - Move 2 (Step 1B*) which is inserted into Move 3 (Step 1B) and signals shortcomings of the paper, and Move 1 or Move 3 (Step 1*) introduced to define concepts. Some other investigations into RA introductions in transport and traffic engineering fields reveal that Step 1* is inserted into Move 3, and that Move 2 (Step 1B*) is incorporated into Move 3 (Step 1B) - Dimković-Telebaković (2003:313). This quality of RAs, *self-evaluating*, which refers to weaknesses of the method employed in the investigation, has a great value for science. The researcher critically considers results of his work, and opens new possibilities for finding solutions to burning problems.

Further RA introduction analysis (Dimković-Telebaković:324-5) shows that Step 1* can appear in Move 1 even nine times. This kind of cycling configuration in RAs is of

entirely different nature of cycling / recycling elaborated in Crookes (1986). The Step 1* can contribute to the establishment of theories in academic fields. Linguistic signals, which characterize this Step, are as follows: '... is understood to be ...', '... is defined as ...', 'has been defined as ...', '... will be regarded as ...', etc.

Concluding remarks

This paper is an attempt to demonstrate the structure of RA introductions in the fields of air and telecommunications traffic, and to show that there are academic cultural conventions which should be adhered to when writing and teaching RA introductions. Since academics and researchers from a professional environment often come from different cultural backgrounds, English is used in their communication as an international language. RAs are, therefore, cross-cultural and multicultural.

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THE TRANSPARENCE OF RELEVANCE IN ENGLISH,
FRENCH AND ITALIAN DISCOURSE ON THE OCCASION
OF THE DEATH OF LADY DIANA, PRINCESS OF WALES

Abstract. Generally speaking, some transparent features of relevance in a certain discourse may be diagnosed with the help of the contrastive analysis. Broadly speaking, in this paper I examine the British, American, French and Italian discourse and linguistic items used in the coverage of the death of Lady Diana, Princess of Wales by means of discourse analysis. I analysed some newspapers/newsmagazines which are said to be impartial and unbiased. This paper is primarily descriptive in orientation. However, it seems to me that some aspects of my corpus analysis may delineate some plausible directions for further study.

Key Words: Lady Diana, Princess of Wales, Discourse Analysis, English, French, Italian, Contrastive Analysis, Semantics.

1. Introduction

Generally speaking, it may be asserted that with the advent of discourse analysis broadly conceived as a study of language in use the language of newspaper reporting has witnessed a revived interest. Newspaper style seems to have a clear-cut sense until we begin to look closely at the way it tends to be used. Then we see that it is never given any kind of precise linguistic definition, but this seems to be the case because this style is rarely more than a vague and often falsely directed way of describing events and people. This may be particularly noticed since reporting of many media very often tends to be biased (Lakić 2004: 85).

We can obtain a clearer picture only if we delimit our field first. Obviously, everything that happens to be printed in a newspaper is not going to be linguistically homogeneous - nor is there any reason for expecting it to be so. Suffice it to say that a newspaper is always eclectic from the stylistic point of view.

Nevertheless, I have restricted my attention to what I consider to be the central event of the analysed electronic corpus - to inform about the tragic death of Lady Diana, Princess of Wales, and consequently this linguistic attention is restricted to her tragic and untimely death⁵.

2. Theoretical Framework - Approaches and Models

I have taken discourse analysis as a starting point, but I have also combined other existing models and accounts of critical discourse analysis in an eclectic way (cf. Brown and Yule 1984; Fairclough 1989, 1995a, 1995b, 1996; Lakić 2004, 2005; Polovina 1987, 1999; Van Dijk 1988, 2001).

⁵ On August, 31st 1997 Lady Diana, Princess of Wales, died in a car crash beneath the *Pont de l'Alma* in Paris. According to some media reports, the car she was travelling in went out of control and smashed into the central reservation of a tunnel alongside the Seine.

It is possible to distinguish the following parts of a news text: headline, lead, main event, background of the event, verbal comment, evaluation and results of the event. Of course, not all the analysed texts contain all these categories due to spatial limitations. Based on these models I have tried to show which linguistic elements were used within this reporting. According to these models, discourse is viewed as *text* (i.e. product), as *interaction*, and as *context* (Fairclough 2001:21-26). Relevant contexts have been taken into consideration mainly because they are a resource for explicating *what* the texts mean, rather than explaining *why* they were written (cf. MacMillan and Edwards 1999: 154).

In this small-scale research I examined some printed media in English, French and Italian, published in 1997, focusing on headlines of articles, rather than performing an extensive analysis of a few complete texts. In addition to this, I have tried to identify, classify and interpret some lexical items and grammatical features which seem dominant to me in order to portray the image invoked by the tragic death of Lady Diana, Princess of Wales.

3. Corpus

The corpus selected for this analysis comprises the articles which have been excerpted from the following printed media: *TIME* and *Newsweek* (for English discourse), *Libération* (for French discourse), *La Repubblica* and *Il Giornale* (for Italian discourse), respectively. The articles within the corpus were all published on September 1st and September 2nd 1997 immediately after the tragic death of the Princess. I have deliberately selected these newsmagazines and newspapers because they are extremely influential and have achieved a reputation for honest, impartial and unbiased reporting⁶.

I must add that the reporting on the occasion of this sad event was both challenging and highly controversial, bearing in mind that from the time of her engagement to the Prince of Wales in 1981 until her death after a car accident in 1997, Diana was one of the most famous women in the world, a pre-eminent celebrity of her generation. Suffice it to say that during her lifetime, she was often described as *the world's most photographed woman*. Princess of Wales was a role model and after her death, there were even calls for her to be nominated for sainthood.

According to Helmers (2001: 437) the public life of Lady Diana was bound at two ends by spectacle: her marriage and her funeral. This author claims that her marriage into the Royal Family of England made her into a celebrity (a princess who would be queen), and in the intervening seventeen years until her death, Lady

⁶ *Time* (whose trademark is capitalized *TIME*) is a weekly American newsmagazine. *Newsweek* is an American weekly newsmagazine published in New York City and distributed throughout the United States. *Newsweek* tends to approach issues from a liberal and progressive standpoint. *Libération* (affectionately known as *Libé*) is a French daily newspaper founded in Paris in 1973 by Jean-Paul Sartre, Pierre Victor alias Benny Lévy and Serge July in the wake of the protest movements of May 1968. Broadly speaking, *Libération's* editorial point of view is currently center-left. *Il Giornale* is a daily newspaper published in Milan, Italy. Characterized from its birth by strong opposition to the left-wing parties of its time, *il Giornale* was founded in 1974 by Indro Montanelli, who did not support the new progressive line adopted by *Corriere della Sera*, where he was one of the historic names. *La Repubblica* is the main Italian daily general-interest newspaper. It was founded in 1976 in Rome. It has since kept a left-wing political stance. All these newsmagazines and newspapers which constitute my corpus may be said to be fairly, if not completely, unbiased, and their reporting has been assessed as professional.

Diana lived a life of print and visual media as a humanitarian and fabulously coifed jet-setter⁷.

4. Linguistic Description - Microstructure

The linguistic description of the text included the areas of vocabulary and grammar, i.e. identifying and interpreting relevant grammatical and semantic features of the texts in question.

4.1 Vocabulary - Analysis of Lexical Items

First of all, let's try to answer the following question: What kind of vocabulary is brought into play to create the media portrait referring to the tragic death of Lady Diana, Princess of Wales? Generally speaking, these are mostly the lexical items belonging to both neutral and formal styles. My analysis of the vocabulary (lexical items within the corpus) focused primarily on nouns, and to a lesser extent on adjectives, since it seems to me that nominal words may be particularly significant for revealing prevalent notions and issues.

4.1.1 Nouns

Semantically speaking, the nouns found in this analysis could be grouped into two categories, which may be considered as semantic fields. This classification is by no means a definitive one and may merit further elaboration in some future papers.

The first group of nouns consists of nouns which seem to denote universal and general human values emphasising the greatness of the newspaper heroine. Examples from this group would be the following nouns *love, romance, magic, invulnerability, immortality* (in English), *mythe, amour, magique* (in French), *favola, fiaba, maternità* (in Italian).

The second group comprises the nouns denoting human and social features of the late Lady Di. Examples are: *diva, woman, princess, beauty* (in English), *princesse, icône, femme* (in French) *maestra, diva, principessa* (in Italian)

As can be seen from these two sets nouns, which are of relatively high proportion, all of them imply feelings about the late Princess on the part of the author. However, the tendency to abstraction is balanced by the concrete nouns (*woman, maestra, femme*).

4.1.2 Adjectives

The following adjectives are found in phrases: *nice, the saddest, Royal, fabled, She was beautiful, young, and royal, une parfaite héroïne des mythologies, l'effet magique et ravissant de son apparence, jeune femme moderne et touchant, principessa triste, povera Diana, tragica, triste, una morte universale, modernissima, la diva malinconica*. Broadly speaking, these adjectives illustrate the

⁷ In Helmer's (2001) study we also may find some interesting facts in relation to the late Princess. Namely, the aristocrat Diana Frances Spencer (1961-1997) was literally unknown to Americans before she married the Prince of Wales in 1982. The highly publicised wedding was called a *fairy tale*. Lady Diana arrived at St. Paul's Cathedral in London in a golden coach. Her dress was a Victorian fantasy, yards of ivory silk billowing over crinolines. Later on, the wedding seem to have catapulted her into international stardom.

semantic contribution to the texts (youth, beauty, sorrow, melancholy) with the specific meaning in this context of reporting in connection with this tragic death. The adjectives within the corpus are very often in the superlative form (*the most photographed woman*, *Princess Diana*, *the most flamboyant representative*, *femme la plus photographiée de la planète*).

There is a relatively high number of adjectives denoting good personal qualities, while there are absolutely no adjectives with negative connotation which would refer to the late Princess. Several negative adjectives refer exclusively to the *establishment* or *paparazzi* (*un vecchio e odioso establishment*).

4.2 Grammar Devices

Some of the most prominent grammatical features for critical discourse analysis also include syntactic structure, mood and modality, and, especially, the way grammatical processes are realized. One of the noticeable features in newspaper reporting is *agency*, that is, whether the *doer of the action* is stated directly or is 'blurred' or 'made fuzzy' through the use of agentless passives, impersonal statements, nominalizations, and similar syntactic devices.

I have noticed that one of the most obvious grammatical features of the analysed corpus is that the sentences occur with subject slot filled with human agent. Generally speaking, this Human Agent is usually a prominent person (Lady Diana, President Clinton, Hilary Clinton, Jacques Chirac, Catherine Deneuve, Madre Teresa, Lamberto Dini, Versace), but may also be a group of people (*paparazzi*, *Galles*, *potenti*, *eroi*), this group having rather negative connotation.

4.3 Deictics

This part of the linguistic analysis deals with the use of certain personal deictics, the most significant being the use of the third person singular English, French and Italian pronouns *she*, *elle*, *lei*. English, French and Italian pronouns *she*, *elle*, *lei* and their corresponding forms always refer to Lady Diana, Princess of Wales, and less often, to some other persons. Naturally, this implies that an article is telling the story about the tragically killed Princess solely, not the others. The pronouns *they* and *ils* refer to *paparazzi* who chased the Princess and who eventually caused her death.

5. Macrostructure

5.1. Headlines

In this part I analyse *headlines* and *leads*, both containing the summary of the main event. I shall start with the headlines in my corpus. For example, in *TIME* I found the headlines *Death of a Princess*, *An Evening Out with Diana*, *The Princess of Hearts*, *The Saddest Fairy Tale*, *Blood on their Hands*, *Beauty Dies*. Whereas. In *Newsweek* I found these headlines: *Death of a Princess*, *Horror in the Night*, *Was Press to Blame?*, *Dying for the Age of Diana*, *The Woman We Loved*, *A Mother Before All Else*, *Exposing the Magic*, *The world has lost a princess who is simply irreplaceable*.

In *Liberation* headlines are: *Une photo de trop*, *La princesse de Galles est morte à 36 ans - Lady dies*, *La mobilisation générale de l'Etat français*, *Les paparazzi dans*

un engrènement, Lady Diana Frances Spencer - une histoire anglaise, Taisez-vous, Diana est morte!, Tristesse unanime à travers le monde, Le mythe parfait, Une relation d'intimité entre nous et l'Olympe, La révolte de Deneuve.

In *Il Giornale* headlines are: *Così Diana è tornata a Londra da regina, 'Diana, la morte arriva in un lampo', Lady Di torna a casa da regina, E ora si riaprono i giochi di Palazzo, Principessa triste, In Italia ha vissuto la sua ultima estate di felicità,* while in *La Repubblica* these headlines are prominent: *Diana, l'ultima fuga, La Diva malinconica, Rose e dolore così Parigi dà l'ultimo saluto, Londra in lacrime la favola è finita, Stampa sotto accusa 'Così l'avete uccisa', Una vita in prima pagina, Clinton: La ammiravo, Madre Teresa: Era buona, La Chiesa: Era una preda, Ambasciatrice di nobili cause, La fine di Lady D, Il fratello: Ora nessuno la disturberà.* These headlines precede the text itself and express the main topic (Lady Diana's tragic death), thus serving as one sort of introduction. They both actually summarise the text in question.

Based on these headlines and backed by my corpus analysis we can see that the main protagonist of all these headlines is the late Princess. One great majority of them depicts Lady Di's character and human values, while some others try to shed the light on her tragic death. It seems to me that in all these headlines she has been represented as a person with good personal qualities, who really did her best to help people and to establish some ties across the world.

5.2. Paragraphing

One noticeable feature of the extracted articles within my corpus is paragraphing, i.e. the way in which the narrative of the event as a whole is split into smaller units. Topic-shifts in this written discourse are considered to correlate with the beginning of each new paragraph. Unfortunately, it doesn't seem to be as simple as that, at least within the articles included in my corpus.

I shall begin with the formal linguistic markers of the beginning and end of paragraphs. In *TIME* we find the following introductory sentences: *She would never be Queen, but she became ruler of her own heart - and, even in her tragic end, the world's true princess.* Here, we can see that there is syntactic compression in the form of ellipsis. The next sentence (*There is a picture in my library that reminds me of when I met her.*) represents one quite personal statement functioning as an introductory sentence of a paragraph. In *Newsweek* we find the following introductory sentences within the initial paragraphs: *"She was the most watched woman in the world - until tragedy struck in Paris. What was it that enthralled us so?"* We can see the syntactic compression in this opening sentence. Then the author continues with the *structural repetition*, this being illustrated with the following sentences: *She was beautiful, of course; she was young, and she was royal.* The next analysed paragraph contains the introductory sentence with the cataphoric *it*, thus making suspense: *In Italian it means, quite simply, "buzzing insects". But the paparazzi who stalked the Princess of Wales during her short life were more than mere pests.*

This cataphoric reference is one way of marking the identity between what is being expressed and what is about to be expressed; thus, the pronoun *it* refers to the word *paparazzi*, and is therefore specified in the subsequent context.

Then in the paragraph of another article we find the following sentence: *Thoroughly Modern Diana was supposed to update the monarchy*. I may assume that the capitalized letter *M* perhaps brings some parallel with the goddess of hunting (Diana).

In *Liberation* the following complex sentence opens the paragraph: *Henri Paul, le chauffeur de la Mercedes de la princesse de Galles Diana Spencer, et du milliardaire égyptien Dodi Al-Fayed, morts dans la nuit de samedi à dimanche dans un accident sous le tunnel de l'Alma à Paris, avait 1,75 gramme d'alcool dans le sang, soit bien plus que le taux de 0,5 g autorisé par la loi*. This is a very long introductory sentence containing many pieces of information. The interesting point is that the lengthy subject seems to be underlining the objectivity of the information.

The next text opens with the following sentence: *La princesse Diana fut et reste une parfaite héroïne des mythologies de cette fin de siècle*. Evidently, readers are introduced into the topic of myths to be found further in the sentence: *L'hebdomadaire [...] n'a pas hésité à la comparer à Cléopâtre et Hélène de Troie, pour l'effet magique et ravissant de son apparence*.

The typical syntactic compression in French discourse may be found in the following concise, and yet informative sentence: *Diana est morte: le flash est tombé Dimanche sur le fil de l'AFP. Il était 5h44. Il n'y avait que ces trois mots*. There is also poetic repetition. For example, when one author says "*La presse a du sang sur les mains*" *s'est écrié le frère de la princesse*" this sentence constitutes one effective initial part of an article's paragraph. The syntactic compression occurs in the following sentences: *La mort dans l'objectif, la mort sans phrases, mais avec l'image*. We can notice the absence of any verb, and due to this lack of verbs the pieces of information are so densely packed and syntactically compressed.

In *Il Giornale* the following sentence opens the paragraph: *Le favole finiscono dopo mezzanotte*. We may notice that there is a metaphor in connection with the fairy tales. Similarly to French articles, Italian articles also repeat the words of Earl Spencer, Lady Diana's brother: *Il fratello di Diana, il conte di Spencer, ha accusato esplicitamente la stampa [...] "Ho sempre pensato che alla fine i giornalisti l'avrebbero uccisa. Hanno le mani sporche di sangue."* Obviously, the newspapers quoted that *paparazzi* have blood on their hands, which again, in this case is quite true.

Also, newspapers find ways to make some specific connections. Thus, one of these paragraphs opens quite unusually with the description of Italian fashionable seaside resorts: *Portofino, le Cinque Terre, la Costa Smeralda. L'ultima estate felice della principessa d'Inghilterra [...] Un Paese, il nostro, molto amato da Lady Di. Il nostro* refers to Italy, the country the late Princess adored.

One paragraph begins with the following sentence: *L'ultimo tuffo di lady D, nel mare cobalto della Costa Smeralda, alle 2 di un pomeriggio di tre giorni fa*. In this sentence this *last jump* (*l'ultimo tuffo*) metaphorically refers to her last car ride.

The marking of paragraph boundaries can be regarded as one form of 'partitioning' in discourse and these are related to change of setting and theme, i.e. the person or thing talked about, these being *Lady Di* and *her untimely death*.

6. Coherence, Syntactic Characteristics and Repetition

It is said that coherence concerns the ways in which components of the textual world, i.e. the configuration of concepts, and relations which underlie the surface text, are mutually accessible and relevant. Relevance holds that the writer writes about the same place and time, participants and topic, unless he marks a change and shows explicitly whether the changed context is, or is not, relevant to what he has been writing previously. Similarly, the usual expectation is that the discourse will be coherent. Coherence is naturally assumed, and we may interpret the text in the light of that assumption.

One article containing the following sentence exemplifies structural parallelism: *She was The Princess, and she was of the people, and she was gone*. First of all, it is unusual though understandable that the letter "t" in the definite article is capitalized, thus referring to the princess. The other peculiarity is the repetition of some syntactic structures (*she was*) three times, this being *structural parallelism*.

In French discourse we may find some sort of *syntactic compression*, which is evident in the following sentence: *Mère Teresa en Ralph Lauren*. This is to say that she was Mother Theresa dressed in Lauren's outfit, and it is expressed by means of syntactic compression, which is typical of French corpus.

The syntactic structure of the headlines creates the impression of seriousness and authority. Unlike the so-called broken headline syntax of tabloids, the headlines in these articles (which I included in my corpus and subsequently analysed) are complete noun phrases, sometimes quite long, occasionally with gerunds. As regards the sentence structure, the vast majority of the sentences in the corpus are declarative, affirmative, and very often complex. The statements within the corpus are with usually neutral order of sentence elements.

As regards questions, there are two types of questions: 1. questions which do not expect an answer (*Was Press to Blame?, What was it that enthralled us so?*) and 2. questions which these writers of articles answer themselves (*How will they cope in the years ahead?, Quali saranno per la Gran Bretagna le conseguenze della scomparsa della splendida donna al centro di tanti scandali ma anche sostenuta da tanto amore e ammirazione non solo nel suo paese ma in tutto il mondo?, But will Charles prove worthy of it?*).

7. Concluding Remarks

As we may see, one noticeable feature pertaining to English, French and Italian is that there exists a very wide range of syntactic and semantic structures which can be used to convey the same propositional or cognitive content. It is hard to make judgements on the effect of different placings of some linguistic items in sentences in isolation. On the one hand, these variations perhaps produce no difference in

meaning, while on the other hand, we may perceive subtle nuances of difference. It should be clear from the analysed examples how different these types of reporting language actually are. Despite these differences, many points of similarity have evidently emerged (for example, syntactic compression).

There are certain linguistic features, referring to this tragic and sad event, which tend to occur in the corpus and these are: 1. compression (both syntactic and semantic) and 2. clarity of style giving high status to Lady Diana, Princess of Wales.

Obviously, within my corpus there is a clear-cut approach on the part of the authors when reporting in connection with this tragic event, and it may be clearly defined as an unbiased approach, since journalists are evidently not influenced, and articles which have undergone my analysis are impartial. One non-linguistic conclusion may be that I have noticed clear editorial policy in English newsmagazines (*TIME* and *Newsweek*), French daily newspaper (*Libération*) and Italian daily newspapers (*Giornale* and *Repubblica*). However, it seems to me that this type of discourse can hardly be interpreted without the help of critical discourse analysis and certain eclectic models. The purpose of these combined accounts and models would be to use linguistic findings in order to interpret events in a certain way.

Finally, I may say that this type of analysis may perhaps clarify certain linguistic phenomena which may be further investigated. In addition to this, some plausible future accounts may probably illuminate one aspect of this communication in a given genre. To sum up, it seems to me that this corpus investigation proved successfully that a linguistic analysis may be carried out with short texts constructed in highly limited context as is the case with this one in connection with the death of Lady Diana, Princess of Wales.

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MOVING LANGUAGE - VOICES IN THE US AND THE BALKANS

Abstract: How powerful can language be? Can words make changes? Are they means by which people who use them make changes? This paper will try to compare discourses, personalities and cultures of two people who greatly influenced the USA and the Balkans: Martin Luther King, Jr., human rights activist and preacher, and Boris Trajkovski, the late president of Macedonia, in order to find some common ground between these different cultures which served as a foothold for these charismatic personalities to make changes in their respective societies and beyond.

Key words: mindsets, values, aspirations, cultures, language, public discourse, impact, race relation, racial segregation, civil disobedience, social milieu, reconciliation, manipulative communication, inspiration, relationships, values, rhetoric, leadership

If someone would ask if there are any similarities between American and the culture of the Balkans (if we can look at the Balkans as a whole, with a unique culture) what would we say? Would we say that they are very different? Would we say that they are not so different, because the processes of globalization affect us all? Or would we look at some higher level of universal expressions and draw a conclusion that people all over the world have some common ground in their mindsets, in their values and aspirations?

How can we judge, how can we make conclusions which favor one attitude over the other and what would be the basis for such an assessment? Language is one of the major means, tools, which help us look deeper into a person's way of thinking, rationalizing, behaving. If they say that eyes are mirror of the soul, I would say that language is a mirror of the mind, and through mind of all the depths in an individual, and through an individual, a mirror of a culture where that individual lives.

Having that perspective in mind, I would like to take a different direction now, and go the other way. I would like to give a short overview of two cultures, then two historic figures who came from those two cultures, an overview of some of the highlights in their relatively short lives and finally a short analysis of their language, their public discourse and big impact that they made in their respective countries - Martin Luther King Jr., activist for human rights and a preacher and Boris Trajkovski, the late president of Macedonia.

What was the situation in the USA like, regarding human rights, at the time of (up to his time) the youngest Noble Prize winner? Late 1940s and early 1950s were years marked by a crisis in race relation in this country. African-Americans were subject to racial segregation and were denied the basic human rights, despite the fact that The Declaration of Independence from 1776 states that 'all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' Discrimination against African-Americans was confronted with a variety of strategies, including litigation and lobbying and later with civil disobedience. Some results had been achieved, some laws against discrimination were passed (Brown vs. Board of Education in 1954) but they were rarely implemented. Prominent figures like Martin Luther King,

Rosa Parks and Malcom X challenged those who were against African-American rights. Key events like Rosa Parks' civil disobedience which triggered Montgomery buss boycott 1955, Desegregating Little Rock 1957, Sit-ins and Freedom Rides 1961, The March on Washington 1963, Birmingham campaign 1963-1964, The Mississippi freedom Democratic Party 1964, Memphis and the Poor People's March 1968, marked the period of King's activism.

Who was King? He said of himself: 'I am ... the son of a Baptist preacher, the grandson of a Baptist preacher and the great grandson of a Baptist preacher. The Church is my life and I have given my life to the Church'. He concluded that ministry provided the only framework in which he could properly position his growing concept of responsibility to his social milieu. 'I came to see that God placed a responsibility upon my shoulders and the more I tried to escape it the more frustrated I would become'⁸.

King's concern for the problems of racial segregation revealed itself in his organizing his church's Social and Political Action Committee, which worked to keep the congregation informed of social, political and economic issues and the necessity of being registered voters. Before state and national elections it sponsored forums and mass meetings to discuss the major issues. In 1957, King accepted the presidency of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and he himself became an institution, and by 1963 he bore the reputation of being the most powerful Negro leader in America.

From his position of a leader who in a way, didn't pursue that kind of career, but was rather inspired for the work and challenging tasks in front of him, he was fully aware of his limitations, weaknesses, and as any great leader, he allowed himself to be vulnerable and open in public, and confessing to being too tolerant: 'It is one of my weaknesses as a leader. I'm too courteous and I'm not candid enough. However, I feel that my softness has helped in one respect: People have found it easy to become reconciled around me.'⁹

However, although there have been many influential African American leaders, only King received the distinctive honor of being named Man of the Year by Time (1964) and later had a national holiday established in his name by Congress. He was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee in 1968.

The end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century was marked by all kinds of conflicts in Macedonia. During the early 1990s, when several wars were waged at the territory of former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Macedonia remained at peace. In 1991 it peacefully seceded from Yugoslavia. However, it was seriously destabilized by the war in Kosovo in 1999, when more than 360 thousand Albanian refugees from Kosovo took refuge in the country. Although they departed shortly after the war, soon after that, Albanian radicals on both sides of the border started a conflict seeking autonomy for the Albanian populated areas of the country. The conflict was fought between March and June 2001, and was ended with the intervention of NATO ceasefire monitoring force. The agreement was signed in Ohrid (13 April), by which the Macedonian government devolved greater political power and cultural recognition to the

⁸ Warren, Mervyn, King Came Preaching, InterVarsity Press, 2001

⁹ Ibid

Albanian minority and the Albanian side agreed to surrender separatist demands and to fully recognize all Macedonian institutions. In addition, according to this accord, the National Liberation Army was to disarm and hand over their weapons to the NATO force.

Who was Boris Trajkovski? He came from a protestant family background and his father, Kiril, was jailed for his ideological and religious beliefs. In an interview for CNN he said that the fact that he, who belonged to a minority religious group, was elected to be the president, was an indicator that Macedonia was a fully democratic state. At the beginning of his political career, Trajkovski was the international secretary in the VMRO-DPMNE, the largest opposition political party in Macedonia between 1995 and 1998., and when his party was elected to govern in 1998, Trajkovski was named Deputy Foreign Minister, a position which would soon thrust him into the international public eye. When the Kosovo crisis erupted in early 1999, Trajkovski became the focal point for the Government in dealing with the international community. During his short tenure in this position, he argued passionately with the international community for the needs of his small country and was equally passionate with his own Government on the need for Macedonia to open its doors to fleeing and hungry refugees from Kosovo. While the international community was hammering Macedonia to take in refugees despite its limited resources, Trajkovski dealt with the same community to secure the needed assistance to support those refugees. The end result was that over 360,000 Albanians from Kosovo found shelter and homes in Macedonia.

Boris Trajkovski, was selected within his political party as candidate for presidential elections in November 1999 and won in the second round. The security crisis of 2001 was a period of great uncertainty for Macedonia. Many pundits in the West predicted that Macedonia would implode and with it, the fears of the international community would be realized - the dreaded domino effect of the Balkans whereby Macedonia implodes, drawing in Kosovo, Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia, Greece and then Turkey. Such, however, was not to be the case due to the efforts of men like Trajkovski.

While he was encouraged to use all of Macedonia's military might against the guerillas, Trajkovski thought that perhaps dialogue would be better. As a result, Trajkovski initiated talks among the largest political parties from the two largest ethnic groups in Macedonia, the first attempt to settle politically, the military conflict. Trajkovski agreed that greater rights would be discussed - but in a framework of rights for citizens. In this way he was determined to keep the focus not only on rights, but on responsibilities as well.

He presided over Ohrid peace deal and was a key figure in resolving the conflict. He was killed at the age of 47, in a plane accident, on 26 February, 2004, along with eight other people, near Mostar, Bosnia and Hercegovina.

How did both Martin Luther King Jr. and Boris Trajkovski manage to influence their societies so much? Part of it is definitely through their charismatic personalities and their attitudes and stands, but all of that had to be expressed through and by language. They used the tool of language skillfully and powerfully and with it they made big changes with long-lasting effects. Robin Lakoff, in her book Talking Power claims 'If we agree that language can be a source of power, we tend to see that as true for those people with special access to both languages and power. If "they"

choose, they can use language so skillfully and deceptively that we - the rest of us - will be helpless against them and their stratagems. They know something we don't; they have training we don't. We are the helpless and passive recipients of manipulative communication; they are the users of it and, through it, of us'¹⁰. I would agree with the part that people can use language skillfully, as Martin Luther King Jr. and Boris Trajkovski did, as well as manipulatively. In our region, we have been witnesses of the discourses of war by so many politicians, and it was really tragic what consequences those war speeches produced. However, I would say that Martin Luther King's and Boris Trajkovski's speeches were not manipulative at all, but that they were inspired, and that that was something that people from their societies recognized as true and therefore followed them while their political opponents respected them.

What would be some of the common characteristics of their discourses? Unlike in many political and activist speeches, in the discourse of King and Trajkovski, the division on patriots or followers on one hand and traitors on the other, was never made. The goals that they wanted to achieve, the vision that they pursued was on a much higher level that would reflect itself on the political level as well. I think that comes from their refusal to separate political actions from moral and religious values.

Actually, the issue of values is what permeates both of their discourses. Neither King nor Trajkovski used some grandiose words to describe the reality they talked about and fought for or against. They both used the language, the words which carry deep meaning, but which are, at the same time easily understandable, inspiring and moving, in order to describe abstractions and values that they fought for. Even my use of word 'fight' describes their activities as battles, as war that they waged in their countries, at their time, war for the values they proclaimed. For King, the struggle against segregation is not only a struggle between the white and the black or between individuals, but between the forces of light and darkness, and the way he describes that struggle, through his conceptual metaphors, also offers solution as to how it should be fought, who should fight it and what it will lead to. For Trajkovski, the struggle is not only between Albanian rebels and the Macedonian army in the conflict which was resolved by Ohrid agreement, it is not only the struggle for democracy in Macedonia, but for obedience to justice, to a higher, moral law, which in the end leads to obedience to God.

Therefore, for both of them, King as well as Trajkovski, the ultimate struggle is about values and change of values in their respective societies. Even though they differed in some respects, being brought up in different cultures, being formed by different influences, having different kinds of impact and different positions in their countries, states, they spoke for the same cause.

The issue of the relationships and values has been largely discussed in rhetoric. One of the accepted claims is that values relating to persons are superior to those relating to things. Judith D. Hoover, in her work *Reconstruction of the Rhetorical Situation in "Letter from Birmingham Jail"* gives a hierarchy of values from the Kings' mentioned work. I would partially use that scheme to present three layers of

¹⁰ Lakoff, Robin, *Talking Power*, Basic Books, Harper Collins Publishers, 1990

values that I think were common to both King and Trajkovski and support my claim through some extracts mainly from their speeches.

The highest value in that hierarchy would be 'obedience to God'. When both King and Trajkovski used word God, they were thinking of God as represented in the person of Christ. Being a preacher, King talked directly about God and obedience to God. Almost every other sentence would include something which would refer to that kind of obedience, the highest of all the values. When King talks about the crisis in Montgomery and about the results of putting into practice the method of nonviolent resistance, talking of that method as 'Gandhian method' even though Gandhi was not the first one to use it, King does not confuse the means with the goal. The goal, the highest value which was to be reached was obedience to God.

'At the beginning of the protest the people called on me to serve as their spokesman. In accepting this responsibility my mind, consciously or unconsciously, was driven back to the Sermon on the Mount and the Gandhian method of nonviolent resistance. This principle became the guiding light of our movement. Christ furnished the spirit and motivation while Gandhi furnished the method' (Pilgrimage to Nonviolence).

On the other hand, Boris Trajkovski was not a preacher, but in his inauguration speech as the president of the Republic of Macedonia, he did quote words from the Bible which are a creative encouragement for the obedience to God -

There is time for everything. Time for birth and time for dying. Time for planting and time for pulling out. Time for tears and time for laughter. Time for sorrow and time for playing, when you embrace and when you run away from embracing. Time when you win and time when you lose. Time when you keep and time when you break apart, time for love and time for hate". But, my friends, now is time for healing and for building peace.

One of the values related to things, for Martin Luther King Jr. was the value of justice and moral law which is best expressed through the nonviolent resistance method. In his "Experiment for Love", he states:

A third characteristic of this method is that the attack is directed against forces of evil rather than against persons who happen to be doing the evil. It is evil that the nonviolent resister seeks to defeat, not the persons victimized by evil. If he is opposing racial injustice, the nonviolent resister has the vision to see that the basic tension is not between races. As I like to say to the people in Montgomery: "The tension in this city is not between white people and Negro people. The tension is, at bottom, between justice and injustice, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness. And if there is a victory, it will be a victory not merely for fifty thousand Negroes, but a victory for justice and the forces of light. We are out to defeat injustice and not white persons who may be unjust.

Boris Trajkovski also highly valued and abided by the moral law expressed through his conscience and many times he referred to it in his public addresses.

"I am considering two things on a daily basis: what is right to do and what is wrong to do in my role as President of my people. According to my conscience, I am trying to abide by the right. My vision is peace. My vision

is prosperity.” “ I will end my inauguration address with the words of one great man, who had the responsibility to unite the USA again, Abraham Lincoln: "We are not angry to anyone. Instead of that, we offer mercy for all. As the God who is giving the possibility to see what is wrong and what is right". Let's try and finish the work in which we are doing now. Let's cure the wounds of the country and let's take care for everyone today present and not present. If we do that, we would accomplish the justice and eternal peace, among ourselves and all countries. God Bless You and God Bless Macedonia.”

As for the values of human dignity, brotherhood and democracy, King uses many conceptual metaphors to give pictures, representations of those abstracts. Those simple but profound metaphors have been inspiring generations for years. In his famous and most quoted address, King gives the following view of democracy and brotherhood -

“Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy; now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice; now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood; now is the time to make justice reality for all God's children. It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality.”

Democracy, human dignity and brotherhood is what the vision and dream of late President Trajkovski consisted of. As a President of a country he expressed it in the following way:

“As I have repeatedly said over the past several months, we must create a society based on individuals, not on collective groups and citizens, not on ethnic groups. My vision is to create a society based on democracy, the rule of law and the free market economy, ultimately creating a civil society based on trust. We are doing this, but it is not enough to pay lip service to democracy while allowing crime and corruption to flourish. And it is not enough to accept some of the liberties of capitalism and the free market economy while leaving our favorite constraints of the old system in place. This creates a few wealthy at the expense of the many - and it is wrong. Instead, not only must we institute the needed reforms in our government but we must also carry through on those reforms in our own individual lives. In other words, we must practice what we preach. By doing so, we will create the well of many, the middle class. This is the key to our success.”

It can be concluded that those two men, who were ordinary people, yet extraordinary leaders, shared the same values, and they both strongly influenced their societies and cultures in turbulent times of political instability and threats from outside their countries, as well as from their own fellow countrymen.

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CO-OPERATIVE USE OF LANGUAGE IN ADVERTISEMENTS

Abstract: Culture and language in constant interaction form and change the world in which social communities co-exist, and also develop themselves in the process. The human perception of the world is preconditioned by culture, whereas culture itself is strongly defined through language. Culture influences and shapes language according to its needs and possibilities. In this paper we shall analyse and examine the language in women's magazine, i.e. American editions of *Cosmopolitan* (April to July 2006) using Grice's maxims of conversation: the co-operative principle, the maxim of quantity, and the maxim of relevance. The written media represents an exhaustible source of the above mentioned in advertising.

Key words: culture, language, advertising, Grice's maxims, the written media

1. ON CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

In this paper we shall analyse the advertisements of beauty products advertised in *Cosmopolitan* magazine. It will be analysed within the scope of pragmatics, one of mostly explored sub-disciplines of linguistics nowadays.

According to Widdowson (1996: 61) **pragmatics** can be defined as the study of "*what people mean by the language they use and how they actualize the meaning potential as a communicative resource*".

As it is widely known, *Cosmopolitan* magazine is intended for female readers age 20 to 40, which promotes the lifestyle of 21st century women. It is a magazine read all over the world, which sets trends not just in fashion but also trends that should be followed in all aspects of life: career, personal relationships, friendships, etc. Our theoretical framework encompasses widely explored and discussed topic when it comes to linguistics lately: English as a global language.

According to Crystal (2002: 7) what makes a language international is the political and military power of its speakers. He furthermore develops his definition of a **global language** adding that political and military power can put a language to a global throne but it takes economically powerful nation to hammer a language its supreme status.

In his seminal work *English as a Global Language* Crystal explains the reasons which brought English to its present-day global status: the expansion of the British Empire in the 19th century and the economic supremacy of the USA in the 20th.

One of the findings obtained while conducting this research is that *Cosmopolitan* magazine advertising different beauty products actually promotes global culture. As it was argued by many recognised authors one evaluates culture using their own as a starting point, and, thus, can never be as objective as required, because one always sees differences in other cultures as something 'bizarre', 'other', 'strange'. However, globalization influences not only economy, politics, but also culture. *Cosmopolitan* magazine seems to have a leading role when it comes to promotion of what is globally accepted as beautiful. It originates from the USA and almost every country has its own edition, but retains the basic concept that was back in the 60s

established by its founders: promote and talk freely about the topics women should and want to know / talk.

Bugarski (2005:15) defines **culture** as a set of accepted behaviour patterns, beliefs, traditions, systems of values, which serves as a frame of reference according to which human beings model their behaviour in society. It develops as a result of the human's need and ability to create. The inevitable factor of culture is language. Culture shapes language according to its needs and uses it as an instrument in designing its realm.

Culture shapes our identity. It defines us as human beings with some other factors such as: family, friends and education. Only the impact of advertisements of beauty products will be discussed, or to be more precise, phraseological units exploited in advertisements.

Identity is usually defined as a set of characteristics that distinguishes one group of people from another. Thus, identity presents the notion of self and the notion of affiliation. Every human being possesses several identities, both collective and individual: national, cultural, ethnic, professional, gender. At the same time, all these identities define and form an individual, but they also unite individuals in distinguishing groups. Identity is revealed through language. (Bugarski, 2005: 67)
Advertising became one of the leading industries of the modern world with income that extremely supersedes many other branches of industry.

Melchenko (2003: 3) defines **advertising** as a form of communication with one main function: to make the addresses buy the advertised product or use the advertised services. Strategies that advertisers use fluctuate between persuasive (voluntary) and manipulative (non-voluntary). Advertisers, in order to get addressees attention use language that is direct, precise and simple. They have to take into consideration two important things: an object of advertisement and the addressees. Advertisers count on addressees' ability 'to read messages' and, thus, invest effort in making them colorful and memorable.

The language of advertisement has one core goal: to pursue buyers to buy the product / service, or at least, to memorize it. In this research, we shall examine the phraseological units (PUs) used in the language of advertisements and the extent to which they follow Grice's maxims. Grice (available in Levinson, 2003:101) distinguishes four basic maxims of conversation which form the co-operative principle.

The co-operative principle: Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

The maxim of Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true, specifically

- (i) do not say what you believe to be false;
- (ii) do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

The maxim of Quantity:

- (i) make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange;
- (ii) do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

The maxim of Relevance: Make your contributions relevant.

The maxim of manner: Be perspicuous, and specifically:

- (i) avoid obscurity;
- (ii) avoid ambiguity;
- (iii) be brief;
- (iv) be orderly.

It is to be pointed out that the first maxim has not been taken into consideration as it would be hard to prove that the advertisers speak the truth when advertising their products / services.

2. CORPORA

It is important to emphasise that American editions of Cosmopolitan magazine (April, May, June, and July 2006) are taken as a corpus of our paper for several reasons:

1. it comes from English-speaking culture;
2. it is designed for women aged 20-40;
3. it advertises products / services that this target group uses;
4. it promotes popular culture and lifestyle of 21st century women;
5. it is #1 magazine for women read world-wide and thus, it 'globalizes' desires and expectations.

3. THE ANALYSIS

Only three types of PUs: slogans, clichés, and wordplays are thoroughly analysed, although the number of them used is numerous.

‘**Slogan** is defined as a memorable motto or phrase used in a political, commercial, religious and other context as a repetitive expression of an idea or purpose’ (www.en.wikipedia.org).

As it can be seen in the very first example, one of the most famous sunglasses manufacturers, Ray Ban uses its slogan CHANGE YOUR VIEW in order to attract its customers to buy their products. This slogan has a metaphorical meaning as well, because advertisers send an additional message: if you wear these sunglasses, the way you see the world will be changed. They also stress that they have a long tradition in this business and as their company’s logo points out that they are GENUINE SINCE 1937. The contribution in this advertisement is no more informative than is required and the message itself is memorable and clear. Namely, advertisers focus on consumers’ emotions: Ray Ban sunglasses affect people’s personality and lifestyle. The advertisement is also relevant because the language they use applies to the product advertised. However, advertisers are purposefully ambiguous in order to attract attention of their potential buyers. The message is brief and orderly because advertisers’ aim is to draw attention as quickly as possible and fulfill the ultimate goal of advertising: to sell the product!

Slogans vary from the written and the visual to the chanted and the vulgar. Their rhetorical nature is usually very simple. They are usually short with memorable phrases with a sole aim to draw reader’s attention to advertised products / services.

All slogans have the same characteristics:

1. state the benefits of the product / service advertised;
2. have witty messages;
3. acquire own 'personality' for the product advertised;
4. promise 'the world' to the consumers;
5. cannot be forgotten, as usually accompanied by music, images, etc.

The world-wide known beauty slogans are:

L'oreal: BECAUSE YOU'RE WORTH IT

Dior: J'ADORE: (meaning: I adore Dior)

Maybelline: MAYBE SHE'S BORN WITH IT. MAYBE IT'S MAYBELLINE.

The golden rule for advertisers is never to take other company's slogan, but to make your own in order to be recognized / sold, in order to stay in business.

Ray Ban

CHANGE YOUR VIEW

Pantene hair shampoo

BEYOND EXPECTATIONS

Olay

LOVE THE SKIN YOU'RE IN

Noxzema

NOXZEMA. PRETTY. SMART.

Biore

BEAUTY STARTS HERE

Clichés depend on its users, the context in which they are used, and the listeners, due to the fact that their usage varies on time and place, i.e. culture it is used in. Their meanings change through time and through changes in culture. However, clichés are widely used in advertising industry, typically to draw customer's attention.

In the following example, advertisers use a cliché expression: *'Now, you control the tan most natural for you'*, which presupposes the benefits of the product, and that is that potential buyers will achieve golden tan in the most natural way and plus, look as natural as possible. At the same time, this cliché serves as the main attention-seeking device. The key concepts (i.e. qualities advertised) are isolated and emphasised: *Healthy glow; Sun-kissed color; Golden tan*. Grice's maxim of relevance is met, but the message is more informative than required. Therefore, the maxim of quantity is flouted. The maxim of manner is somewhat violated. Although the message is clear and precise, the advertisement itself is not as brief as it could be.

ESTEE LAUDER

More defined. More conditioned. More beautiful lashes. More than mascara

With more black impact

...Why settle for less, when you can have more?

MATRIX Vavoom

the next **big thing** only from your hair stylist

Jergens natural glow

Every woman has her own style. Why not her own glow?

Neutrogena gradual sunless tanning

Now, you control the tan most natural for you.

Johnson body lotion

Feel the difference now. And 24 hours later.

RIMMEL mascara

BIG LASHES FAST

Frizz-Ease

Think of it as an extreme makeover for damaged, frizzy hair.

Sally Hansen miracle cure for nails

New! Stops nails from peeling! Guaranteed.

Wordplays, as the third type of Pus analysed, are usually types of semantic change. Advertisers use all sorts of changes on a semantic level from homonymy, (ab)usage of orthography, to multiple processes where more than one semantic change is exploited.

In the following advertisement, advertisers deliberately use the name of the product BAN as a verb (meaning: to say that something must not be done, seen, used, etc. acc. to Longman dictionary) and in that way send the message: using this product everything bad in person's life will be prohibited. So, advertisers again direct the message to consumer's emotions. The advertisement is as relevant and informative as needed. Over verbosity is avoided, it is brief and direct. Thus, Grice's principle and maxims are met in this case.

In the second example advertisers again mischievously use the name of the brand in the message they send to buyers. Using AVON products for nails will be a revolutionary step for lady's fingers. This wordplay has idiomatic meaning. Indeed, they state that this revolution is available to be used very easily to customers. They deliberately change the original idiomatic expression: to have something at your fingertips which, acc. to Longman dictionary means: to have knowledge, information ready and available to use very easily. The other part of the advertisement is typical for advertisement industry. With the message that: 'Liquid is so last year!', they want to emphasise that they produce and sell better products than their competitors. Grice's maxims are met in this example. There are some other examples found in the corpus:

Dove cool moisture

A refreshing drink for your skin ... it's everything your skin thirsts for.

REVLON lip gloss

Colorstay soft & smooth lip color

Stays gorgeous. Stays creamy. Stays on.

AUSSIE volume shampoo

Sometimes it's good to be a little full of yourself.

LOREAL makeup foundation

It's gentle it's flawless
It's minerals transformation
It's foundation in a single sweep

REVLON mascara
'BE FABULASH!' NOT A CLUMP IN SIGHT (idiomatic meaning)

OLAY body lotion
FOR SKIN SO FIRM YOU'LL WANT TO SHOW IT OFF AGAIN.
... Isn't it time you became a firm believer in your skin?

However, some advertisements exhibit features of more than one PU. On the contrary, majority of them cannot be said to contain only one type of PU.

Maybelline lipsticks have a widely-known slogan: *MAYBE SHE'S BORN WITH IT. MAYBE IT'S MAYBELLINE*, and it differs from slogans of other similar companies. The attention-seeking message is: *MOISTURE GOES DEEP COLOR COMES ALIVE!*, which is used to promote the benefits of the lipstick, with somewhat metaphorical meaning: if moisture goes deep, a woman's lips will look more healthy and protected, and if color comes alive, they will look more attractive and pouty, and, finally, the woman who uses this lipstick will be more beautiful to men. The advertisers are, in this case, more informative than needed, and they display a cliché message: *MOISTURE EXTREME LIPCOLOR* moisturizes with 3x the power of a lip balm. However, the overall message is relevant and unambiguous, if not brief. Thus, Grice's maxims are partially met. There are some more examples of wordplays:

COVERGIRL
PUMP UP THE VOLUME
INTRODUCING **INCREDIFULL**
A new volumizing lipstick that pulls moisture in. So lips stand out. Lips are instantly fuller looking and packed with 8 hours of moisture.

OLAY
love the skin you're in
Drenched with sun. **DRENCHED WITH MOISTURE.**
Touch of sun body lotion
Olay Touch of Sun Body Lotion. Olay moisture with a touch of sunless tanner.
Color builds gradually with each application to give you a sun-kissed glow without streaks or orange blotches (It's the bright side of the sun; it refers to: the bright side of life).

4. CONCLUSION

Advertisements of four editions of Cosmopolitan magazine are examined, and the following has been found:

1. there are 11 slogans;
2. 41 clichés;
3. 38 wordplays;
4. 46 cases of overlapping;
5. with most of these products advertisers put price and they usually claim that it is the best product you get for the lowest price. Many of them guarantee money return if the product does not serve its needs.

In all of the cases analysed Grice's maxims are fulfilled: advertisements are relevant because they refer to the products advertised; they are informative because they promote the good sides of the product and the benefits for consumers after purchasing them; however, sometimes advertisers do not avoid ambiguity. On the contrary, they are ambiguous when advertising their products with the aim of implying additional benefits of the products advertised: our products will make you more attractive to men!

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SEMANTO-PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF ANTONYMY IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN ELECTRONIC CORPORA

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to determine how and why antonymous pairs are used in a sentence in written texts in English and Serbian. The perspective taken here is pragmatic, antonyms are considered with reference to their roles in actual language use and not to their definitional meanings and relations of those meanings with each other. Fifty antonymous pairs were chosen in each language and all the examples of their co-occurrences within a sentence were extracted from electronic corpora. Antonymous frameworks identified in this research are in both languages significant hallmarks of a binary semantic contrast in a sentence. Corpus data give us evidence to claim that any two linguistic expressions can form a binary contrast set if adequately supported by the context.

Key words: antonymy, antonymous framework, relational principle, pragmatic perspective

1. Introduction

In this paper antonymy is defined as a binary semantic contrast between lexical items. Unlike the traditional approaches which describe and define antonymy on the basis of semantic properties of antonymous pairs in a language system, antonyms are here considered with reference to their roles in actual language use. The aim is to gain insights into the ways in which antonymous pairs function in a sentence in English and Serbian written texts. Therefore, the theoretical background is based on the pragmatic approach to lexical semantic relations, according to which these relations are not represented in our mental lexicon (i.e. intralexically), but constitute a part of our metalinguistic knowledge. Metalinguistic knowledge includes representations of language in the conceptual system, so proponents of this approach (Murphy, 2003) assume that antonymy is derivable by a relational principle which states that a lexical contrast set includes only concepts of words that have all the same contextually relevant properties but one. Thus, antonymy is treated as a conceptual relation.

None of the existing studies that use corpus data to investigate antonymy analyzes this language phenomenon from a cognitive science perspective. This research is based on the analysis of 3300 English and 3260 Serbian sentences taken from Collins Cobuild database, and the largest Electronic Corpus of Contemporary Serbian Language. It differs from the other research work on antonymy in that it uses language sample that includes texts of different genres and in that it compares results from two languages.

The sentences were analyzed with an aim to: a) identify and describe the roles that chosen antonymous pairs can have in a sentence; b) decide why are antonyms used in specific lexico-syntactic environments; c) compare the use of antonyms in two languages; d) test the validity of the theoretical assumptions about the nature of antonymy. Fifty antonymous pairs were chosen in each language and all the examples of their co-occurrences within a sentence were extracted from corpora. Sentences in which the chosen pairs did not hold the relationship of antonymy were excluded from the analysis. English list contains the following antonyms:

A list of English antonyms:

above / below	inside / outside
back / front	large / small
badly / well	left / right
begin / end	long / short
beginning / end	lose / win
big / little	love / hate
black / white	major / minor
come / go	male / female
dark / light	new / old
dead / alive	officially / unofficially
difficult / easy	old / young
directly / indirectly	open / shut
dry / wet	peace / war
fact / fiction	poor / rich
failure / success	private / public
far / near	privately / publicly
fast / slow	quickly / slowly
few / many	right / wrong
first / last	rightly / wrongly
gay / straight	short / tall
good / bad	start / stop
hard / soft	strong / weak
heavy / light	top / bottom
high / low	true / false
hot / cold	up / down

Antonymy is a psycholinguistic phenomenon and the safest way to create a representative list of antonyms is to use antonymous pairs which a majority of speakers might recognize as being “good opposites”. This list was created according to the definition of antonymy adopted, but other factors were also taken into consideration: different word parts (antonymous adjectives, nouns, verbs, adverbs and prepositions), different (traditionally established) types of antonyms (gradable and non-gradable, morphological and lexical), antonyms with different status in our

mental lexicon (canonical or prototypical and non-canonical or less typical examples).

Antonyms analyzed in Serbian corpus are not identical to English, but the list was comprised following the same criteria: the Serbian list also contains the same number of antonyms (50), different word parts (5), both canonical and non-canonical antonyms, gradable and non-gradable, morphological as well as lexical antonyms, and all these facts increase the validity of the results.

After each sentence was carefully analyzed with respect to the role of the antonymous pair used in it, sentences were grouped according to the rhetoric function of the antonymic phrases in the given contexts. After all the sentences in both languages were analyzed in this way, high level of similarity between the languages was found. In both languages all the examples were grouped into ten classes and each class was defined by the role of the antonyms used therein.

2. Antonyms in English sentences

I will present here a sample of ten English sentences, randomly chosen from my database, in order to describe seven of these classes and to illustrate the contexts of the most frequent intra-sentential antonymous use. I will then comment on the pragmatics of each antonymous class and compare the results obtained in English with the ones in Serbian.

1. Both are agreed that it is usually **warmer inside** a **greenhouse** **than** it is **outside**, but there have been long and detailed discussions in learned journals as to how this convenient state of affairs might come about.
2. I think I can promise **old and new** friends that our production of Romeo and Juliet will not only provide a feast for the eye but also a refreshing experience in the theatre.
3. **White** for *purity*, **black** for *mystique*: pearls are all things to all women.
4. It's a feisty relationship,' he says, 'there's always been strain, but it's **good**, **not bad**.
5. You must also put your head **more** above your **left** foot **than** the **right**.
6. There were so many *top-echelon civil servants* interned there who behaved **badly** and *people who you'd expect to be difficult*, who behaved **well**.
7. There was a slight unsteadiness in **the transition between low and high** voice, and a hint of instability in the longer runs, but these are trivial problems in a voice so young indeed, some of them were corrected in front of our eyes.

8. Anyone, married or single, **male** or **female**, young or not-so-young can go to a family planning clinic.
9. The politically correct will shy away from the unfashionable view that it is essential for children to know, from an early age, the distinction between right and wrong.
10. Where can I find some real silk stockings? There seem to be plenty of silky stockings but none of the genuine material. I have searched **high** and **low**.

Antonyms in the first and the fifth sentence are a part of a context in which there is some comparison. They are preceded by a comparative (warmer, more) and in between them another indicator of comparison is used (than). In all such cases antonyms are being compared with respect to a particular criterion or along a particular semantic scale. Thus *antonymy as a part of a comparison* refers to the use of an antonymous pair in a framework in which two antonymous concepts are compared, either with respect to one another or to some other criteria.

In the second and the eighth sentence antonyms are coordinated (and, or) and there is no contrast generated between them. On the contrary, the role of antonyms in such contexts is to indicate the inclusion of the whole semantic dimension along which the pair operates. I refer to this function as *inclusive antonymy* and it is used in cases when it is important to emphasize that the complete range of possible members of the conceptual scale defined by antonyms is to be included.

The third and the sixth sentence illustrate the use of antonyms which is contrary to the previous two examples. In these sentences there are two contrasting pairs: one of them is an established antonymous pair (in bold), and another is a pair of words or phrases which hold no obvious relationship of contrast out of the context of these sentences (in italics). In such cases antonyms are employed to generate a relationship of contrast between a pair of linguistic expressions that have no contrastive potential at all. In this way antonyms help create a larger contrast within a sentence, although they are not the only contrast generating device here; for this reason I will use the term *ancillary antonymy*. Antonyms are here used in parallel, often identical phrases, where repetition and similarity of structures play an important role in establishing the appropriate context for creating or emphasizing contrast.

The fourth sentence illustrates the typical framework of *antonymy as a part of negation*. Here one antonym is always negated (typically in a structure X, *not* Y) with an aim to emphasize the validity of the first-mentioned member in a pair. Depending on the context, this emphasizing can have various roles: to cancel reader's expectation by rejecting the expected conclusion (as in the given example), to make the reader aware of the possibility that should / should not be given priority, or to mark the preferred option between the two opposed concepts.

The seventh sentence is different from the previous ones in that there is an element of transition, or change between antonymous concepts involved. In English it is

typically expressed in the framework *from X to Y* which is preceded by a verb or a noun that indicates movement or change. These cases can be labeled as *antonymy as a part of a change* and antonyms are here used because their position on the opposite points of a semantic scale makes them suitable to mark the starting and ending points of a change.

The ninth sentence illustrates the use of antonyms in a lexico-syntactic framework that alludes to the semantic distinction between the antonyms. *Antonymy in the role of emphasizing a distinction* is used in such a context not just to signal that there is a difference, but to use its existence as a part of a wider context. In that sense antonyms mark the parameters of that difference. For example, in this sentence the focus is not on the antonyms themselves, but on the distinction drawn between them (the *distinction between X and Y* being the most common framework); the fact that right and wrong are semantically different is an already known information, but the knowledge of this distinction is here emphasized as being the cornerstone of human moral behavior.

Finally, the last sentence illustrates *antonymy as a part of an established phrase or an idiom*. These contexts always include canonical antonymous pairs and are well engrained in the mental lexicon.

3. Antonyms in Serbian sentences

In Serbian antonymous pairs are used in almost the same way as in English, the only difference being the number of structures for some of the classes identified. Namely, in some lexico-syntactic frameworks there are more lexical variations in Serbian. The following examples illustrate the use of Serbian antonyms in a sentence in Serbian corpus.

- a) Antonymy as a part of a comparison: antonyms are being compared with respect to a particular criterion or along a particular scale: *To je vreme, što se našeg boksa tiče, bilo više **lepo** nego **ružno**.*
- b) Inclusive antonymy: antonyms indicate the inclusion of the whole semantic dimension along which the pair operates: *Na stadionu je bilo **lepih** i **ružnih** scena.*
- c) Ancillary antonymy: antonyms help create a larger contrast within a sentence: *Njeni predstavnici su **malo** pričali, a **mnogo** radili i gradili.*
- d) Antonymy as a part of negation: one antonym is negated to emphasize the validity of the first-mentioned member in a pair: *Izručenje će uslediti u **kratkom**, a ne u **dugom** roku.*
- e) Antonymy as a part of a change: antonyms mark the starting and ending points of a change: *Decentralizacijom se spušta vlast iz centra na lokalne organe, čime se prenosi i odgovornost od **vrha** do **dna** piramide vlasti.*

f) Antonymy in the role of emphasizing a distinction: antonyms mark the parameters of the difference: *I zaista, razlika između starog i novog dela je više nego očigledna.*

g) Antonymy as a part of a phrase or an idiom: *Kako došlo, tako i otišlo.*

4. The distribution of antonymy in corpora

The distribution of antonymy is almost identical in the two corpora. Two classes dominate the distribution: Inclusive antonymy and Ancillary antonymy that collectively account for about 82% examples in English and about three quarters in Serbian. The following table illustrates this:

Inclusive antonymy	
E (41,4%)	S (44,4%)
Ancillary antonymy	
E (40,9%)	S (30,3%)
Antonymy in the role of emphasizing a distinction	
E (2,2%)	S (3,8%)

Antonymy as a part of a change

E (4,4%)	S (3,2%)
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Antonymy as a part of a comparison

E (3,3%)	S (1,9%)
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Antonymy as a part of negation

E (1,3%)	S (1,8%)
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Antonymy as a part of a phrase or an idiom

E (2,1%)	S (6,8%)
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Table 1: The distribution of antonyms in English and Serbian electronic corpora

In both corpora there is a significant difference in the distribution of the other five classes, we can call them minor classes, when compared to the dominant or major ones. However, there exists a high degree of similarity between the identified

frameworks in the two languages. Moreover, the use of antonyms in the context of comparison, emphasizing the distinction, setting the parameters of a change or opposition through negation in both languages illustrate the natural ways of using semantic opposition. All these are contexts that emphasize relation of contrast. However, these four classes collectively are in both English and Serbian present in only one tenth of all cases examined. It means that in both languages there is a tendency in written texts for antonymy to be used as a signal, whether as a lexical signal of generating a larger contrast in a sentence, or as a signal of inclusiveness of a semantic scale.

5. Conclusion

The most important finding is that antonymous frameworks identified in this research in both languages are significant hallmarks of antonymic contrast in a sentence. Given the relational principle postulated in the *metalexical* approach to lexical semantic relations, corpus data give us evidence to claim that any two linguistic expressions can form a binary contrast set if adequately supported by the context. When the writer ascertains that the two linguistic expressions can be related according to the relational principle for lexical contrast sets, he or she puts these expressions into antonymic frames in order to highlight their similarities as well as their contrast.

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REPRESENTATION OF REFUGEES IN BRITISH DAILIES DURING NATO AIRSTRIKES ON YUGOSLAVIA

Abstract: Reporting war has always been a difficult task for journalists due to the different obstacles which they encounter, such as lack of reliable data and sources, political and ideological constraints etc. This paper deals with the reporting of three British dailies (*the Guardian*, *the Independent* and *the Times*) on NATO airstrikes on Yugoslavia in 1999 and focuses on the refugee crisis in this war. The paper is an attempt to look into the discourse of the three selected papers on this topic, based on the Theory of News Schemata as well as Critical Discourse Analysis. The two approaches are combined in order to enable a better insight into the discourse of the analysed papers. Linguistic data obtained through the analysis enable more reliable findings. The results show that the reporting was largely based on only one, usually unreliable source, without the possibility of checking the obtained information, which resulted in very biased coverage of the event at times.

Key words: discourse analysis, media discourse, refugees, journalists, macrostructure, microstructure, evaluation, main event, verbal comments, intertextual analysis

1. Introduction

The media play a central role in our lives, shaping our perceptions of reality and influencing our attitudes to different events. As a consequence, media discourse has been of wide interest for linguists as a rich source of data for linguistic research.

There are events in world politics that are covered by all the world's media. This is especially true of wars due to the negative effects they have on people and their lives, economy, infrastructure, etc. One such event was the attack of the NATO Alliance on Yugoslavia in 1999. Covered by all media worldwide, this two-and-a-half-month-long war was probably the peak of different conflicts in the Balkans throughout the last decade of the 20th century.

Some authors, especially journalists, have described their views of this war, the position of war journalists and the circumstances that surrounded the event. *The Kosovo News and Propaganda War* (edited by Geoff, 1999) is probably the most comprehensive collection of papers on this war, written by journalists from all over the world. It is also worth mentioning the book *Degraded Capability: the Media and the Kosovo Crisis* edited by Hammond (2000). Another important source of information is the book *Waging Modern War* (2001) by General Wesley Clark, former Supreme Allied Commander for Europe, giving another perspective of the conflict. These accounts offer different insights into the NATO campaign, mainly from journalist and military perspectives. However, there have been no in-depth linguistic analyses of media coverage of NATO airstrikes on Yugoslavia.

The purpose of this paper is to offer a brief overview of the reporting of three British dailies (*the Guardian*, *the Independent* and *the Times*) on NATO airstrikes on Yugoslavia and on Kosovo refugee crisis. I will first provide a theoretical background for an analysis of discourse, mainly based on van Dijk's Theory of News Schemata and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis. In the next part, I will try discuss the

reporting of the three dailies based on selected examples. The last part of the paper presents some conclusions on the subject matter.

2. Theoretical background

Van Dijk's theory of news schemata has been of great use to discourse analysts in coping with news stories. The theory provides a detailed description of the organisational pattern of news, introducing the concepts of *microstructure* and *macrostructure*. *Microstructure* refers to the purely linguistic aspect (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, cohesion, coherence, etc). On the other hand, *macrostructure* involves thematic and organisational structure of the text. It makes explicit the topic of the text, defining at the same time its coherence and purpose. It is well known that texts are not created by a mere linear sequencing of sentences. They are *semantic macrostructures*, as van Dijk (1988a: 13) labels them, claiming that "macrostructures are derived from sentence meanings (propositions) of a text by a set of rules" of selection, generalisation and construction. He adds that "these rules operate as tentative but effective macrostrategies that enable readers to derive the topic from a sequence of sentences". They help journalists tackle different sources of news and create a coherent news story. It must be noted here that without the theory of macrostructures, we would not be able to explain characteristics of different parts of news stories.

Van Dijk (1988a: 14; 1988b: 51) provided a schematic structure of a news report which he calls *schematic superstructure*. His structure is very elaborate and includes 10 different parts. However, some linguists (Zoltan, 2001: 11) consider this scheme to be too explicit and that some of van Dijk's categories could be connected into one. For example, van Dijk's *Background*, *History* and *Context* should be combined into one part which he labelled *Background*.

In addition, Bell (1994: 148) seems to agree with Zoltan's proposal on combining some of van Dijk's categories into one. Being a journalist and therefore a practitioner, he provided a model which is probably more in line with journalistic practice. The same goes for the model that the Institute for War and Peace Reporting from London uses in their training of journalists.

Based on these approaches, in my analysis I used a model which is based on Bell's approach, with a slightly different terminology. Thus, a news report can consist of the following parts:

1. *Headline*
2. *Lead* (summary of the main event)
3. *Main event* (elaboration of the news mentioned in the lead)
4. *Background to the event* (who, how, where and when)
5. *Verbal comment* (of the most important participants in the event)
6. *Evaluation* (attitudes, expectations and evaluation of the event by the journalist)
7. *Results of the event* (why the event is important and how serious its consequences are).

I will briefly describe each of these parts before I proceed with further discussion.

Headline and *Lead* can be labelled as *Abstract* as they summarise the main idea or event elaborated in the text. *Lead* is placed under the *Headline* and usually gives an overview of the main event described later in the text in more detail. It therefore has the function of an abstract in a research paper, for example. *Headline* is then a shorter version of the *Lead* or, as Bell (1994: 50) put it, it is an abstract of the abstract. *Lead* is usually difficult to write because it must be short on the one hand and very informative on the other. The main features of a good *Lead* are the importance of the presented news, brevity and clarity. Due to the importance it has in a text and the type of information it contains, *Lead* actually represents a "micro story". *Headline*, on the other hand, is the last stage in writing a news story. It is constructed by selecting information from the text and especially from the *Lead*, often giving it a general significance.

Main Event(s) is the central part of each news story. News story rather follows the principle of putting the latest and most important news at the beginning of an article, rather than presenting them in a chronological order, like in narratives. This kind of organisation enables journalists to extend the story so that when new details of an event occur, previous events are given a less prominent position in the text. Actually, the reason why a news story is not written in chronological order is the fact that it has to remain open for new information so that today's information usually loses importance in a day or two and gives way to new information.

Background to the Event provides information on the participants in the event, time and place of the event as well as events that preceded the main event. In addition to *Headline*, *Lead* and *Main Event*, it is an obligatory part of a news story, although it appears later in the text.

Journalists usually resort to *Verbal Comments* of the most important participants in the event. In this way, journalists provide opinions that are not their own. However, the selection of people may turn out not to be very objective.

Results of the Event may appear in a newspaper article, but it is not a compulsory part. It is present in texts when the seriousness of the consequences of an event makes the event interesting for the media or when they are even more important than the event itself. In such a situation, the *Headline* contains these consequences explicitly or implicitly.

The part that may appear in a newspaper article and that is of special significance for this paper is *Evaluation*. It is a tool used by journalists to enable them express their own opinions or attitudes about the event, or to offer their own evaluation of the topic. Many believe that facts and personal opinions should not be mixed, but this category still appears frequently in newspaper articles, not always directly. This part is actually important because it gives a meaning to the story and contributes to its coherence. Very often *Evaluation* may refer to a less important part in the story, which may give it a totally different angle. In such a way, *Evaluation* is a good ground for manipulation, which turned out to be a conclusion of my previous research on reporting of Montenegrin dailies (Lakić, 1994a).

The literature on structuring information in news texts usually describes these parts as separate entities, although my research (1994b) shows that a clear line between

them cannot always be drawn. I will present three possible instances of these combinations which were the result of my research.

One possibility is that two parts of macrostructure are combined into one sentence or a shorter paragraph, where both parts are given equal importance. In other instances, one part of macrostructure is embedded into another, whereby the embedded part is usually shorter and of less importance, although it can cause a change in the point of view expressed in the text. The third possibility is when a certain part of the text can be interpreted in two ways. For example, *Headlines* may often express attitudes of journalists. In such a situation, *Headline* can be interpreted as an *Evaluation* at the same time. My research shows that this is especially true for *Evaluation*, probably because in wartime journalists try to avoid expressing their explicit opinions. Instead, they express their ideas in a less direct form, mainly through *Headlines*, *Leads* or *Verbal Comments*.

However, looking into microstructure and macrostructure of a text does not yield satisfactory results. It does provide linguistic data and an overview of the structure of articles, but does not help in the interpretation of texts. What is also important is to link "news texts with societal macrostructures in general and with news production institutions such as the mass media in particular" (van Dijk, 1988a). This is where Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) plays an important role.

CDA is a socio-political discourse analysis which uses linguistic findings in interpreting events. It also takes into consideration social and other indicators that lie outside linguistics. Fairclough (1996: 311-13) defines three dimensions of CDA that need to be included in the analysis: *text*, *discursive practice* and *social practice*. *Text analysis* leads to identification of formal characteristics of texts, including both form and meaning. *Discursive practice* refers to production, consumption and distribution of discourse under study. Parallel to constant and quick changes in our societies, the media also has to undergo changes in its discursive practices to keep up with them. The third dimension, *social practice*, relates to the analysis of social, political, cultural and other events, how ideology influences and contributes to social changes, etc. In this specific case, it means a study of the political and military context of events. This allows linguists to put any text in a certain social context.

Another distinction that Fairclough (1996: 314-15) makes is the one between *linguistic analysis* and *intertextual analysis* of texts. *Linguistic analysis* is more descriptive in nature, while *intertextual analysis* is more interpretative. In other words, text is analysed from the point of view of discourse practice. According to Fairclough, it is necessary to connect linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis in order to overcome the gap between texts on the one hand, and society and culture on the other.

It is actually a combination of the two approaches that can give satisfactory results in analysing a news story and that is what I used in my analysis.

3. Analysis

The Guardian, *Independent* and *Times* covered a number of topics, some of them on a regular basis and some just sporadically. One of the events that was definitely largely covered throughout the war was the issue of refugees who fled from Kosovo

to Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro to seek refuge. It is important to have in mind that the whole campaign started, to a large extent, because of the refugee crisis. This is not an easy topic to tackle, especially for two reasons: (a) on the one hand, I had to deal with many sad stories of refugees, which is not an easy task, and (b) on the other hand, there was a need for an objective analysis of the reports on refugees. The analysis was even more difficult because I personally met a lot of these refugees in Montenegro and some of them became my friends. However, in analysing the selected texts, I had to approach the analysis from a very objective position, supporting all the claims on the linguistic findings rather than emotions.

The most striking thing in analysing the articles was a very literary style of reporting, reflecting the emotional side of journalists and their compassion for ordinary people. This is a feature that can be found not only in the texts on Albanian refugees but also in the ones describing suffering of people in Serbia. Obviously, the presence of journalists on the field had a huge impact on their reporting. Consider the following example which is the *Main Event* in the text:

“First a little smoke, a sketching line blowing back along itself, coiling and circling towards the roof tiles. In seconds, screwing blacker into the sky. Then there is a second, and a third coil, the smoke twisting together until the sky is filled with a black pall that makes the burning of the fifth, the sixth and seventh houses almost impossible to see except for the occasional feverish hint of flame.” (G, Apr 6, p. 1)¹¹

Obviously, the approach is literary here, making one to believe that this is a beginning of a short story rather than a news story. It is only after the noun phrase a **black pall** that one realises something is wrong and that the “idyllic” picture is lost. This approach, including many verbs unusual for news stories, can attract the attention of readers and make them sympathise with people from that territory. Certainly, the Alliance claimed that the reason for starting airstrikes was to save the refugees. In order to get public support, it was therefore best to focus on the refugee crisis.

Very often the descriptions are quite personal, containing physical descriptions of refugees, such as in the following example, also a part of the *Main Event*:

“Their expensive leather jackets soaked with rain, their pockets emptied, all evidence of their identities taken and burnt, Pristina’s middle classes joined ordinary peasants as penniless European refugees yesterday.” (T, Apr 2, p. 9)

It seems that there is a contrast here between what was the life of those people before (**their expensive leather jackets, middle classes**) and what is their situation now (**soaked with rain, their identities taken and burnt, penniless European refugees**). This contrast is obvious and probably aimed at causing compassion. In this manner, *Evaluation* is present indirectly, not through the explicit words of the journalist, but as a part of the *Main Event*. The examples are numerous and they all show that compassion is a good way of making people first believe and then support what you do. Certainly, it is impossible not to sympathise and take sides. There

¹¹ Next to the cited parts from the analysed texts, there are letters G, I or T, standing for the Guardian, the Independent and the Times, followed by the date when the text was published and the page on which it appeared.

have been many wars so far in which images of people suffering in many different ways have made the whole world protest and ask for action. It is therefore good grounds for attracting the public to your cause.

In the analysed texts it is possible to notice an extensive use of names of people, third person pronouns, singular or plural (**she, he, they**), as illustrated below:

“Fazile - not her real name - is a 23-year-old student who entered Macedonia three days ago through the frontier post at Tabanovce.” (G, Apr 14, p. 3)

“She is a tired, pale, woman from a small village 30 miles from Pristina. Yesterday Hysnije Cerkine became a footnote to the ongoing tragedy of Kosovo’s refugees...” (I, Apr 9, p. 4)

Using the names of persons, or just made up names to hide their identity, in the beginning of articles, followed by details on their age, place they come from, their profession, description, etc. is a good strategy to attract readers' attention and get their support. In addition, use of cataphora, like in the second example (“She is pale...”), giving the name of the person in the next sentence, is another tool to achieve the goal. Such instances certainly contributed to an increase in support for the NATO campaign.

One has to believe that these descriptions are accurate and credible, since the papers that publish them are supposed to guarantee that. The cited examples were all parts of the *Main Event*, which contributes to the credibility of the descriptions, having in mind that the journalist reported from the refugee camps and could see themselves the images of suffering. In addition, my analysis has shown that most journalists avoided claiming anything without proof or reasonable grounds and used different hedging techniques, thus protecting their position.

On the other hand, *Verbal Comments* were open to all sorts of statements, as the paragraph that follows illustrates:

“It was one o’clock and they came inside the house, howling like wolves. They were local Serbs, we knew because they weren’t wearing any masks. They were shouting in Albanian. They shouted to us to go upstairs. When we went upstairs they accused us of being with the KLA and they shot a cupboard and set it on fire. It was burning. Then they shot a girl. She was 13. They shot us one by one in the head and in the back.” (G, Apr 6, p. 1)

Stories like this are clearly attached to sources. But it is not enough to say that the journalist accurately reported what he or she heard. The problem here is whether it is really possible to put some of these words in the article, as some of them do not really sound credible. For example, the sentence “They shot us one by one in the head and in the back” would certainly imply that the person is dead, which is obviously not the case. This raises the question of how credible these statements were and if it was possible to determine their authenticity. Put in this way, all these *Verbal Comments* can be seen as *Evaluations*, mainly indirect, meaning that journalists did put them there on purpose, although they could not openly stand behind them.

Instances of questioning the credibility of these statements do not exist, except in one case:

“The scale of the Serb atrocities in Kosovo, which are not possible to verify independently, was given credence by the fact that every refugee in Kukes had a similar story. They told of mass rape, or men being tied up and then immolated in their homes, or random killings, and not a single act of mercy or help from their neighbours.” (T, March 30)

But even this paragraph reflects a clear anti-Serb stance. Based on the data, it is possible to conclude that most journalists reporting from refugee camps held the same position. It can be illustrated on the micro level through nouns, noun phrases, adjective and nouns.

Nouns describing the Serbs contain negative connotations: **atrocities, expulsion, frenzy, blood, massacre, killers, horror, brutality, indignity, extermination**. They are also more frequent than those referring to refugees and that mainly point to their situation: *desperation, torment, ordeal, hunger*.

The same goes for noun phrases. The following noun phrases referring to the Serbs were identified in the analysed texts: **current orgy of ethnic cleansing, eerie reminders of Nazi methods, systematic rape, a reign of terror, meat-processing business**. Obviously, a negative image of the Serbs is present in most articles, but it must be noted here that some of these expressions are too extreme, especially the **meat-processing business**, which is insulting to refugees, too. Noun phrases referring to refugees are less numerous: **a severed artery of human misery, rheumy-eyed old men, starving refugees**. Again, the purpose is to cause compassion.

Adjectives are not that frequent and are used more to describe refugees (**traumatised, exhausted, dazed, desperate**) than Serbs (**vindictive, heartless**). On the other hand, verbs mainly refer to Serbs (**force, chase out, expel, execute, cleanse**), indirectly showing who was the active party in this event, the one who expelled and executed, and who was the passive victim.

The dichotomy "us" and "them" cannot be clearly seen in the analysed texts. However, it is implicitly present, both on the micro and macro level, through the examples I have given. Such a hidden dichotomy is evident in the implicit *Evaluation* that permeates most of the texts dealing with refugee crisis.

4. Conclusion

It would be wrong to conclude that the overall reporting of the three analysed British dailies was completely biased. The other topics they covered, such as military operations, collateral damage, situation in Serbia and Montenegro and others actually show that their reporting was more or less fair and that there were not many extreme views of both NATO and the Serbs. In this specific case, the partial approach of journalists was influenced by their presence in refugee camps and the fact that they could see some of the things that were reported in their articles.

There remains the question of the credibility of refugee stories that could not be confirmed by journalists or any other source, probably because the situation did not allow anyone to enter the territory of Kosovo at the time. In addition, no efforts to include statements of the Serbian party were observed.

It must also be noted that those rare journalists who managed to enter Serbia also sympathised with ordinary Serbian people in much the same way as was the case with Albanian refugees. This, in turn, leads to the conclusion that the expelling of foreign journalists by the Serbian authorities was a strategic mistake that largely influenced the image of Serbia in the world, in a negative sense, of course. Had Serbia allowed journalists to be on its territory, the outcome of the war may have remained the same, but the negative consequences of losing the war would have been alleviated. My analysis of other topics covered by the three dailies showed that reports of some journalists from Serbia were sometimes almost equally as biased as those from refugee camps.

It is definitely not easy to report from a war region. It must be even more difficult to meet the expectations of readers and present the situation on the field in an understandable and yet fair manner. Journalists encounter different obstacles and that must be borne in mind. However, when there is a lack of evidence or when there are details that cannot be verified, journalists need to be cautious about what to put in the text, no matter what they feel. But one thing remains certain - journalists do their job best when they have access to information.

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TRANSLATING TRANSITION:
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION OR DISCOURSE COLONIZATION?

Abstract: This paper looks into strategies of representing and subsequently translating transition in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the press releases published by the most powerful international organization in the country, the Office of the High Representative. It contextualizes the scene by combining international relations' theories with the semanto-pragmatic realizations of texts thus offering a work that seeks to critically analyze the problematic transition discourse of the most powerful international institution in the country.

Key words: transition, discourse, Bosnia and Herzegovina, international community

Introduction

Whoever the High Representative (HR), he or she was supposed to lead Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) into a new era of its development, from socialism to capitalism, from the Balkans into Europe. Language did play a significant role in this process as "the word is the most sensitive *index of social changes*, ... of changes still in the process of growth, still without definitive shape and not as yet accommodated into already regularized and fully defined ideological systems (Volosinov, 1973: 19).

In Spivak's *In Memoriam to Edward W. Said*, published also as a preface to the translation of *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason* into Serbian, she says "the relationship of postcolonial theory to the Balkan as metaphor is a crucial task for our world" (Spivak, 2004: *i*). Even though postcolonial studies primarily went about studying strong colonial discourses and their relations to Others in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America, I would like to propose seeing the Balkans as a part of the Third World due to its long history of being *othered* and because after the Cold War and the Bosnian war, some former European socialist countries rapidly became the Third World (Iveković, 2004). The increasingly pervasive discourse of the international community, in the Balkans current affairs is a call to action for linguists, anthropologists and philosophers, both as intellectuals but also as citizens on the other end of the communication channel, to develop a more active and critical interest in what the international community is talking about thus becoming greater agents in the social processes in question.

"Colonizer" and "colonized" can be fairly elastic if you define scrupulously. When an alien nation-state establishes itself as ruler, impressing its own laws and systems of education, and re-arranging the mode of production for its own economic benefit, one can use these terms, I think...By contrast, your area displaced the political lines of old multi-ethnic imperial formations: Ottoman, Habsburg, Russian. The Eastern edge pushes into terrain that would be even further from the single-nation model... Although the single-nation model was almost invariably accompanied by explicit or implicit "civilizing missions," they did not dictate the political and economic structure of the colonial state directly. When we look at these differences we realize that using the colonizer-colonized model creatively in your area will enhance existing colonial discourse and postcolonial studies as well as provide you with an interesting model. (Spivak, 2003: 7-8).

BiH is an Eastern European country where the international community's presence was the longest and strongest, perhaps with the exception of Kosovo, so special relationships between internationals and locals have been established; and secondly because current social science possesses insufficient understanding of the role of discourses in the processes of transition (Fairclough, 2005).

If we take that a privileged access to discourse and communication is one of those socially valued resources (Van Dijk, 1993) that privileged access here is held by the Office of the High Representative (OHR) whose sovereignty informs the public via its website, whether it is announcing, building a positive image, sanctioning, bringing legislation, encouraging or otherwise promoting a political stance (Lassen, 2006). To make their dominance more efficient, the OHR also uses all communication resources available from press officers, through press releases and press conferences- it is no wonder that almost every breaking news on local TV stations begins by a statement or ultimatum from the OHR. These statements appear in various frames and representations, most notably recontextualization (Bernstein, 1990), which is an appearance of newly established textual synonyms that do not exist in another discourse type (Fairclough, 1989: 115). Examples of recontextualization are for instance extradition of war criminals to ICTY framed as a necessary precondition for entering the EU, or NATO membership as 'normality of any country'. In this respect, HR's frequent appeals to intellectuals¹² to help BiH accept the changes and transition are also interesting. Control of context is one of the prerequisites for the control of discourse and a discourse analyst needs to know who is included and who is excluded, who sets the agenda etc. The context is looked at as a macrostructure, as an interface of historical circumstances within a selected corpus of texts.

Here I adopt the critical discourse analysis (CDA) perspective, which, following the functional-systemic linguistics, looks at relations of dominance and inequality within a range of socially produced texts in order to bring about social change. There are many ways of analyzing texts and discourses, and this study presents an eclectic and interpretative way of outlining elements of context-specific transition in question. To do this, I have looked at the corpus-based evidence of concrete textual realizations to see how transition was represented and 'translated' by the OHR through various linguistic means and the potential implications of this process.

Theorizing transition

Despite being a very interesting case study, Bosnia is not markedly different from other transitional countries in terms of the often painful structural and socio-economic changes 'on the road to the EU'. After the Bosnian war 1992-1995, the international community (IC) established a strong presence in the country and the OHR in Bosnia and Herzegovina was declared the most powerful international body and the 'final authority in theatre'¹³ regarding the implementation of Dayton and

¹² This is particularly interesting if we have in mind Verschuere's concept of 'dynamics of adaptation' (Verschuere, 1999:66) as the OHR in the long run wants to appeal to the elites and to have the elites share his visions. No matter how dictatorial a HR may be perceived as being public at the moment, one of the strategic goals of the IC is to have Bosnia eventually 'adapted' to its new transitional condition 'ensuring BiH is a peaceful, viable state on course to European integrations'.

¹³ Article 5 of Annex 10 to the General Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, state the High Representative "is the final authority in theater regarding interpretation of [the] Agreement

subsequent accession of (BiH) into the EU¹⁴. The OHR was to introduce discourses of democratization and transition in the country but, ironically, justification of these discourses was achieved through the use of power and authority atypical for the democratizing processes in question. Understanding discourse to be an element of all social processes, events and practices (Fairclough, 1992) with which it has a dialectical relationship (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 66, Fairclough, 2003, 2005), this study focuses on the semiotic elements of transition discourses constructed by the OHR in BiH only to reveal more problematic relations of the OHR's dominance in a sovereign country.

Delineating the width and breadth of the transition process in Romania, Fairclough says the following about transition:

1. There is not one form of capitalism but many forms. The market is only one regulatory mechanism within contemporary forms of capitalism, which combines in various ways with others, hierarchies (states) and networks (Pickles & Smith 1998, Jessop 2002, Stark & Bruszt 1998, Sayer 1995).
2. The particular trajectories of 'transition' vary in different countries but also within different countries, depending on legacies, including how the process of extrication from communism took place. The forms of capitalism which develop are consequently also variable. (Przeworski 1992, Pickles & Smith 1998, Daianu 200x)
3. Research on transition in a particular country should be sensitive to (a) variation both between and within social fields - economy, government, politics, media etc (b) hybridity (including mixtures of old and new genres) in particular fields, institutions, practices etc.
4. Transition has semiotic as well as non-semiotic elements. Consequently variation and hybridity will be in part semiotic variation and hybridity (see for instance Miroiu 1999 on variation and hybridity in post-1989 Romanian political discourses) - in the way social life is represented, narrated, imagined (therefore in discourses), in semiotic aspects of forms of action and interaction (therefore in genres), in semiotic aspects of the identities of social actors (therefore in styles) (Fairclough, 2005: 8).

Transition is in a close relationship with neoliberalism as a prevalent ideology of the modern liberal democracies, a mutated form of *laissez faire* economy of the 19th century and a descendent of Fordism, that is discursively introduced in transitional countries through constructs such as market economy, the survival of the fittest,

on the civilian implementation of the peace agreement," and Article II(1)(d) of that Annex, which empowers the High Representative to "facilitate, as the High Representative judges necessary, the resolution of any difficulties arising in connection with civilian implementation." The sentence 'final authority in theatre' can often be found in removal decisions.

¹⁴ These powers were granted to the High Representative by Dayton and further enhanced by the Bonn Peace Implementation Council's Declaration of 1997. The Bonn Declaration is an extensive 26-page list of internationally prepared legislative measures...(which) covered policy-making powers at both state, entity and municipal level; intervening in order to regulate policy on housing, education, the legal system, citizenship, travel, the constitution, refugee return, policing, the media, electoral regulation, economic reconstruction and regional relations...extending right down to requirements for the Bosnian sports teams at the Winter Olympics in Nagano, Japan (PIC, 1997b, section II, 3)" (Chandler, 2000: 157).

minimal welfare state, and dominance of multinational companies¹⁵. Neoliberalism in transitional countries is defined as "a political project for facilitating restructuring and re-scaling of social relations in accord with the demands of an unrestrained global capitalism (Bourdieu 1998). It has been imposed on the post-socialist economies as the (allegedly) best means of rapid system transformation, economic renewal, and re-integration into the global economy" (Fairclough, 2003: 7-8). Transition discourse in Bosnia can be seen as related to neoliberal democratic values common for all CEE but it can also be conceptualized as a follow-up of the so-called "postwar" or "democratization" period", which set the tune and paved the way for the unquestionable, inevitable transition.

The 'new democracies' were seen as dysfunctional for many reasons such as deep cultural barriers and Bosnian democratization and transition were seen as a much needed 'noble experiment' (Denitsch, 1996: 60). There are different opinions about international involvement in BiH, but they are mainly divided into those who think there was no other alternative and those who think although there may have not been alternatives, the actual democratization has been catastrophic. Because of so much blood spilt in the name of nationalistic ideals, some critics say Western outsiders 'are far better representatives of the genuine interests of the Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian peoples and states than their patriotic leaders' (Denitsch, 1996: 32). The new democratic societies are seen as inept, meaning 'they have remarkably few legal, political, and civic skills; they hold deep-seated prejudice...and have yet little willingness to reconceptualize their prejudices or anxieties in language familiar to Westerners' (Fine, 1996: 559).

More recent and rather different opinions emerged later critiquing the 'noble experiment' as 'a mockery of any meaningful concept of democracy' and a 'grotesque parody of democratic principles' (Carpenter, 1997 in Chandler, 2000: 158, 190). Paddy Ashdown has received much critique regarding his colonial-style politics, 'running Bosnia like Raj', and 'making much greater use of his untrammelled powers as a 'benevolent despot' than his predecessors (Traynor, 2003). The critique of the 'evangelic belief' in imposing democracy from above and its similarities with the British East India company was a theme of Knaus and Martin's (2003) article 'Travails of the European Raj'. By analyzing concrete democratization practices, Chandler also challenged the assumption of democracy taught from the above especially in 'third wave' or Eastern European countries (Huntington, 1991b: 12, Schmitter and Karl, 1991: 75 in Chandler, 2000: 7), for which 'transition' meant the process of accepting and adjusting to liberal democracy.

Analyzing the transition discourse

1. *Transition as Their Mission*

The opening web page of the OHR's website www.ohr.int reads:

1. The position of High representative was created under the General Framework Agreement for Peace in BiH (Dayton Peace Agreement) of 14 December 1995 to oversee implementation of the civilian aspects of the Peace Agreement.

¹⁵ See more in "Discourse in Processes of Social Change: 'Transition' in Central and Eastern Europe" (Fairclough, 2000).

2. The mission of the High representative (who is also the European Union's Special Representative) is to work with the people of BiH and the International Community to ensure that Bosnia and Herzegovina is a peaceful, viable state on course to European integration.

3. The High representative's mission implies cooperation with the BiH citizens and the international community.

What does this actually mean and in how many ways can we interpret "the role" of this institution, i.e. person who performs this function? A simple analysis of these three sentences renders that both propositions are fairly neutralized and unmarked without any modality. After the Peace accord was signed, the West¹⁶ has taken on the role of the peace provider, presupposing there could be no peace in Bosnia until somebody provided it. Then, there is a collocation "to oversee implementation" where the OHR's role of Actor is established. The word *implementation* (*implementacija*), previously introduced in 1996, could have been translated as *sprovođenje*, but remained in its English derivative thus receiving a connotation and immediate association with the IC rhetoric. In terms of the scheme of the first sentence, for rhetorical and communicative reasons, and because the thematic and information structures are semantically close, the accent was put on the civilian part (although some of the most frequent words in the corpus analysis were "police" and "army"). The last noun, 'citizens', as opposed to 'people' or 'comrades', signifies the transition from socialism to civil society, and overseeing implementation of the civilian aspects of Dayton, presupposes that these citizens are unable to create and maintain conditions of peace themselves, therefore, an overseer was necessary. Even at first glance, it becomes clear that the noun phrase *High representative of the International Community*, is the ultimate linguistic Actor, the doer (overseeing, working to ensure, representing, cooperating), while the BiH citizens are the Affected. Circumstances are presupposed by the Dayton Peace accord and are implicit in the text.

The presupposition that citizens of BiH are not in Europe and that they should be taken into Europe (to ensure that Bosnia and Herzegovina is a peaceful, viable state on course to European integration) is also very interesting. "Whether or not the Balkans are non-European is mostly a matter of academic and political debate, but they certainly have no monopoly over barbarity" (Todorova, 1997: 7). In the postwar discourse of the IC in BiH, this presupposed barbarity has become as a pretext for its civilizing mission and policies of rescaling and restructuring the BiH society from the outside by using the vague term 'transition'.

2. *Rescaling economies, rescaling societies*

To see what transition has meant in the OHR's discourse, let us look at some examples of this word's collocations as its most immediate context. Note that in many cases, transition is represented as 'a passage from a well-defined point of departure to a unitary and well-defined destination' (Fairclough, 2005:4). Here, rescaling indicates the relationship between economy and society; if an economy is transforming from regional and national to more international scales (this is known

¹⁶ Aware of the dangers of homogenizing the West, we use this term with great caution. 'West' is used in the context of the IC and NATO presence in Bosnia to establish control over the local context.

as globalization), and also from rural to urban so will the society. Therefore, it is to be understood as restructuring or transformation of a society's economy, especially in societies where transition is an imposed necessity.

2a. Representing transition in corpus

a) Socio-economic transition, (transition is difficult):

1. all the transitions that Bosnia and Herzegovina is undergoing and lead the country in a responsible and serious manner: from a post-war situation to lasting peace, from Communism to democracy, from a Socialist economy to a market economy.
2. Economic transition is a tough challenge.
3. the difficult transition and reform processes that the country is undergoing.
4. First, transition, a process requiring difficult reforms, but one that can ultimately lead to EU membership

b) Socio-economic transition with a value judgment, (transition can bring success)

1. We are witnessing the double-transition from war to peace and from a failed Communist system to a functioning market economy.
2. countries which have already made a successful transition to market democracy
3. a transition to modern democratic politics accompanied by economic growth
4. OHR MIP (Mission Implementation Plan) is part of a wider transition strategy to a more European, less interventionist, presence more suitable for a country wishing to join the EU.
5. The High Representative said that if BiH wanted to follow the path taken by successful transition countries it must... (conditional proposition if...then)
 - get business-friendly legislation onto the statute books and eliminate job-destroying legislation;
 - create a single economic space; and
 - establish a single customs service and a countrywide VAT system.

c) Metaphors of time and speed

1. the Law on Citizenship envisages a transitional period of five years - until January 1, 2003
2. BiH is no longer a post-war country, but a country in transition, which opens up many new questions.
3. The two World Bank officials expressed their dissatisfaction with the pace of the transition process in BiH
4. Bosnia and Herzegovina has no time to waste if it wants to catch up with other European countries in transition.

2b. Slow transition leads to bankruptcy- a textual case study

Below is another example where transition can be identified in terms of forms of action and interaction (genres) and identities of social actors (styles) (Fairclough, 2005: 8). Using the classification of Popović (2000), as this is an asymmetrical form of interaction whereby the HR is superior to the addressees, I illustrate how transition is represented as a necessity.

The High representative, Paddy Ashdown, on Monday warned that BiH faces bankruptcy if its legislators do not begin urgently enacting and implementing economic reforms. "Aid is falling, debts are mounting and investment is flat," the High representative told an audience at the Holiday Inn in Sarajevo, where the European Union and OHR launched a pamphlet on employment creation "Action for Jobs", and the EU announced the launch of the second phase of its Quick Impact Facility, which offers financial and consulting assistance to start-up businesses. The event also honored successful BiH entrepreneurs.

"The trade deficit during the first seven months of this year was over 3 billion KM," the High representative noted. "We imported nearly four times more than we exported during this same period. This is clearly unsustainable."

"That is why we must dramatically increase the gradient of reform," the High representative said. "And why it is so important that government at the higher levels - in the Entities and the State - fulfill their side of the bargain by creating an environment that encourages enterprise, rewards hard work, attracts investment and facilitates trade."

On the positive side, the High representative alluded to the efforts of the Bulldozer Committee, formed in mid November, to identify and eliminate job-destroying regulations left over from the old centrally-planned economy. "We need to see rapid progress on the introduction of VAT in place of the iniquitous sales tax, and real progress on reforming the corruption prone customs," he said. "And we need exports, exports, exports." "High representative calls for Exports, Exports, Exports", December 02, 2002

CD- transition from old economy to new economy

REF - more exports, implementation of trade reforms, poverty as a consequence of the absence of reforms;

PRSP - if the reforms are implemented, there would be more foreign investments, new jobs, more export and subsequently less poverty (topos of better future);

INT - pragmatic (it is assumed that the citizens¹⁷, just like the HR, want more foreign investments, new jobs, more export, less poverty and faster transition but the argument's beginning reads as a speech act of warning).

Short topicalization, pragmatic interest, presupposition and the use of directives (exercitives according to Austin) (*warn*) are important generic features of the OHR's political discourse. Here, is a conflation of the rule of sociality, the rule of common denominators, and the rule of modeling of reality. In terms of identities, there is mostly an inclusive *we* in which the HR identifies himself with the Bosnians by saying "we need exports" and that "we need to see rapid progress". This deictic

¹⁷ Citizens are used here to denote this text's audience.

shows that without the rule of common denominators, there is no interest for the addressee and this is a strategy of simulated solidarity (Fairclough, 1989) common in political speech genres. Whether the addressee sees this interest or not, the OHR rhetoric keeps including the pragmatic interests by presupposing their alleged common experience. But, this supposed commonality is preceded by a warning and an *if...then* proposition both of which indicate who sets the tone and decides what needs to be done.

In terms of presupposed information, there are lists of things that have been brought into close contextual and logical connection, and "where one has lists, one has things placed in connection, but without any indication of the precise nature of the connection" (Fairclough, 1989: 188), which is another mechanism of recontextualization. In this paragraph *enacting and implementing economic reforms* has become recontextualized or has come to mean *rapid progress on the introduction of VAT, progress on reforming the corruption prone customs, and exports while bankruptcy, falling aid, mounting debts, and flat investment* represented as hierarchically equal noun phrases on the other end of the transition continuum. Generally speaking, transition has come to mean a positive thing and certainly a matter of rescaling economies and societies without consulting the citizens.

3. Transition as Change

Change is often difficult. The results here in BiH are sometimes hard to see as one goes about the daily and often difficult business of living and getting by. But slowly and surely, we are making progress, real progress. We have, over the last year, created many of the weapons we need to fight crime... We are cleaning up politics... But politics, corruption and criminality still live far too close together in this country, and we need to break these links. "Open Letter from the HR to the Citizens of BiH", 27 May 2003

This paragraph shows an example of simulated solidarity in an open letter to the BiH citizens, as a form of direct address. This at the same time also a press release. After removals of individuals, making and changing of laws, decisions etc., he summarizes his work in Bosnia and talks about it as 'change', which is an example of recontextualization (Bernstein, 1990, Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). The HR's and IC's work on transition on Bosnia means a 'difficult change', but, strangely, the HR appears to be the only one contributing (active, agent). Then, he moves on to sympathize with the BiH citizens who sometimes don't see this change as they 'go about the daily and often difficult business of living and getting by' (note the use of indefinite one instead of you, or the citizens), and then uses an inclusive we to unambiguously point out that 'we are making progress'.

The topos 'things will get harder before they get better', is almost a cliché and a denial of the difficulties surrounding the OHR's work in BiH. It is always 'others' who are making it more difficult and it is never 'us' (the OHR), which is a discursively distorted reality that BiH citizens have to buy. There is an exceptionally active role of the OHR, given in the exclusive we, and although the OHR 'has created weapons to fight crime', referring to his untrammelled powers and 'cleaning up politics' is a euphemism for removing politicians, which presupposes dirt and mess.

4. Transition as Joining NATO/EU

Progress has been made so far not through the Bonn powers of the HR, he said, 'but the power of a dream. A dream that this country can one day become a member of the European Union. Can one day become a member of NATO. Can one day become a normal country, capable of providing a better and safer life for its citizens'. 'Hard Work and Confidence Will Take BiH from Dayton to Brussels', 3 December 2003

This text has been selected as another example of representing transition in BiH, which is in 'a critical moment' or at a crossroads, to decide if and how fast the dream of Europe will become a reality or a point of arrival after the transition has been completed. This paragraph also contains an apparent denial; the progress the HR is referring to has been made possible not through the sweetness and power of a promise, but of a 'stick' given to the HR through the Bonn powers, which is *topos ad carotam*. There is a stylistic repetition of the word 'dream' and the sentence part 'can one day become', both of which suggest some future potential. The modal can for expressing ability in this segment is also worth noting:

'this country can one day become a member of the European Union.

Can one day become a member of NATO.

Can one day become a normal country, capable of providing a better and safer life for its citizens

Presuppositions in this paragraph are plentiful: 'Can one day' presupposes 'it is not yet, but it might be able to be'; another presupposition is that 'the dream of a prosperous, secure future' is not a reality, that 'this country is not a member of the EU and NATO' and that 'this country is not a normal country able to provide a good and safe enough life for its citizens'. Also, the sentence, 'can one day become a member of the EU, can one day become a member of NATO, can one day become a normal country' is an attributive SVC sentence (Quirk et al, 1996) and this counting of the three attributes presumes the relationship of equivalence between them. 'Member of the EU', 'member of NATO', 'a normal country able to provide good and safe life' are all textual synonyms of this texts although they cannot be found in any known discourse type. This suggests that in the Western discourse directed at transitional countries in general, the synonymy of the phrases 'NATO membership' and 'normality of a country' have lost every arbitrariness. They have become legitimized and commonsensical to the extent that it is no wonder they have been used as textual synonyms. The metaphor 'from Dayton to Brussels' does not refer to the geographical distance, but is used here to refer to the Bosnian road from the end of the war and end of socialism (Dayton) to the beginning of transition, and subsequent joining the EU and NATO (Brussels), and capitalism. This would be an example of a common contemporary genre called 'hortatory report'; it uses "descriptions with a cover prescriptive intent aimed at getting people to act in a certain ways on the basis of representations of what it is" (Fairclough, 2003:96).

Conclusion

What is transition, do we need it and how is it to be communicated? Due to the peculiarity of the BiH postwar condition, transition seems to have been forcefully introduced by the international community and it has come to mean anything from economic reforms, joining EU, but also a process of difficult change. The meanings

have been generated from above and there was no real intrinsic transition that should have happened among the BiH citizens. To answer the question from the title, in BiH, transition was not a result of communication and civic participation but the top-down, one-way mediated dictate. Too much democratization did not result in democracy and too much discourse on transition from the above cannot generate the transition from within.

The problems with globalization and transition currents in Eastern Europe, even where there was no war and where trade reforms were established a decade ago, are that poverty remains, that social gaps are deeper, and that the West may have difficulties fulfilling the promise given after the fall of the Wall. Transition, its translations and implications should not be taken for granted but questioned time and again as the true social change for the better should belong to members of society who should be able to translate it themselves.

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Sarah McMonagle

THE IRISH LANGUAGE IN POST-AGREEMENT NORTHERN IRELAND: LINGUISTIC NORMALISATION?

Abstract: The Irish language is the first official language of the Republic of Ireland and a minority language with some official status in Northern Ireland. Irish language maintenance has differed dramatically in both jurisdictions since partition of the island in 1921. Violence and sectarianism have allowed the Irish language to be associated with the Nationalist division in the Northern Ireland conflict. Recent policy initiatives point to a move towards multiculturalism in the region, with strong emphasis on foreign language competence and intercultural skills. What, then, is the role of the Irish language - associated with nationalism - in this move towards multiculturalism? A flourishing peace process and an increasingly diversifying society makes Irish speakers just one of many linguistic communities in Northern Ireland. Can recent and ongoing developments bring about “linguistic normalisation” with regard to indigenous languages during the post-agreement phase?

Key words: Irish language; Gaeilge; Northern Ireland; Republic of Ireland; Cultural Nationalism; Identity; Multiculturalism; Linguistic Normalisation; Northern Ireland Languages Strategy

The Irish language (*Gaeilge*) belongs to the Gaelic branch of the Celtic languages, along with Scottish Gaelic (*Gàidhlig*) and Manx Gaelic (*Gaelg*). Gaelic spread from the island of Ireland to Britain during the fifth and sixth centuries. Irish, Gaelic in Scotland and the Manx language of the Isle of Man are thus said to have a common cultural heritage.¹⁸ The other Celtic languages comprise the British or Brythonic branch, and are Welsh, Cornish and Breton.

The Irish language has been in steady demise for centuries. With British colonisation, military and economic expansion, English gradually became the day-to-day language of the population of Ireland. The famine of the 1840s had devastating consequences for the language. Death and mass migration meant that, by the second half of the nineteenth century, native and fluent speakers of Irish remained in isolated pockets, mainly along the western seaboard (areas known as *Gaeltachtaí*). At this time, nationalism was sweeping across Europe and the organisation of states took hold. Ireland was no exception as the desire for political and cultural congruity found credence. A movement for Home Rule was met by nationalist struggle for independence from Britain. The Herderian equation of *one language-one nation-one state* was evoked as the legitimising tool of nationalists. So at a time when Irish language usage had reached a low - when Irish people were choosing English as the language of modernity, commerce and power - the intimate connection between the national community and its own unique language became a central component of cultural nationalism. Tony Crowley says that “at one and the same time the language was being abandoned by its native speakers and eulogised by its admirers.”¹⁹

¹⁸ Ó hIfeárnáin, T. (1998) “Irish”, Ó Corráin, A. and Mac Mathúna, S. (eds.) *Minority Languages in Scandinavia, Britain and Ireland* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis), p. 199.

¹⁹ Crowley, T. (1996) *Language in History*, London; New York: Routledge, p. 112.

The Government of Ireland Act (1920) partitioned the island in 1921 - the 26 counties to the south became the Irish Free State (today the Republic of Ireland), and the six counties of Northern Ireland remained with the United Kingdom. Official attitudes to the Irish language would radically diverge.

The Irish Free State retained an ideological commitment to Irish, declaring it the 'national language'. The 1937 Constitution repeated and boosted this declaration by affirming Irish as the first official language of the state, although it was not universally spoken. Constitutionally, English is the second official language of the Republic of Ireland and is the first language of the majority of the population. Following partition, the Unionist administration of Northern Ireland displayed antipathy towards the Irish language. This is exemplified by a statement from Viscount Craigavon, then Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, in 1936:

What use is it here in this busy part of the Empire to teach our children the Irish language? ... We do not see that these boys being taught Irish would be any better citizens.²⁰

The citizens of both entities thus experienced the language in dramatically different ways.

Today, Irish speakers exist in scattered communities throughout the island. Furthermore, speakers are linked via social networks and technology. The social context in which Irish survives is remarkable with learners outnumbering native speakers. There are no monoglot Irish speakers. Every Irish speaker is also an English speaker. Irish is, therefore, a language of choice. It is necessary to look at the maintenance of Irish in both parts of the island separately as official policy towards the language has differed greatly within the two jurisdictions.

In the Republic of Ireland, maintenance of the Irish language continues to take a top-down approach. As mentioned, Irish is the first official language according to the constitution of Ireland. The Official Languages Act of 2003 commits the Irish government to the delivery of public services through the Irish language.²¹ On 1st January, 2007, Irish became an official and working language of the European Union, having had only treaty status since Ireland's accession in 1973. Irish is a compulsory school subject (with some exceptions) for Irish pupils throughout primary and secondary education. The Irish government has retained an ideological commitment to the indigenous language since independence. However, this top-down approach is questionable. Ireland does not function as a bilingual country as English remains the dominant day-to-day language. According to the 2006 census, 1.66 million people claim to be able to speak the language. However, just 72,000 of those claim to speak it everyday and outside of the classroom.²²

The impetus for Irish language maintenance in Northern Ireland springs from a very different platform and this is the primary concern of this paper. The region experienced violent political conflict for decades. The Northern Ireland conflict is

²⁰ Cited in Maguire, G. (1991) *Our Own Language: An Irish Initiative*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, p. 11.

²¹ **Official Languages Act 2003.** See <http://www.irlgov.ie/bills28/acts/2003/a3203.pdf>

²² Central Statistics Office Ireland, <http://www.cso.ie/Census/>

generally characterised by the incompatible conceptions of national belonging between Nationalists/Republicans/Catholics and Unionists/Loyalists/Protestants, pledging allegiance to Ireland and Britain respectively. Each community claims to be part of another nation. The desire to live under the relevant jurisdiction not only renders incompatible conceptions of national belonging, but also incompatible means of reconciliation. Nationalist desire to live in a united Ireland versus unionist endeavor to preserve the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland means that, from the outset, the conflict can be described as a political in nature. However, conflict impetus has largely been *identity*-based where issues of community and labelling come strongly into play. Moreover, the process of identification is dual in nature: who you are is defined against who you are not. While the conflict cannot be described as ethnolinguistic overall, it has been driven by the politics of identity whereby one's culture/heritage becomes paramount. As such, the Irish language has come to be associated with the Nationalist community in Northern Ireland. Ethnopolitical strife meant that the language underwent a type of politicisation.

Faced with official hostility under Unionist rule, Irish in Northern Ireland has been sustained through grassroots planning. In 1971, a group of parents established *Bunscoil Phobal Feirste*, the first Irish-medium primary school in Northern Ireland. The initiative was, at first, supported from within the community. This support for Irish was central to preserving an Irish national identity in Northern Ireland. It was simultaneously viewed by some unionists as an indicator of cultural dissent. In particular, the erection of street signage in Irish in nationalist areas has been contentious over the years, seen to demarcate boundaries along sectarian lines. There can be little doubt that official opposition only served to strengthen the Irish language movement.

Changes began to emerge in the 1980s with a ban on broadcasting in Irish being lifted and funding made available for Irish-medium education in Northern Ireland. The 1990s saw further positive support for the language with Irish enjoying minority status under the Council of Europe's Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML).

The Good Friday Agreement of 1998 recognises linguistic diversity in Northern Ireland. Under the section entitled "Rights, Safeguards and Equality of Opportunity" the Agreement states that

All participants recognise the importance of respect, understanding and tolerance in relation to linguistic diversity, including in Northern Ireland, the Irish language, Ulster-Scots and the languages of the various ethnic communities, all of which are part of the cultural wealth of the island of Ireland.²³

Given the role that language has played in identity politics in Northern Ireland, it is little wonder that this clause was included in the peace Agreement. The call for respect for Northern Ireland's linguistic diversity can therefore be seen as a type of conflict management as Irish (and Ulster Scots) have certainly served to mobilise certain sections of the population. Yet it is notable that the Agreement also

²³ **The Agreement: Agreement reached in the multi-party negotiations** 10 April 1998. Rights, Safeguards and Equality of Opportunity. Para. 3, Belfast.

addresses “the languages of the various ethnic communities”.²⁴ Although migration into Northern Ireland is not an entirely new phenomenon, the region has recently become home to sizable populations of Portuguese-, Polish- and Mandarin-speakers, to name but a few. Ten years since the signing of the Agreement, Northern Ireland’s sociocultural landscape has diversified to such a degree that respect for linguistic diversity should no longer be viewed solely as a means of reconciliation between two communities. It must be treated as a move towards overall multiculturalism in the region.

With the advent of the current peace process and the signing of the Agreement in 1998, and despite ongoing political difficulties, the social and economic landscape in Northern Ireland is changing. Recent initiatives by the Department of Education Northern Ireland (DENI) indicate that policymakers are acknowledging Northern Ireland’s place in Europe and the wider world. One such initiative is the recent consultation on provision of English as an Additional Language (EAL) to migrant children in schools. Public policy now recognises that the world is coming into Northern Ireland and the appropriate skills must be in place to ensure equality and, furthermore, to exploit the rich cultural resources now at our disposal.

Another project is the development of the Northern Ireland Languages Strategy²⁵ (currently in development), which seeks to address and redress the general lack of linguistic and intercultural skills in the region. Poor foreign language competence is an unfortunate feature of the UK, and must be addressed if a region like Northern Ireland, emerging from conflict, can truly compete globally. There are thus signs of new thinking in Northern Ireland’s approach to language learning and provision: the interrelation between language and intercultural skills and the role of language competence in the creation of global citizens. With ongoing European expansion, a community is being created where diversity is a characteristic. Public policy in Northern Ireland has the potential to assist in the creation of such a community. The development of a comprehensive languages strategy for Northern Ireland can be seen as a step towards normalisation, serving the economic and social needs of the six counties situated on an island and as part of the United Kingdom and the European Union.

What, then, is the role of the Irish language - strongly identified with nationalism and a particular ethnic identity - in the move towards multiculturalism in Northern Ireland? According to the National Centre for Languages (CILT), the learning of a language brings to one “a broad perspective” and “a tolerance of ambiguity”²⁶. However, in situations of ethnopolitical conflict, borders and identities appear to be fixed. The Irish language has traditionally been perceived to draw boundaries around its respective community. Can recent and ongoing developments bring about “linguistic normalisation” with regard to indigenous languages during the post-agreement phase?

Of course, many people ask why one should bother preserving a language that is spoken by so few on a daily basis. The Irish language is frequently shrugged off as

²⁴ Op. Cit.

²⁵ See <http://www.nils.org.uk>

²⁶ CILT The National Centre for Languages, “The impact of language skills on the UK economy”, <http://www.cilt.org>

something that is “just symbolic”.²⁷ Language policy and planning (LPP) is not just about compiling statistics. Between 1911 and 1991 no official data was collected on the Irish language in Northern Ireland. This dearth hardly reflected levels of usage or backing among its supporters. Nor is LPP about constructing opinion on the viability of a language. Today’s census results rely on the self-assessment of respondents. Given the complex relationship between language, identity and community in Northern Ireland, some respondents claim Irish to be their “mother tongue” although their competence in the language may be limited. Current government figures estimate some 106,844 speakers of Irish in the region.²⁸ Language makes a complex contribution to human experience. To dismiss it as “just symbolic” denies that the fact that language issues act as a proxy - rightly or wrongly - for many types of struggle around the world. Indeed, many speakers of Irish do not agree with the politicisation of the language in Northern Ireland and they seek to preserve it for its cultural worth. Whatever the case, a broad understanding of language and identity and a nuanced understanding of how these relationships play out in actual situations is the challenge for public policy.

The Good Friday Agreement of 1998 allows all citizens of Northern Ireland the right to celebrate identity - Irish, British, European, etc. The challenge for public policy now, and in particular the challenge for the Northern Ireland Languages Strategy, is to acknowledge the importance of ethnolinguistic identity while not leading to new forms of inequality between the many linguistic communities of Northern Ireland. The Strategy seeks to endorse language skills as beneficial for the individual as well as for society. Different languages have different and unique needs and resources in the region. Yet the Strategy does not attempt to create a hierarchy of languages and promotes the learning of indigenous languages, modern European languages, and other world languages. Perhaps the role of multiculturalism is to *assuage* the ethnolinguistic context of the Northern Ireland conflict. If the Languages Strategy can succeed in embracing *all* languages for their general worth, perhaps the Irish language can be moved away from segregation and towards integration, should it become acceptable to all the communities of an increasingly pluralising society.

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²⁷ O’Reilly, C. (2003) “When a Language is ‘Just Symbolic’: Reconsidering the Significance of Language to the Politics of Identity”, in Hogan-Brun, G. and Wolff, S. (eds.) **Minority Languages in Europe**, Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 16-33.

²⁸ Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure (NI), <http://www.dcalni.gov.uk>

**ANGLICISMS IN SERBIAN BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC DISCOURSE - IS IT ZAJEDNIČKO
ULAGANJE, DŽOINT VENČER OR JOINT VENTURE?**

Abstract: The Serbian language has undergone major changes in recent years. After a long period of isolation, followed by profound social, political and economic reforms, there has been a flood of Anglicisms into almost all areas of life, economy and business being no exception. This paper aims to describe the various types of Anglicisms used in *Ekonomski rečnik* published by the Faculty of Economics, Belgrade University, which contains over 7,000 terms. Following Prčić (2005), we have dealt with the different categories of Anglicisms in Serbian economic and business discourse with a special emphasis on *hidden Anglicisms*, those which, albeit in Serbian, reflect the norm and/or follow the rules of English. An attempt will be made to exemplify how the prescribed usage norm in Serbian has been violated due to the huge influence that English exerts on this language at all language levels: orthographic, morphological, syntactic and semantic.

Key words: Anglicisms in Serbian, economic discourse, business discourse.

INTRODUCTION

Business and economic terminology in Serbian has undergone major changes in recent years under the enormous influence of English, both in range and depth. There are several reasons for the influx of Anglicisms in this field²⁹. Firstly, most of the lexical transfers from English are a direct result of the fact that most business and economic developments originate from English-speaking countries, which means that they are frequently accompanied by their original English terminology. This denotative function of Anglicisms has become extremely important in the lexical fields of specialised languages where Anglicisms serve to fill the lexical and/or conceptual gaps in Serbian. Unfortunately, due to the need for linguistic expediency, even if a Serbian equivalent were to appear, it is very likely that an Anglicism would already have filled the gap³⁰. Secondly, the translation of the English term into Serbian as an alternative strategy, frequently results in a long paraphrase which fails to conform to the basic rules for establishing a new term, primarily that of brevity. Since English is morphologically simpler than Serbian, the use of an English term is sometimes more economical than its Serbian equivalent. In addition, the use of an Anglicism is much less complicated and demanding, since finding and forming an appropriate term in Serbian requires a large corpus of knowledge, both economic and linguistic. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, English is held in the highest regard by the younger generation of Serbian economists, who introduce new terms into the terminology of their field of expertise following the bizarre logic that only those terms originating from, or at least sounding English, are able to express a certain scientific or expert meaning. English serves as the symbol of what is new, modern, fashionable and educated.

²⁹ Onysko (2004: 62) offers an overview of six possible motivations for the use of Anglicisms in Germany: (1) semantic, (2) stylistic, (3) euphemistic, (4) emotive, (5) social, and (6) the fact that they are conveniently short.

³⁰ According to Prčić (2005: 146), such retrospectively translated Anglicisms compete for dominance with the original English term.

This paper aims to describe the various types of Anglicisms used in Serbian business and economic discourse. We will pay particular attention to *hidden Anglicisms* in economic and business terminology, “those which, albeit in Serbian, reflect the norm and/or follow the rules of English” (Prčić (2005: 145).

The corpus used for the current analysis consists of approximately 7,000 terms contained in *Ekonomski rečnik*, published in Serbian in 2006. As stated in its foreword, it contains “the basic concepts, key words of important economic disciplines, such as microeconomics, macroeconomics, international economics, marketing, management, accounting, banking and insurance, statistics, econometrics, etc.” Therefore, it provides an accurate picture of the present state of economic and business terminology in Serbian and precisely reflects current tendencies in introducing Anglicisms into these fields.

For the purposes of this paper, an Anglicism is defined as “a word from English used in Serbian, with varying degrees of integration into the system of the Serbian language” (Prčić, 2005: 59). However, a term will also be considered an Anglicism if its usage “reflects and/or follows the norms of the English language - orthographic, phonological, grammatical, semantic or pragmatic” (Prčić, 2005: 59) - or, if its orthographic, phonological, morphological or semantic form deviates from the Serbian language norm, provided that form is the result of the influence of English. For the purposes of this analysis, we have taken into account only “new” Anglicisms, those which have entered Serbian only recently, together with new technologies and new developments in the field of business and economics. “Old” Anglicisms, those which have already been fully adapted, adopted and incorporated into Serbian and are originally mainly Latinisms, have been excluded from the analysis.

TYPES OF ANGLICISMS IN SERBIAN ECONOMIC DISCOURSE

Since the greatest influence of English on the Serbian language takes the form of lexical transfers, it is not surprising that a terminological dictionary such as *Ekonomski rečnik* abounds in Anglicisms and loan words. Some of these loan words are used in their original, raw form, without any adaptation of their phonological, orthographic or morpho-syntactic form, while others are adapted, phonologically and/or orthographically, and in time incorporate themselves into the sound and structural system of Serbian.

Orthographically unadapted Anglicisms³¹, those that have kept their original English orthography, make up the first category of anglicised terms in *Ekonomski rečnik* (e.g. JOINT VENTURE, CALL OPCIJA, OFF-PRICE STORE, COUNTERTRADE, OVERDRAFT, PAY-AS-YOU-GO, PRIME RATE, PUBLIC RELATIONS, RISK SEEKER, KNOW HOW, LEVERAGE, LAYOUT, etc.). It is important to note that most Anglicisms in the form of direct borrowings, i.e. adopted in their original, raw form, are fully unjustified³², for at least two reasons: firstly, it is often possible to translate the

³¹ Prčić (2005: 123) refers to these Anglicisms as „raw“.

³² Prčić (2005: 187-188) offers a justifiability scale for Anglicisms. He divides Anglicisms into *fully unjustified* (if there already is a domestic or naturalised word or expression for the English one), *unjustified* (if it is possible to translate English content into Serbian), *conditionally justified* (if it is shorter and more economic than the domestic or naturalised word or expression), *justified* (if it

English term into Serbian, and secondly, there is already a domestic or naturalised word or expression for the English one (e.g. PUBLIC RELATIONS instead of *odnosi s javnošću*, OVERDRAFT instead of *prekoračenje računa* or *dozvoljeni minus*, RISK SEEKER instead of *ljubitelj rizika*, PRIME RATE instead of *referentna stopa*, LAYOUT instead of *uređenje (prodajnog prostora)*, COUNTERTRADE instead of *kontratrgovina*, BUY BACK instead of *direktna kompenzacija*, etc.). Such zero adapted terms are probably the best illustration of the profession-driven use³³ of Anglicisms, when domestic or naturalised terms are totally ignored.

The second category contains Anglicisms which have been taken from English and have become more or less integrated into the sound and structural system of Serbian. These are orthographically adapted Anglicisms (e.g. DAUNSAJZING, DAMPING, FORFETING, FANDREJZING, ODITING, MERČENDAJZING, BREJNSTORMING, HEDŽING, KLIRING, KONSALTING, LIZING, RECIKLING, REJTING, TELEMARKETING, FRANŠIZING, PIPLMETAR, MULTILEVEL MARKETING, KREDIT REJTING, REVOLVING KREDIT, MARKET MEJKING, KREDITOR, KOPIRAJTER, etc.). The most salient feature of the Anglicisms within this category is noun pre-modification, a characteristic of English. A large number of Anglicisms follow the Noun + Noun structure, without any adaptation of the modifying noun to Serbian morphology³⁴ (e.g. REJTING AGENCIJE instead of *rejtinške agencije*, KATALOG MARKETING instead of *kataloški marketing*, GERILA MARKETING instead of *gerilski marketing*, FORFETING POSLOVI instead of *forfetinški poslovi*, DAMPING CENE, GRINFILD INVESTICIJE, KLASER TRAZNJA, ROLING BUDŽET, OFŠOR POSLOVI, etc.).

Finally, there are also mixed Anglicisms (Prčić 2005: 127), in which one element retains its original English orthography, while the other is translated (e.g. GARDEN CENTAR, GINI KOEFICIJENT, INCENTIVE PUTOVANJA, INPUT-OUTPUT TABELA, JUNK OBVEZNICE, LASH SISTEM, MAKE OR BUY U TRANSPORTU, MASTER BUDŽET, PEAK-LOAD UTVRĐIVANJE CENE, PIGGY-BACK POSLOVI, PULL I PUSH FAKTORI, SPOT CENA, STAND-BY ARANŽMAN, WEB PREZENTACIJA, etc.). This category of Anglicisms contains a significant number of terms which could be orthographically adapted or even translated into Serbian without losing their terminological potential (*stendbaj aranžman*, *ošor kompanija* and *veb prezentacija* have long been used in Serbian as obvious Anglicisms and there is no need for this regression in their further adaptation to our language). This observed tendency of preferring an original English term to a Serbian one clearly shows that anglicised terms are used not because they are objectively superior, but because nowadays “the symbolic

introduces a new nuance of meaning into Serbian) and *fully justified* (if it denotes a new meaning and fills a lexical and/or conceptual gap in Serbian).

³³ According to Prčić (2005:150), there are two general tendencies in the use of Anglicisms in Serbia: (1) *profession-driven use*, most often motivated by the insufficiently founded yet common belief among experts in almost all fields nowadays that only those terms originating from English truly and authentically express a certain expert meaning, whereas domestic or naturalised terms are ignored, or, even worse, experts in the field are not even aware of them; and (2) *status-driven use*, most often motivated by unfounded yet strong belief that using Anglicisms in speech and writing is more fashionable and elegant, and serves as the symbol of the new and the modern. For the purposes of this article, the first use is of the utmost importance.

³⁴ Some other European languages are also subject to this kind of syntactic change brought about by the influence of English. See, for example, Dimova (2007), Hedderich (2003), Drljača (2006), Cabanillas et al. (2007), etc.

function of Anglicisms has become as important if not more important than their informative function“ (Piper 2003: 5).

HIDDEN ANGLICISMS IN SERBIAN ECONOMIC DISCOURSE

Perhaps the most dangerous type of Anglicisms in the Serbian discourse of economic science are hidden Anglicisms - those words or expressions which, albeit in Serbian, reflect the norm and/or follow the rules of English. Such words "are hidden in the forms of Serbian and are easily naturalised" (Prčić 2005: 122), thus giving rise to what Prčić (2005: 67) refers to as *parallel usage norm* - manifested in such a way that the imported usage norm, under the influence of English, is applied in parallel with the existing prescribed Serbian norm, even competing with it, with a tendency to eventually prevail. Under the enormous influence of English, the prescribed Serbian norm is violated on several language levels. The first level is the orthographic one and the violation of this norm is manifested mainly through the literal rewriting of the original English form, completely ignoring the transcription rule (see above). Another distinct manifestation of hidden Anglicisms reflected at orthographic level is the arbitrary orthographic adaptation of the English word according to the English norm of writing or pronunciation, e.g. DIVERSIFIKACIJA instead of *diverzifikacija*, LLOJDS instead of *Lojds*, ST. PETERSBURGŠKI PARADOKS instead of *Sanktpeterburški paradoks*, SERTIFIKACIJA KVALITETA instead of *certifikacija kvaliteta*, DEPRECIJACIJA instead of *depresijacija*, MAK KLILEDOVA TEORIJA MOTIVACIJE instead of *Maklilandova teorija motivacije*, PROCESIRANJE PORUDŽBINE instead of *procesuiranje porudžbine*, KONVINIJENTNA RADNJA instead of *konvenijentna radnja*, DISSATISFAKCIJA KUPCA instead of *nezadovoljstvo kupca*, STEIKHOLDERI instead of *stejkholderi*, etc.

The prescribed Serbian norm is also violated at morphological level, where the enormous influence of English in the form of morphological models of English applied to Serbian is easily noticeable (NEOFROJDIJANSKA TEORIJA instead of *neofrojdska teorija* for neo-Freudian theory, KEJNZIJANIZAM instead of *kejnizam* for Keynesianism, NOVI KEJNZIJANCI, instead of *novi kejnšovci* for New Keynesians, DIVIZIONALNO RAČUNOVODSTVO instead of *divisiono računovodstvo* for divisional accounting, DEPARTMENTALIZACIJA instead of *departmanizacija* for departmentalisation, STRUKTURALNE KOMPONENTE KVALITETA instead of *strukturne komponente kvaliteta* for structural quality components, VALRASIJANSKA RAVNOTEŽA instead of *valrasovska ravnoteža* for Walrasian equilibrium, MALTUZIJANSKE POPULACIJE instead of *maltusovske populacije* for Malthusian population, MALTUZIJANSTVO instead of *maltusizam* for Malthusianism, RIKARDIJANCI instead of *rikardovci* for Ricardians, ASIMETRIČNA INFORMACIJA instead of *asimetrične informacije* for asymmetric information, etc.

At syntactic level, the prescribed Serbian norm is violated through noun pre-modification, i.e. the use of the noun before another noun functioning as an adjective without its appropriate adaptation through the use of morphological suffixes (PORTFOLIO OSIGURANJE instead of *osiguranje portfelja*, FIFO METODA instead of *metoda FIFO*, MARKETING INFORMACIONI SISTEMI instead of *marketinški*

*informacioni sistemi*³⁵, LIZING UGOVOR instead of *ugovor o lizingu*, SISTEM ANALIZA instead of *sistemska analiza*, etc.³⁶

At semantic level, the prescribed Serbian usage norm is mainly violated by ignoring false friends in English and Serbian (e.g. KOMISIJA instead of *provizija*, INDUSTRIJSKI SINDIKAT instead of *granski sindikat*, ISTRAŽIVAČKI PORESKI KREDIT instead of *poreske olakšice za istraživanja*, DELEGIRANJE AUTORITETA instead of *prenos ovlašćenja*, KREDITNO PISMO instead of *akreditiv*, ROJALITET instead of *tantijeme*, etc.). However, the introduction of *inertial synonyms*, which are "semantically unjustified, thereby superfluous" (Prčić 2005: 68) is also indicative of the English influence, since, despite the availability of the long-used domestic term, a new term is launched under the influence of English, as a consequence of the author's urge to display his proficiency in English, e.g. BANKROTSTVO vs. STEČAJ, EKONOMIJA vs. PRIVREDA, EKVITI vs. AKCIJSKI KAPITAL, KOOPERATIVE vs. ZADRUGE, KREDIT REJTING vs. BONITET, MARGINA vs. MARŽA, PULL STRATEGIJA vs. STRATEGIJA PRIVLAČENJA, PUSH STRATEGIJA vs. STRATEGIJA GURANJA, NETARIFNE BARIJERE vs. VANCARINSKA ZAŠTITA, RENT SEEKING vs. TRAŽENJE RENTE, SUNK TROŠKOVI vs. NEOTKLONJIVI TROŠKOVI, VENDOR ANALIZA vs. ANALIZA DOBAVLJAČA, etc.). It somehow seems that, in the opinion of the younger generation of Serbian economists, some of the domestic terms within these synonymous pairs have depreciated and become "determinologised" in the process of the loosening of their terminological meaning. Namely, according to Meyer and Mackintosh (2000a: 112), "when a term captures the interest of the general public ... a lexical item that was once confined to a fixed meaning within a specialized domain is taken up in general language" through the process of *de-terminologisation*. It seems as though Serbian economists believe that domestic Serbian terms have become "worn out" and no longer "deserve" to be used within economic terminology. It seems as though the time has come to consider such terms as being reserved only for laypeople, and, consequently, to "replace" them with terms which are more "scientific" and more "expert".

The process of calquing, the literal, word-for-word or root-for-root loan-translation of English words, structures and meanings in order to create Serbian words and structures, whereby the formation of a new word occurs on the basis of Serbian elements, but according to the semantic pattern of English, is ubiquitous (e.g. KLIRINŠKA KUĆA, POSLOVNI INKUBATORI, TARGETNA ZONA, etc.). English compounds are frequently translated as phrases, such as KUPOVINA OD KUĆE (home shopping), KUPOVINA PUTE M IZLOGA (window shopping), KUPOVINA JEDNOM POSETOM (one-

³⁵ What is missing here is the secondary adaptation of the Anglicisms in question - the formation of new flective forms in Serbian.

³⁶ There is a large number of hybrid terms in the corpus where a Serbian noun is pre-modified by a raw Anglicism, e.g. OFF-SHORE KOMPANIJA, ONLINE KATALOG, PIGGY-BACK POSLOVI, INCENTIVE PUTOVANJA, INPUT-OUTPUT TABELA, JUNK OBVEZNICE, FUZZY SISTEMI, CURRENCY TEORIJA, ADVISOR STUDIJA, BANKING TEORIJA, BULK NABAVKA, CALL OPCIJA, CALL TRŽIŠTE, CASH & CARRY VELEPRODAJA, STOP-GO POLITIKA, etc. There is only one example of the Serbian model of noun compound formation: FORMULA FLEXIBILITY. It is not surprising, therefore, that most creators of new economic terms follow the English model of noun compound formation, even if they use Serbian translation equivalents or orthographically adapted Anglicisms and not the English words in their raw form (e.g. MENADŽMENT OTKUP, MENI TROŠKOVI, DAMPING CENE, DESKTOP REVOLUCIJA, FORFETING POSLOVI, GERILA MARKETING, HEDŽING TEHNIKA, NOKAUT OPCIJA, SVIČ POSLOVI, etc.).

stop shopping), etc. This process sometimes takes the form of *partial loan translation*, "a hybrid procedure in which one element, the base or affix, is translated by an appropriate domestic or naturalised 'foreign' element whereas the remaining element is borrowed (Prčić, 2005: 179), e.g. OFŠOR BANKARSTVO for *off-shore banking*. Some other salient examples include: POSLOVNI CIKLUS for *business cycle* instead of *privredni ciklus*, STUDIJA SLUČAJA for *case study* instead of *primer iz prakse*, ŽUTE STRANE for *yellow pages* instead of *poslovni imenik*, etc.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

According to this small-scale analysis (a more thorough quantitative and qualitative analysis was beyond the scope of this article), it is possible to make certain recommendations regarding the introduction of a new term originating from English into Serbian economic vocabulary, which may be referred to as the terminological principles. The basic principle states: **translate**, whenever possible, reasonable or more economical. This means that a domestic term should always take precedence over an Anglicism. If the Serbian translation equivalent results in a paraphrase, is too long or cumbersome and does not resemble a term, or if it is impossible to incorporate the overall content into a meaningful form, then it is legitimate to adopt an Anglicism. However, an Anglicism should not, under any circumstances, be adopted without being previously adapted to Serbian language rules (concerning its orthographic, morphological, syntactic and semantic form). If a Serbian or a naturalised term for the concept already exists, there is no need to introduce a new term (an Anglicism), no matter how fashionable it may seem. Finally, close co-operation with language experts is essential.

The strict adherence to these principles could help to reduce the overuse of Anglicisms to an acceptable level. Only in this way will Serbian business and economic vocabulary preserve its autochthony and the unnecessary use of Anglicisms be discouraged.

To put it in a nutshell and answer the question posed in the title of this article: it is definitely ZAJEDNIČKO ULAGANJE.

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LINGUISTIC FACTORS BEHIND THE GLOBAL SPREAD OF ENGLISH

Abstract: The paper deals with linguistic factors which have contributed to the global spread of English and its becoming today's first language of world communication and sole supplementary language to most other languages world-wide. In addition to non-linguistic reasons for its global spread, which are independent of English and which include historical, economic, political and cultural factors, amply documented in D. Crystal's *English as a Global Language* (2003), linguistic factors, which stem from the system of English, have received little scholarly attention so far. The observations that follow are an attempt at filling the present descriptive gap in this matter.

Key words: lexical brevity, functional versatility, grammatical simplicity, primary use, secondary use

1. Introduction

In discussions of the current role of English as the first language of world communication today (cf. Crystal 2003; Graddol 1997, 2006) and the sole supplementary language to most other languages world-wide (cf. Prčić 2003, 2004, 2005a), the focus has almost always been placed on non-linguistic reasons for its global spread. These are independent of English and include historical, economic, political and cultural factors, amply documented by D. Crystal in his *English as a Global Language* (2003). However, greatly contributing to this apparently unstoppable global spread is one other set of reasons - it is linguistic factors, which relate to its system and are hence dependent on English.³⁷ Linguistic factors, as they are understood in the present paper, can be viewed from two complementary angles: the one comprises factors stemming from the language system itself, while the other involves factors stemming from the use of that system.

2. Factors relating to the system of English

The system of English is characterized by three defining structural properties, which, taken together, make it uniquely stand apart from most other languages. These are: lexical brevity, functional versatility and grammatical simplicity.

LEXICAL BREVITY concerns the availability of a large number of short words - of one, two and three syllables, which are sufficient for fulfilling a wide range of both spoken and written communicative needs, except for the very technical and/or specialized ones. They have been inherited from the Germanic roots of English, but also created by clipping longer words, mainly of Romance origin (cf. Crystal 1995). Frequency counts in electronic corpora of English, notably the British National Corpus (cf. Kilgarriff 1995; Leech, et al. 2001), different word lists, like *Ogden's Basic English* (Online source 1), *West's General Service List* (Online source 2) and *VOA Special English Word Book* (Online source 3), as well as the defining

³⁷ Surprisingly enough, these factors have not attracted much systematic scholarly interest so far. According to Bugarski 1972: Ch. 7, the first to bring up the topic of evaluation of language systems was D. Jenisch in the 18th century; much later, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, O. Jespersen dealt with some aspects of this problem in his works *Progress in Language* (1894), *Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin* (1922) and *Efficiency in Linguistic Change* (1941).

vocabularies of learner's dictionaries like *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Wehmeier 2005), *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (Summers 2004), *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Walter and Woodford 2005) and *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (Rundell 2007), show convincingly that short words constitute the majority of the 3000+ most frequent words in English. In this way, a high degree of language economy and lexical concision are achieved.

FUNCTIONAL VERSATILITY concerns the availability of productive and efficient mechanisms for lexical innovation, both formal and semantic, while still reasonably retaining lexical brevity, with simple, complex, compound and phrasal bases used as input units (cf. Bauer 1983; Plag 2003; Quirk, et al. 1985; Huddleston and Pullum 2002; Stojičić 2006; Prčić 2005b, 2007, 2008; Kövecses 2002). Three kinds of lexical innovation can be distinguished:³⁸

- (a) expression of new meanings with new forms, for naming new products and concepts, by word-formation processes: prefixation (e.g. *dis-* + *connect* > *disconnect*), suffixation (*moistur[e]* + *-ize* > *moisturize*), endocentric N+N composition (*web* + *designer* > *web designer*), neoclassical composition (*phono-* + *-logy* > *phonology*), back formation (*babysitter* - *-er* > *babysit*) and blending (*predict* + *dictionary* > *predictionary*),
- (b) expression of existing meanings with shorter forms, by word-formation processes: clipping (e.g. *gym[nasium]* > *gym*) and acronymy (*[I]ndependent* + *T[elevision]* + *N[ews]* > *ITN*), and by ellipsis (*[earth]quake* > *quake*),
- (c) expression of new meanings with existing forms, by sense-formation processes: metaphor (e.g. *mouse*_{animal} > *mouse*_{pointing device}) and metonymy (*bottle*_{container} > *bottle*_{contents}), and by word-formation processes: conversion (*dry*_{adj} > *dry*_v).

GRAMMATICAL SIMPLICITY concerns the availability of simple, straightforward and flexible morphological and syntactic rules for combining words into phrases and sentences (cf. Quirk, et al. 1985; Greenbaum and Quirk 1990; Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 2005; Biber, et al. 1999, 2002). These comprise the following subsystems:

- (a) morphology, with a greatly reduced number of inflectional suffixes and with a manageable number of irregular forms of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs,
- (b) syntax at phrase level, with predictable, left-to-right ordering of theme, rheme and focus, which realize communicative dynamism in NPs (e.g. *The little girl*), VPs (*has been playing*) and PPs (*in the garden*), and with premodification of nouns with other nouns (*stone wall*) and phrases (*easy-to-use equipment*, *take-away food*),
- (c) syntax at sentence/clause level, with predictable, left-to-right ordering of S + V + O (e.g. *She bought a dress*) and of S + V + C (*She is beautiful*), which realize communicative dynamism in unmarked structures and with a choice of marked word orders to achieve various kinds of

³⁸ Letters and segments that are dropped will be enclosed within square brackets; letters and segments that overlap will be underlined.

thematization (*It is a dress that she bought; What she bought is a dress; A dress she bought; She bought a dress, she did*).

3. Factors relating to the use of the system of English

The use of the system of English takes place at two interlocking levels: the one can be called primary use and the other secondary use.

PRIMARY USE of the system involves customary spoken and written communication, in which existent words are used with grammatical rules to produce phrases and sentences, and with lexical rules to produce ordinary, i.e. mainly rule-governed and predictable, new words. Dimensions of primary use of the system correlate with the three structural properties discussed above, in the following way:

- (a) resulting from lexical brevity: short words (base and derived ones) are easy to learn, recall and pronounce - even though not always to spell,
- (b) resulting from functional versatility: simple and easy-to-learn-and-apply mechanisms for the production of new forms and/or meanings (encoding aspect) and for their comprehension (decoding aspect),
- (c) resulting from grammatical simplicity: simple and easy-to-learn-and-apply rules for the production and comprehension of phrases and sentences.

SECONDARY USE of the system involves original exploitation of lexical mechanisms, to produce ingenious, i.e. impactful and memorable, new words and new senses of existing words. There are three facets of secondary use of the system:

- (a) the great morphosyntactic and semantic productive capacity of English simply invites people's creativity in all areas of their activity, which is particularly seen in computing, emailing, chatting and text-messaging, in advertising and brand-naming, in composing news headlines, in writing lyrics and titles of pop songs, and, last but not least, in inventing terminologies in many fields,
- (b) this creativity often goes hand in hand with playfulness, casualness and jocularly, typical chiefly of young people, who especially enjoy playing with language,
- (c) originality and ingenuity in English today are achieved mostly through blending and composition, on the form-content plane, and through metaphor and metonymy, on the content plane (for examples, see entries in dictionaries of new words, like Barrett 2007, Knowles and Elliott 1998, McFedries 2004, Wajnryb 2005).

All these resources of primary and secondary use are open to both native speakers and foreigners, with the latter using them not only within English but within their own native languages, alongside or in combination with English - with blending, clipping, acronymy, N + N premodification and composition being regular favourites. It has to be pointed out that such non-native uses sometimes depart from the norms of standard English (for interesting case studies of various non-native uses of English, see articles in the journals *English Today* and *World Englishes*).

4. A 'blogocentric' illustration

By way of illustration of lexical brevity, functional versatility and primary and secondary use of English, the word **weblog**, in the sense 'a person's journal written regularly on the Web', will serve as an example. This trigger word, a composition from *Web* (itself a front ellipsis of the phrasal noun *World Wide Web*) and *log*, has recently spawned, and is still steadily spawning, a multitude of both ordinary and ingenious words (for examples, see Online sources 4-7). Here only a selection of these words will be listed, with glosses and comments provided as appropriate.

Ordinary words:

- *blog*: 'a person's journal written regularly on the Web', front clipping from [*we*]blog; shorter than the base; shorter synonym of *weblog*,
- *blog_v*: 'to write a blog', conversion from *blog_n*,
- *blogger*: 'one who writes a blog', suffixation from *blog_v* + *-er*,
- *blogging*: 'regular writing of a blog', suffixation from *blog_v* + *-ing*,
- *bloggable*: 'worth posting on a blog', suffixation from *blog_v* + *-able*,
- *multiblog*: 'running several blogs at the same time', prefixation from *multi-* + *blog_n*,
- *audioblog*: 'a blog which consists of audio recordings', composition from *audio* + *blog*,
- *photoblog*: 'a blog which consists of photos', composition from *photo* + *blog*,
- *vlog*: 'a blog which consists of video recordings', blending from *v[ideo + b]log*; shorter than the bases,
- *moblog*: 'a blog maintained via a mobile phone', blending from *mob[ile]* + *blog*; shorter than the bases,
- *bloglet*: 'a short blog entry', suffixation from *blog* + *-let*,
- *blogophobia*: 'a fear of blogs or blogging', semi-neoclassical composition³⁹ from *blogo-* + *-phobia*,
- *blogaholic*: 'a person addicted to blogging', quasi-composition from *bloga-* + *-holic*,
- *blogebriety*: 'a famous blogger', blending from *blog* + [*cel*]ebriety; shorter than the bases,
- *celebrity blog*: 1 'a blog written by a celebrity', 2 'a blog devoted to one celebrity', composition from *celebrity* + *blog*,
- *celebriblog*: 'a blog written by a celebrity', blending from *celebri[ty]* + *blog*; shorter than the bases; shorter (and less ambiguous) synonym of *celebrity blog* 1,
- *celeblog*: 'a blog devoted to one celebrity', blending from *celeb[ri]ty* + *blog*; shorter than the bases; shorter (and less ambiguous) synonym of *celebrity blog* 2,
- *blogvertisement*: 'an advertisement shown on blogs', blending from *blog* + [*ad*]vertisement; shorter than the bases,
- *blogvert*: 'an advertisement shown on blogs', blending from *blog* + [*ad*]vert[isement]; shorter still than the bases; shorter synonym of *blogvertisement*,

³⁹ For the definitions of semi-neoclassical composition and quasi-composition, see Prčić 2005b, 2008.

- *blogad*: ‘an advertisement shown on blogs’, back clipping from *blog* + *ad[vertisement]*; shorter even more than the bases; shorter still synonym of *blogvertisement*.

Ingenious words:

- *blogosphere*: ‘the entirety of the blogging community’, blending from *blog* + *logosphere*; shorter than the bases,
- *blaudience*: ‘the readership of a blog’, blending from *bl[og]* + *audience*; shorter than the bases,
- *blogorrhea*: ‘excessive and verbose output on a blog’, blending from *blog* + *logorrhea*, metaphor from *logorrhea*; shorter than the bases,
- *blogstipation*: ‘inability to think of anything to write on a blog’, blending from *blog* + *[op]stipation*, metaphor from *opstipation*; shorter than the bases,
- *lexiblographer*: ‘a lexicographer who registers blogging terms’; blending from *lexi[co-]* + *blog* + *-grapher*.

5. Conclusion

As has been shown in this piece, English presents its users around the world with a system of words and grammatical rules which is (a) formally and semantically highly economical, (b) easy both to encode and to decode in actual spoken and written communication, and (c) easy to exploit for expanding its already powerful expressive potential while at the same time preserving its economical nature. Compared with other languages, notably the so-called world languages, English scores heavily over them, because few of the other languages possess all three defining structural properties in the same degree as English. It is these factors that - in addition to, and massively reinforced by, the non-linguistic factors - have made English in the past several decades establish itself irreversibly as the first language of world communication and the sole supplementary language to most other languages world-wide.

Finally, the above observations, to a large extent still tentative and incomplete, have been set forth in an attempt to assess English and other languages from the point of view of their systems and the use of those systems, and to draw attention to this important, but hitherto neglected, field of scholarly research. In order to make the assessment more reliable, the establishment of an LFG index, based on salient aspects of lexical brevity (L), functional versatility (F) and grammatical simplicity (G), would make it possible to evaluate objectively and accurately the system of any language and to juxtapose it to the system of English. This index, however, is yet to be developed and elaborated.

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EVIDENTIALITY WITHOUT DIRECT TRANSLATION:
LANGUAGE CONTACT UNDER OCCUPATION *

Abstract: In this paper, we analyse the relationship between the emergence of evidential and the colonisation, particularly in South Slavic languages Bulgarian and Macedonian. It has been claimed that the evidentiality found in Bulgarian and Macedonian was influenced by a language contact with Turkish. However, this paper argues that evidential can sometimes develop through a language use under colonisation, and the structural borrowing from Turkish can be negligible. Similar cases can be found in Hiberno-English, some dialects of Romani and some Creole languages (Chinese Pidgin Russian). It is proposed that forced responsibility imposed by the ruler can be a possible cause for the development of evidential.

Key words: evidential, language contact, structural borrowing

Introduction

In recent years, interests in evidential construction have been on a constant increase (see, for instance, a monograph by Aikhenvald 2004). There are different types of evidential in the world languages and different developmental paths have been identified. One of them is through the language contact. In this line of development, evidential is simply copied onto different languages, and it has been claimed that evidential in Bulgarian and Macedonian emerged through a language contact with Turkish. In this paper, the language contact as an origin of evidential in Bulgarian and Macedonian is criticised and a new line of development is proposed. It is argued that colonisation played an important part in forming evidential, especially when speakers were forced to take responsibility over their statement.

This paper is organised as follows: basic structure of evidential in South Slavic is first presented, making structural comparison with a Turkish counterpart. This part also contains reviews of previous research. Then some problematic features concerning evidential are discussed, some of which have not been studied previously. Finally, an alternative approach to the emergence of evidential is discussed, drawing evidence from various parts of language contact, such as creole and pidgin languages.

Evidential in South Slavic

Evidential is a type of modality, by which a speaker can express the source of evidence for his/her utterance. This is commonly found in numerous languages, and its system varies (see Aikhenvald 2004 for examples). A complex system can be found, for instance, in Fasu (Papuan, Foley 1986). This language is known to possess six different evidentials, e.g. an English sentence *It's coming* can be translated into six different sentences, e.g. *apere* 'I see it', *perarakae* 'I hear it', *pesareapo* 'I infer it from other evidence', *pesapakae* 'somebody says so, but I don't know who', *pesaripo* 'somebody says so, and I know who' and *pesapi* 'I suppose so'. This is

* Abbreviations used in this paper are: ACT, active; AOR, aorist; COP, copula; MASC, masculine; NONFIRSTH, non-firsthand evidential; PL, plural; PRS, present; PRT, participle; PST, past; SG, singular.

perhaps one of the most complex cases in the world languages, and what is concerned in this paper is much simpler, i.e. two choices, i.e. firsthand (direct experience) vs. non-firsthand (A1) and non-firsthand vs. everything else (A2) (labels after Aikhenvald 2004). Evidential in Bulgarian and Macedonian is A1 type (0), but the one in Turkish is normally A2 type (0). So there is a clear difference between Turkish and South Slavic languages.

Macedonian (A1 type)

a. *Toj padna*
 he fall.down.AOR.3SG
 ‘[I saw when] he fell down.’

b. *Toj padnal*
 he fall.down.PST.PRT.ACT.MASC
 ‘[I was told that] he fell down.’

Turkish (normally A2 type)

a. *Geldi*
 come.3SG.PST
 ‘He came.’ (neutral statement)
Gelmiş
 come.3SG.NONFIRSTH.COP
 ‘He obviously came.’ (based on information from others)

Historical development of the evidential in South Slavic is normally attributed to the language contact and the influence from Turkish. Goṭaḅ (1960: 37) claims that “the structural influence of Turkish seems to be indubitable here. This influence was conditioned by the bilingualism in at least some districts of Macedonia and Bulgaria.” This type of claim can be considered a classic claim, and more recent ones along this line of argument states that “the case of change from perfective aspect (in Old Church Slavonic) to the evidential modality is an instance of the structural reanalysis cum extension with parallel external causes, i.e. a structural borrowing from Turkish” (Bubenik 2000: 86) (cf. also Harris and Campbell 1995: 149-150). By the time of the Ottoman invasion of the Balkans, Turkish seems to have already established the A2 evidential system. So chronologically, it seems plausible that Turkish influenced South Slavic languages. However, the structural borrowing cannot be accurate, since the evidential marking system differs significantly between South Slavic and Turkish, and the form in South Slavic languages is originally derived from an old perfective construction (see Friedman 1978, 2000; Bybee et al. 1994; Comrie 2000 for description of basic morphological changes). In addition, a contact with Turkish is a broad term and this statement disregards dialectal differences. Johanson (1996; 1998) claims that the current evidential system in Bulgarian is more reminiscent of Kipchak Turkic than that of Ottoman Turkish. Kipchak Turkic was mostly spoken from modern Kazakhstan to around the Black sea, and the invasion and the occupation by the Ottoman Empire might not have been so significant at the linguistic level apart from loan words.

On a different line of approach, the Turkish influence may be considered, but the structural borrowing is not assumed. As Aikhenvald (2004: 288-289) claims, “[t]he impact of Turkish as the dominant language in urban areas may have contributed to

the grammaticalization of already pre-existing evidentiality strategies. This influence did not involve morpheme-by-morpheme translations and structural isomorphism.” What seems to be crucial, instead, is a shift in markedness. Johanson (2005) claims that there was a Turkish influence, but it was not a copying, but the basic system of marked evidential and unmarked non-evidential (regardless of A1 and A2 types) was copied. Alternatively, Friedman (2003: 212) claims that firsthand term developed first, and the binary counterpart was created later, or Comrie (2000: 8) states that earlier marked non-firsthand form (cf. 0a) was reinterpreted as unmarked, and the earlier unmarked firsthand form became a marked one.

It seems that earlier claims based on rigid structural borrowing seems to be obsolete now, and what is the main concern now is the shift in markedness, or a borrowing of markedness pattern.

General concerns over the borrowing

Although copying based on markedness may explain some aspects of the changes, there are various issues to be solved in the case of the evidential in South Slavic languages. For instance, why does the shift in markedness have to occur in South Slavic languages? In addition, why is the evidential restricted only to Bulgarian and Macedonian? Geographically, evidential is common in the southern part of South Slavic speaking area, i.e. Bulgaria and Macedonia, but not so in Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, etc. Bosnian speakers incorporated Turkish influence perhaps to the maximum degrees among different countries in the Balkans, but it does not have evidential. This does not make sense. In addition, various pieces of evidence for the language contact between Turkish (and perhaps other Turkic languages) and Slavic languages, such as lexical borrowing, but they were not restricted to South Slavic, i.e. East and West Slavic also have words derived from Turkish. Why do they not copy the evidential, too?

In borrowing or copying different linguistic features from one language to another, it is often considered in terms of borrowability or copiability hierarchy (see, among others, Campbell 1993; van Coetsem 2000; Johanson 2005; Matras 2005; Verschik 2007). Figure 1 represents the hierarchy, and it is based on, as Johanson (2005) says, elements that are active at the discourse level, since they are more likely to be copied. Evidential is a type of modality and it can be borrowed or copied, although it may not be the most likely candidate undergoing borrowing or copying.

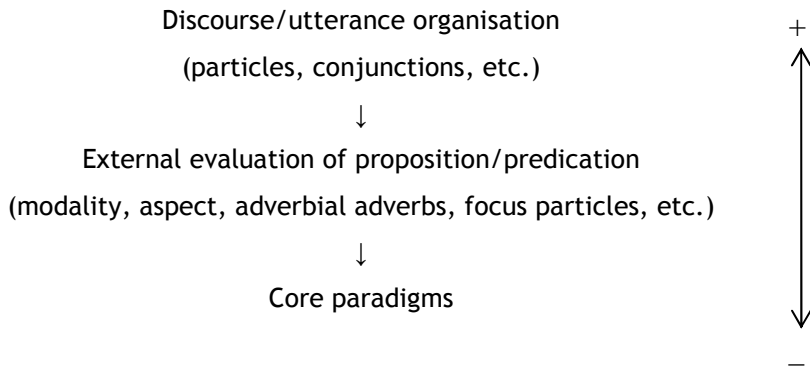


Figure 1. Borrowability hierarchy

This hierarchy is a good indicator, but it does not help us to answer questions posed above. There must be an alternative factor affecting the development of evidential in Bulgarian and Macedonian, and not in other South Slavic languages.

Alternative explanation

In our hypothesis, it is claimed that context in which evidential is used must have had some impact on the borrowing. A key feature in this respect is a communication under colonisation. In the reported evidential (when used referring to non-firsthand information), the construction can be intentionally used for avoiding specifying the source. This is due to the avoidance of responsibility over one's utterance, as exemplified in 0. A speaker wants to express overtly that he/she bears no responsibility over his/her utterance. Under the occupation, people are normally reluctant to take responsibility in order to avoid unnecessary accusation. This is what Gvozdanović (1996: 63) terms as distance.

Bulgarian

<i>Dumat,</i>	<i>zmejat</i>	<i>sljazāl</i>	v
think.PRS.3PL	dragon	come.down.PST.PRT.ACT.MASC	into
<i>našāta</i>	<i>niva</i>		
our	field		

'They think that the dragon would seem to have come down into our field (but not very likely).'

This line of argument has advantage over borrowing, since it can be applicable to other structures that emerge under occupation. Other constructions, such as the passive, can be used for the same purpose: generally speaking, the passive does not carry the overt expression of the agent and it can be stated that ca. 70% of the occurrence with the passive do not have the overt agent phrase (Toyota 2008). A number of languages have the passive voice, but once a language is used under occupation, the frequency of the passive often increases, as in the case of Hiberno-English. In this case, the frequency of the passive (and the subjunctive) is much higher in comparison with Standard English. The passive is known to be used sometimes for distancing, avoiding responsibility (Toyota 2005). So functionally the passive is a good substitute for evidential.

Another situation of ruler-ruled relationship can be found in creole languages. It is oftent he case that the genesis of creole languages is tied up with slavery, and slaves were forced to speak the language of rulers. The social circumstance is similar to the case in Bulgaria and Macedonia under the Ottoman Empire, differing only in that Turkish was not enforced in the Balkans. There are a number of pidgin and creole languages and they often develop evidential. Consider, for example, a case of Chinese Pidgin Russian. As exemplified in 0, the presence of the copula indicates that this is a non-firsthand evidential, since non-evidential form does not have the copula overtly expressed. One could possibly claim, as in the case of the contact in the Balkans, the use of evidential is due to a similar construction in a language of power, Russian. Russian indeed makes a distinction between firsthand and non-firsthand evidential, as in 0, but it is only possible with the complementiser, *kak* 'that' for the firsthand and *čto* 'that' for the non-firsthand. This structure is not identical at all in Chinese Pidgin Russian, which suggests that the structure in Chinese Pidgin Russian was developed due to the social environment.

7. Conclusion

It has been argued in this paper that the emergence of evidential is better considered as a result of severe colonisation, i.e. evidential in Bulgarian and Macedonian is a result of language contact under occupation. This social setting forced speakers to come up with a specific communicative tactics in order to avoid taking responsibility over their statement. This is why languages under occupation often develop a non-firsthand evidential form. Evidential can be easily copied or borrowed and this is a universal tendency. However, there may be another pattern in borrowing. This is not because of the discourse nature of this structure, but social situation, i.e. occupation. In such circumstances, evidential was required in order to avoid taking responsibility under the environment of colonisation. This can be also indicated by several pieces of evidence from creole or pidgin languages. Language under occupation has not been considered in relation to emergence of evidential, but this line of argument can be given much more attention.

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SLANG GOES MAINSTREAM

Abstract: This paper deals with the problem of the formation, meaning and usage of the slang words in English. What we are particularly interested is semantic, cultural and sociolinguistic status that the speakers give to slang nowadays because it is generally felt that the restrictions that used to regulate the usage of slang words are no longer in power. Moreover, we will try to highlight some features and segments of slang from both linguistic and sociolinguistic aspect.

Key words: slang, jargon, analogy, metaphor, ephemerality, covert prestige, ingrouping, outgrouping.

Definition

Traditionally, slang has always been regarded as informal, nonstandard vocabulary typically used among the members of younger population who are at the same time the strongest engine which produces slang. Crystal (Crystal, 1995: 458) sees it as the jargon of a special group.

Slang has always been that “enfant terrible” of every language, but the twentieth century slang of English seems to be the most terrible of all the vagabond kinds of language. Slang is a peculiar kind of language always hanging on the thin line between legitimate and illegitimate speech. However, it continually goes astray forcing its way into the most respectable companies and “the purest, most straight communications and pieces of speech and writing”.

History

The traditional attitude towards slang is full of prejudices and misconceptions. For years it has been viewed as an ugly, dark, abnormal part of the language. Language purists would shudder at only a glance of some slangish expression or word in the daily papers or in mass media, and those press representatives that would occasionally use a word or two that wasn't in line with the respected accepted norm were considered as unworthy.

From about 1850 slang has been the accepted term for “illegitimate”, colloquial speech. Lower classes called this off-license language “lingo”, while those belonging to the cultured and pretentious referred to it as “argot”. For a very long time Chaucer's term “jargon” (originally referring to warbling of birds) was synonymously used for the word “slang”. It was Eric Partridge (1894-1979), the most renowned linguist, whose work was focused on the matters of the English language and included large number of works and writings concerning slang, varieties of English, American and English Christian names, usage and abuse of English, who used the term “slang”. He discarded the term “lingo” as it referred to somewhat distorted English like Pidgin-English; “argot”, as Partridge explained, referred only to French and therefore had nothing to do with English, while “jargon” was reserved for the technical scientific language belonging to certain professions and trades. (Partridge, 1933; as cited in *Dictionary of Modern Slang*, ix) At some point in slang's history, the term “jargon” was often used in alternation with the term “shop”.

Modern perspective

That was back then! What about now when I am often under the impression that birds sing in English, that sea waves hum in English, and when, just a few days ago, I was told to “Chill out!” by my own son aged 3?

To fully appreciate slang and to understand how worthy addition it gives to the modern English language we must perceive it as a normal, legitimate part of our global language. As a matter of fact, linguistically there’s nothing abnormal about slang. In making slang people proceed in precisely the same manner as in making “legitimate” language with different motive. Slang originates from the wish of a group or an individual to distinguish and defend oneself from outsiders. Thus we may say that slang is not used merely to express someone’s thoughts but rather to conceal them. The greater the wish for secrecy and oddity the more complex the slang is. No wonder then that slang best flourishes in colloquial speech from which it originates.

The processes involved in slang creation are strikingly linguistic. For that purpose some, or all, of the following are used:

- Harsh, ludicrous, odd metaphors as in *to go commando*
- Obscure analogies as in *to Balkanize*
- Meaningless words as in *bamboozle, bozo*
- Expressions derived from various professions and vocations such as computer, navy, fashion etc. as in *chat-room, to kitchen-sink, fashionista*
- Foreign borrowings as in *pashmina, burkini,*
- Unusual coinages as in *boo-ya,* and last but certainly not least
- Unfathomable clippings as in *NOPE (Not On Planet Earth)*

As the previously given examples clearly indicate slang explores the potentials of English incessantly stretching its limits and challenging its boundaries. Nowadays, slang is evidently almost the only language pulsing with life; it is the only language in which all linguistic processes and mechanisms are actively and dynamically unfolding before us leading us to unimaginable linguistic territories.

Features of slang

According to Partridge, some of the upstart qualities of slang and aesthetic (as opposed to the moral) impropriety come from the four features present in all slang irrespective of time (Partridge, 1933, as cited in *Dictionary of Slang*, Routledge, 2005, ix). They are as follow:

- 1) the search for novelty which is reflected in a desire to escape from the old accepted phrases
- 2) volatility, light-headedness and light-heartedness of slang terms and expressions. Typically their life-cycle is quite short, unless they enter mainstream usage, which happens quite often nowadays. as in *cool, gay*. However, once a word enters a mainstream usage, easily recognized by large number of speakers belonging to different social groups, it loses its slang status. Such are *cool* and *gay* which have, not only lost their slang status, but nowadays may not even be perceived to belong to less formal, colloquial speech and writing.

- 3) ephemerality, often encountered with nonce formations which are created on the spur of the moment, conveniently filling the gaps in particular communication process, often dying out very soon after it.
- 4) the sway of fashion .

All those features are interdependent as the sway of fashion and looking for novelties make restrict and rather limit the life-cycle and duration of slang words which leads to ephemerality and volatility.

According to Alfredo Niceforo (Niceforo, 1912)⁴⁰ slang is employed for one (or more) of the following thirteen reasons:

1. In sheer high spirits “just for the fun of the thing”.
2. As an exercise in wit or humour.
3. To “be different”- to be novel.
4. To be picturesque.
5. To be startling.
6. To escape from clichés.
7. To enrich the language (linguistically worthy and valuable).
8. To give solidity and correctness to the abstract and the idealistic, and nearness to the distant phenomena.
9. To reduce pain, tragedy and unpleasant experiences.
10. To put oneself in tune with one’s company.
11. To induce friendliness or intimacy.
12. To show that one belongs to certain social group (ingrouping) proving that someone else doesn’t (outgrouping).
13. To be secret and not understood by those around one.

With respect to social, economic and cultural requirements that modern society imposes on modern man, the fourteenth reason can be added and it is

14. To be fashionable and trendy.

New Age Slang; its new purpose, function and status

The reasons for slang usage listed above are clearly of extra-linguistic nature. Whatever their nature (social, economic, cultural, professional) they produce wondrous linguistic effects in the shape of most extraordinary and audacious language creations.

The reason mentioned as the last is definitely not the least as nowadays it is one of the main forces which drive “slang” towards regular, mainstream, licensed usage. In the age of rapid and intensive consumer economy, where competition is really violent (not to say merciless) and severe, corporations will use any means possible to attract more consumers. In order to beat their rivals and win the market share and profits, they must speak the language of their target groups. A major ingrouping occurs as the corporations, desperate to be accepted, show that they belong to the same core group. How far they will go to win their target groups illustrates the example of CNN , where, in 2002, a memo was sent to all the editors and graphics designers urging them to use slang as “lingo of our people” so that the screen text remains “ as cutting edge “ as possible (McFedries, 2004: 100).

⁴⁰ Niceforo's work *Le genie d'Argot*, published in 1912 was reduced by Partridge (1933) in *Slang Today and Yesterday* and here is quoted as cited in *Dictionary of Slang*, 2005.

The former example illustrates that while attempting to be accepted by their target groups, corporations communicate through marketing means and ads in the familiar “group coolspeak”. In some cases the language they use for that purpose is harsh and may even be misinterpreted by those not belonging to the intended target group.

For example, an advertising slogan for Colorado ski resort reads “The hill may dominate you. But the town will still be your bitch”. Only those familiar with teen slang in America will know that *bitch* stands for “a passive person”, while everybody else will most probably interpret “bitch” as a vulgarism.

Television channel FOX advertised its reality show *Fastlane* addressing their viewers with the following question: “Are you pimp enough to get inside the action?”, where the word *pimp* was used with its slang meaning “cool”.

However, contrary to expectations, it’s not always the teen population that is addressed by the teen language. Often such ads are aimed at older consumers sending them the following message: “We speak the language of the teenagers. Our product is associated with the teenagers. You’ll look young and trendy if you buy it!” In sociolinguistics such phenomenon is known as **covert prestige**.

Once a slang term enters an ad its road to becoming mainstream seems open and unobstructed. The covert prestige used for advertising purposes is an important engine of language change as a mechanism which moves slang right amongst the lexical elements used as a part of everyday lexicon. Such examples include: *all-nighter*, *bozo*, *bogus*, *bummer*, *chick*, *crash*, *drop out*, *dude*, *hassle*, *freak out*, *vibes*, *ego trip*.

Contemporary slang of English is increasingly being used in mainstream contexts. This is particularly the case with AmE English slang which shows even greater permissiveness, imaginativeness and variation than BrE slang. Hip-hop and youth culture seem to be particularly fertile soil for slang. Many celebrities (Busta Rhymes, Queen Latifah, Lil Kim), assisted by the media, openly promote mainstream usage of slang terms. Such examples include the following

- (1) *Gangsta* /gæŋsta/ ; an example in which spelling heavily relies and coincides with pronunciation. In the similar fashion the word *hella* represents adapted abbreviated spelling and pronunciation of the intensifying phrase “the hell of a lot of...” meaning “really”.
- (2) *Dis*; represents a clipping from *disrespect*
- (3) *Bling-bling*; onomatopoeic term imitating and often associated with massive rapper jewelry; synonymous with “glitz”.
- (4) *for shizzle* (also spelt *fa shizzle* or *fo shizzle*) - for sure
- (5) *hottie*-sexy person; used in Nokia ad slogan “Hottie⁴¹ coming your way”
- (6) *Slangsta* - blend of **slang**+ **gangster**

⁴¹ In this particular ad the slang term *hottie* has [+/- animate] and [+/- human] reference, as it simultaneously refers to the product it advertises and to the person using it.

The fact that nowadays it becomes almost impossible to read daily newspapers without coming across a slang term or two only stresses (an in a way justifies) increasing mainstream usage of slang terms. For example, *The New York Times* of December 16th, 2002, published the following sentence “In any case, the beginning of the 21st century is turning to be yet another cavalcade of ‘bling bling’.” Similarly, *The Chicago Tribune* of March 4th, 2003 featured the following headline “Sizzle fo shizzle”. British newspapers did not resist the charm of slang either, so on January, 12th, 2005 *The Guardian* published an article titled “Slangsta Rap”.

Tricky semantics of slang

Although majority of slang terms have quite specifically clear meaning for their users, such semantic definiteness and precision does not always represent a mandatory feature which some slang word must possess in order to become widely used. Some slang words are devoid of any clear specific meaning, but are used just as accompaniments in communication. Such is the catchy phrase (?) *Whassup /wozap/* (also spelt ‘*sup, wazup, what up*) which represents a very convenient way to start a conversation. Another example illustrating the polisemy, and sometimes context-dependent meaning of slang is the “word” *Yo* which may be used in various contexts and interpreted in a number of ways. Possible meanings of *yo* are: *yes, no, you, your, wow, hey, what*.

Quite the contrary example represents the adjective *good* which appears incredibly prone to be substituted with slang expressions of all and every kind. Every age, generation and social group seem to bring their own terms for “GOOD”. Some of the most recent additions to the list of slang synonyms for *good* are *bad, bitchin’, whip, sweet, wicked, def, fresh, ill, phat*. All of them are equally frequent in modern speech.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly slang is so apt and necessary in discussion of particular subject that it simply must be used. The readiest admission to legitimate speech lies through our freedom of using the language. Nothing can force a new term into language against the inclination of large majority of those who speak it. Very often a word or expression is deemed as “illegitimate and corrupt” depending on who uses it. For when an expression is found in respectable company (wealthy corporations certainly strive for such an image) its status is rarely challenged.

Instead of the conclusion let the words of John Galsworthy illustrate the both irresistibility and importance of slang for modern language evolution: “*Slang is, at least, vigorous and apt. Probably, most of our vital words were once slang.*”

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FRAZEOLOŠKI IZRAZI SA IMENIMA ŽIVOTINJA
U FRANCUSKOM I SRPSKOM JEZIKU⁴²

Apstrakt: U ovom tekstu bavili smo se onim poređenjima i poslovicama u francuskom i srpskom jeziku koji u svom sastavu imaju i ime neke životinje. Ovakvi frazeologizmi mogu se analizirati sa semantičkog i lingvokulturološkog aspekta, pa se može izvršiti podela na one koji imaju isti i oblik i značenje u oba jezika, zatim na one koji nisu isti, ali su lako razumljivi, na one koji se znatno razlikuju i slabo razumeju, kao i one koji imaju drugačije značenje - posebno su zanimljivi oni koji imaju izrazito kulturološku vrednost (kada ne postoje isti ili slični izrazi u oba jezika).

Ključne reči: ustaljeni izrazi, poređenja, imena životinja, francuski i srpski jezik

Iako je tačno da se znanje jezika ne može poistovetiti sa poznavanjem leksike i da vladanje određenim fondom reči nije jedini kriterijum vladanja jezikom, izvesno je da se jezička komunikacija u bilo kom vidu može ostvariti samo uz posedovanje određenog fonda reči i umenje da se te reči koriste. Ali ovladavanje leksikom nije isto što i prosto učenje izolovanih reči, već je to pre svega uočavanje i osmišljavanje različitih gramatičkih i semantičkih veza između njih. Znati neku reč znači znati i njenu glasovnu sliku i njeno značenje, a ono obuhvata kako apsolutnu vrednost reči, tako i njenu relativnu vrednost (odnosno njenu sposobnost da stupa u sistemske odnose sa drugim rečima) i njenu sposobnost da zauzima određene sintaksičke pozicije.

Od svih lingvističkih aspekata nekoga jezika, leksika je ta koja u najvećoj meri otkriva kulturu, verovanja i stavove datog naroda, odlike, institucije i način funkcionisanja njegovog društva. Budući da leksika zadovoljava komunikativne potrebe govornika određenog društva u određenoj sredini, postojanje ili odsustvo nekih reči i izraza odlikavaju običaje i viziju sveta datog naroda. Iako nam to ne izgleda uvek tako, svaki jezik je proizvod, a ujedno i uslov za sasvim originalno poimanje sveta, pa se reči i ne mogu zapravo pravilno razumeti bez znanja o kulturnim fenomenima čiji su simboli. Ponekad se uspostavlja distinkcija između konvencionalnog i situacionalnog značenja, između onoga što neka reč ili izraz konvencionalno znače i onoga što neko želi da kaže upotrebljavajući ih. Ovo zapravo znači da pravo razumevanje ne zavisi samo od semantičkog aspekta, već i od pragmatičkog i da jezik nije samo skup reči u rečnicima, već složen sistem koji podrazumeva enciklopedijske kompetencije.⁴³ Svi smo svesni postojanja reči i izraza koji pored svog denotativnog značenja imaju i konotativno koje, više nego kod drugih, ima kulturološku vrednost.⁴⁴

⁴² Ovaj rad čini deo naučnoistraživačkog projekta *Promene u osnovnoškolskom obrazovanju - problemi, ciljevi, strategije* (br. 149055) koji se realizuje na Učiteljskom fakultetu u Beogradu, a finansira Ministarstvo nauke i zaštite životne sredine Republike Srbije.

⁴³ Detaljnije o ovome u: Maddalena De Carlo, *L'Interculturel*, CLE International, Paris, p.101-2.

⁴⁴ Ovakve reči Rober Galison naziva rečima sa zajedničkom kulturnom vrednošću (*des mots à charge culturelle partagée*) koja je poznata svim izvornim govornicima nekog jezika i stoga čini njihovu zajedničku leksikulturu. Videti: Maddalena De Carlo, *L'Interculturel*, CLE International, Paris, p. 103.

Poslovice i izreke možda najbolje otkrivaju stavove i mišljenja nekog naroda, a posebno su, sa kulturološkog aspekta, zanimljive one koje govore o pripadnicima raznih nacionalnih grupa, o stanovnicima pojedinih oblasti - njihovim fizičkim, intelektualnim, moralnim i psihološkim osobenostima, o tome kako oni sami vide sebe ili kako gledaju na druge. Tako su, na primer, u francuskim poslovicama Baski okretni ali i varljivi, stanovnici Normandije prevrtljivi i ne drže datu reč, Korzikanci su lenji, a Bretonci hrabri i oprezni itd. Ovakve poslovice, poređenja ili šale postoje u svim jezicima i o svim narodima - što bi takođe mogla biti zanimljiva tema nekog komparativnog istraživanja.

Pitanju frazeoloških izraza može se pristupiti sa stanovišta strategija učenja leksike ili sa stanovišta proučavanja sličnosti i razlika između dve kulture (što će biti slučaj u ovom radu). Frazeološki izrazi mogu se analizirati sa više aspekata: formalno-gramatičkog (kakve sve oblike oni mogu imati), semantičkog (kakvim sve semantičkim poljima mogu pripadati) i kulturološkog (da li i u kojoj meri ovi izrazi imaju kulturološku vrednost).

Možda bi ovde valjalo ukratko navesti definicije nekih pojmova: „fraz“ (a često se koristi i termin „frazološki izraz“) je ustaljeni izraz, ustaljena konstrukcija ili obrt reči koji ima svoju misaonu i značenjsku samostalnost ⁴⁵ ili uobičajen izraz⁴⁶; a „frazologija „ je nauka o osobenim izrazima svosjtvenim nekom jeziku, zbirka takvih izraza ⁴⁷ i skup ustaljenih govornih iskaza karakterističnih za neki jezik, odnosno deo nauke o jeziku koja proučava takve izraze⁴⁸.

Mislimo da je najbolja definicija pojma frazeoloških izraza ona koja kaže da su to leksikalizovane celine koje se sastoje od dve ili više reči, pa čak i od čitave jedne rečenice; delovi takvih izraza postaju nerazdvojni i imaju posebno značenje (na francuskom postoje termini *collocation* i *locution figée*). Postoje i izrazi koji nisu u tolikoj meri fiksirani jer kombinacije njihovih elemenata, ma koliko specifične bile, nisu jedine moguće (na francuskom se koristi termin *locution semi-figée*).⁴⁹ U rečnicima se ovakvi izrazi najčešće navode prema prvoj reči u njihovom sastavu, a nekad prema reči koja se oseća kao najvažnija. Često imaju superlativno značenje, a kada se želi biti ironičan biraju se dva elementa u poređenju koja upravo izražavaju suprotnost (na primer, brz kao puž).

U ovom radu bavili smo se onim frazeološkim izrazima (od kojih su najbrojniji poređenja i poslovice) u francuskom i srpskom jeziku koji u svom sastavu imaju ime neke životinje. Ovakvi izrazi posebno otkrivaju jedan svet koji je današnjem prevashodno urbanom čoveku možda i dalek, svet čoveka blisko povezanog sa prirodom, čoveka koji u svom prirodnom okruženju i u životinjama sagledava i sopstveni identitet, osobine, ponašanje. Time ovaj svet životinja dobija i izuzetno važnu i kulturološki obojenu simboličku vrednost. Ako se samo, na primer, vidi koliko je u francuskom jeziku frazeoloških izraza u kojima se pominje konj, delovi njegovog tela ili opreme, jasno je koliko narod koji ovim jezikom govori oduvek pridaje značaj jahanju, lovu i viteštvu - a u svim tim aktivnostima konj je

⁴⁵ *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*, Novi Sad, Matica srpska, t. 6, str. 685.

⁴⁶ M. Vujaklija, *Leksikon stranih reči i izraza*, Beograd, Prosveta, str. 1023.

⁴⁷ Isto, str. 1023.

⁴⁸ *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*, Novi Sad, Matica srpska, t. 6, str. 685.

⁴⁹ Videti kod : M.-C. Tréville, L. Duquette, *Enseigner le vocabulaire en classe de langue*, Paris, Hachette, 1996, p.17.

nezaobilazan čovekov saputnik. Posebno je zanimljiva činjenica da ni u jednom od ovih izraza konju nisu pripisivane neke ružne ili negativne osobine, kao i da ti izrazi u francuskom jeziku nisu pogrdni (ovo je zanimljivo porediti sa srpskim jezikom u kojem postoji poređenje „glup kao konj“ ili uvreda „konju jedan“).

Budući da su ovakvi izrazi ponekad i polisemični, potrebno je pažljivo analizirati njihove razne upotrebe, ići iznad površinskog i očiglednog. Ovakav pristup nije značajan samo za učenje stranog jezika već i za bolje razumevanje sopstvenog jezika i kulture, a pozitivno utiče i na motivaciju, kako učenika, tako i samog nastavnika.

Izvesno je, međutim da iznad svake pojedinačne nacionalne kulture, francuske, nemačke, engleske ili srpske, postoji i jedna sveobuhvatnija, evropska, a iznad ove i još šira - ljudska kultura. I u tim kulturama koje obuhvataju šira područja nailazimo na neke odlike i osobine svojstvene brojnim narodima. Svako ko uči neki strani jezik već ima znanja vezana za sopstveni jezik i kulturu, pa tako često sa manje ili više lakoće može da razume frazeološke izraze u stranom jeziku, ali ima i slučajeva u kojima postoje veoma velike razlike među jezicima (moguće je čak da takve razlike dovedu ne samo do nerazumevanja ili pogrešnog prevođenja datih izraza, već i do donošenja ishitrenih i neosnovanih zaključaka o kvalitativnim vrednostima strane kulture).

Ne pretendujemo na to da je u ovom radu moguće dati iscrpnu listu frazeoloških izraza u francuskom i srpskom jeziku u kojima se pominju životinje, ali nam je cilj da te izraze izdvojimo u nekoliko grupa i uporedimo u oba jezika.

- Frazeološki izrazi koji u oba jezika imaju isti oblik i značenje, što verovatno ukazuje na činjenicu da su oni šira odlika više kultura, pa su nam tako, na primer, svima jasne basne iz različitih zemalja jer su u njima životinjama uvek pripisivane iste osobine;
- Frazeološki izrazi koji nemaju isti oblik, ali im je značenje prepoznatljivo, pa stoga nemaju neku značajniju kulturološku vrednost;
- Frazeološki izrazi u kojima se u oba jezika pominju životinje, ali različite, što ukazuje na činjenicu da dati narodi imaju drugačije mišljenje o pomenutim životinjama i pripisuju im različite odlike;
- Frazeološki izrazi kojima su različiti i oblik i značenje, tako da nemaju svog parnjaka u onom drugom jeziku;
- U jednom od jezika ne pominju se životinje u frazeološkom izrazu, ali se na drugi prevode izrazima u kojima se životinje pominju;
- Frazeološki izrazi u kojima se u oba jezika ili u jednom od njih pominju delovi tela životinja, pa su oni ti koji nose simboličku i/ili kulturološku vrednost;
- Frazeološki izrazi koji upućuju na neke legende, mitove, dela narodne ili autorske književnosti, pa tako stoje u vezi sa narodnom tradicijom ili učenom kulturom datog naroda i samim tim nisu uvek dovoljno ili uopšte poznati strancima koji ne pripadaju datoj kulturi.

Sa kulturološkog stanovišta najzanimljiviji su naravno oni izrazi koji nemaju svog parnjaka u drugom jeziku, kao i oni koji su naizgled isti ili veoma slični, ali imaju drugo značenje. Kao ilustraciju, navešćemo samo mali broj frazeoloških izraza u francuskom i srpskom jeziku.

1. Frazeološki izrazi koji su isti ili veoma slični u oba jezika

A cheval donné, il ne faut pas regarder les dents. - Poklonjenom konju se u zube ne gleda.

La montagne a enfanté/accouché d'une souris. - Tresla se gora, rodio se miš.

C'est là que gît le lièvre. - U tom grmu leži zec.

Corbeau contre corbeau ne se crèvent jamais les yeux. - Gavrani jedan drugom oči ne kopaju.

2. Frazeološki izrazi u kojima se pominju iste životinje, ali na nešto drugačiji način, pa tako često u onom drugom jeziku ne postoje posebni ustaljeni izrazi, već samo njihovi jasni prevodi

Dans sa peau mourra le loup. - Vuk dlaku menja, ali ćud nikako.

Que le coq chante ou non, viendra le jour. - Pevao petao ili ne, dan će svanuti.

3. Frazeološki izrazi u kojima se ne pominju iste životinje, ali su ipak sasvim jasni

Brebis qui bêle perd sa goulée. - Koja kokoš mnogo kokodače, malo jaja nosi.

Etre à peine sorti de sa coquille. - Tek se ispiliti, biti neiskusano.

Faire d'une mouche un éléphant. - Praviti od muve magarca.

4. Frazeološki izrazi u kojima se ne pominju iste životinje u oba jezika ili se čak u jednom od jezika životinje i ne pominju, a mogu biti i teški za razumevanje

Avoir des rats dans la tête. - Imati bube u glavi, biti ćudljiv.

Avoir du chien. - Imati posebnu žensku draž/šarm.

Beau merle. - Glupak.

Coup de chien - Podmuklost, podvala

Métier de cheval. - Bedan život, pasji život.

Etre en chèvre. - Naljutiti se.

Etre fait comme un chien fou. - Biti nakaradno odeven.

Faire sauter /manger la grenouille. - Proneveriti novac.

5. Frazeološki izrazi u kojima se u francuskom jeziku pominju životinje, ali na srpskom ili nemaju nikakvo figurativno značenje ili ne izražavaju nikakvu osobinu

Etre à cheval. - Biti na konju, jahati; opkoračiti.

Il ne faut pas mettre la charrue devant les boeufs. - Ne treba ići pred rudu

Mort aux mouches - Otrov za muve, muholovka

Mort aux rats - Otrov za pacove, mišomor.

6. Frazeološki izrazi u kojima se u jednom od dva jezika ne pominju životinje

Aller à pas de loup. - Prikradati se.

Avaler comme un coucou. - Proždrljivo gutati.

Froid de canard / loup. - Čiča zima.

Gober des mouches. - Dangubiti, prodavati zjala.

Il n'y a pas de quoi fouetter un chat. - To je sitnica/beznačajno.

Donner sa langue aux chats / aux chiens. - Odustati, ne umeti dalje.

Indifférent comme une carpe. - Mrtav hladan, potpuno ravnodušan.
Laid comme un crapaud. - Ružan kao đavo.
Manger de la vache enragée. - Podnositi nevolje, zlopatiti se.
Parler français comme une vache espagnole. - Loše govoriti / natucati francuski.

7. Frazološki izrazi koji ukazuju na neku narodnu priču, legendu ili običaj, pa samim tim mogu biti teški za razumevanje strancima

Lija lija pa dolija. - A chaque porc vient la Saint-Martin
Etre comme l'âne de Buridan. - Biti neodlučan / biti kao Buridanov magarac
Revenir à ses moutons. - Vratiti se na glavnu stvar.
Etre le dindon de la farce. - Ispasti budala, biti izigran

8. Frazološki izrazi čije razumevanje zahteva određenu opštu kulturu jer je takav ili sličan izraz rasprostranjen u više zemalja

Enfourcher Pégase. - Pojahati Pegaza, odati se pesništvu.
Corbeau de mauvaise augure. - Zloslutnik
Etre le bouc émissaire. - Biti kriv za sve, ispaštati za drugog
Coup de pied de l'âne. - Kukavička osveta prema slabom

9. Frazološki izrazi koji su po obliku isti, ali imaju različito značenje

Etre comme l'oiseau sur la branche. - Biti u nesigurnom položaju, seljakati se (a u srpskom znači « biti slobodan kao ptica na grani »)
Etre la bête noire de - Biti omrznut, nesnosan čovek (a na srpskom bi se moglo pomisliti da znači „biti crna ovca“)

10. Frazološki izrazi u kojima se pominju delovi tela životinja

A pattes - Peške, pešice.
Marcher à quatre pattes - Puziti, srozati se do nivoa životinje
Pattes de mouche - Sitan i nečitak rukopis, žrhljotine
Avoir bec et ongles. - Znati se braniti, umeti pokazati zube.
Avoir une prise de bec - Dohvatiti se, posvađati se
Avoir les ailes aux talons - Odjuriti brzo, staviti šipke pod opanke
Battre de l'aile - Klonuti, malaksati, splasnuti

Najjasnija su poređenja, mnogo ih je koja su sasvim ista, što pokazuje da naše dve kulture ipak pripadaju jednoj istoj široj, evropskoj kulturi u kojoj mnoge životinje imaju svoje jasno određene osobine - bilo zato što su im takav izgled i prirodne karakteristike (gavran je crn, bik snažan, kornjača spora, zec se brzo razmnožava itd.), bilo zato što se još od antičkih vremena istim životinjama pripisuju određene ljudske osobine i karakteristike (zec je plašljiv, lisica lukava, lav hrabar, vuk opasan i podmukao, petao ponosan i kočoperan, jagnje naivno, umiljato i slabo itd.).

Postoje ipak i životinje prema kojima se pripadnici ove dve kulture ne odnose podjednako. Tako su, na primer, poređenja koja u srpskom jeziku postoje sa konjima uglavnom vezana za njihovu snagu, izdržljivost i sposobnost da rade, dok se u takvim kontekstima u francuskom jeziku pominje bik. Očito se konji u našem narodu ne doživljavaju prvenstveno kao plemenite, lepe, viteške i ponosite životinje (mada ima i takvih izraza, kao na primer : Govoriti kao s konja. - Govoriti sa visine.), dok su u francuskom jeziku poređenja sa konjem uglavnom izrazito pozitivna jer ukazuju na njegovu lepotu, rasni stas, ponosit kas, viteško držanje.

Takođe je veoma upadljivo da su najbrojniji izrazi u francuskom jeziku u kojima se pominje neka životinja upravo oni u kojima se pominje konj.

Očigledno je ipak da poslovice ponajviše govore o ljudskim osobinama, posebno manama, kao na primer o zavidljivosti i o tome kako se čoveku uvek čini da neko drugi ima nešto bolje od njega (Tuđa koza puna loja. - Poule de voisin paraît oie), ili o postidenosti zbog krivice i greha u kojem je neko uhvaćen (Stideti se kao kurjak u jami. - Etre pris la main dans le sac), ili o gluposti (Magarac zapliva tek kad mu voda dođe do ušiju. - L'âne ne sait pas nager avant que l'eau ne lui monte aux oreilles. Razumeti se u što kao magarac u kantar. - Un âne n'entend rien à la musique.)

U francuskim frazeološkim izrazima u kojima se pominju delovi tela životinja najčešće se javljaju reči: *bec* (kljun, gubica), *aile* (krilo) i *pattes* (šape) jer one predstavljaju jasne asocijacije na neke ljudske mane (kao što su brbljivost, svadljivost, volja, polet ili ponos) i uglavnom su nam jasni čak i kada u našem jeziku ne postoje njihovi ekvivalenti ili njima slični izrazi. U frazeološkim izrazima nosilac značenja nikada nije samo jedna reč, već njena kombinacija, a postoje one reči koje se uvek ili gotovo uvek kombinuju sa određenom rečju: pridev sa imenicom, glagol sa imenicom ili prilogom, imenica sa glagolom i slično. Tako će, na primer, svaka frankofona osoba iza izraza *prendre le taureau* očekivati nastavak *par les cornes*, ili iza glagola *hocher* imenicu *la tête*.

Izvorni govornik nekog jezika u stanju je da proceni da li je neki izraz prihvatljiv i da prepozna onaj izraz koji nije tipičan ili uobičajen, ali koji možda ima i neku humorističku vrednost. Otuda je u reklamama česta upotreba netipičnih i neobičnih frazeoloških izraza koji podsećaju na neke opšte poznate izraze, ali čiji je pravi cilj zapravo da nas iznenade - možda čak i šokiraju, a da nam ipak budu i dovoljno jasni.⁵⁰

Leksika svakog jezika sadrži dva aspekta: formalni (zvučni i grafički oblik reči) i semantički (značenje reči). U maternjem jeziku usvajanje reči vezano je najpre za formalni aspekt reči, a kasnije se u svesti ljudi stvaraju mentalne mreže koje se zasnivaju na semantičkim oznakama / pokazateljima.⁵¹ U učenju stranog jezika semantički aspekt mnogo je značajniji: nove reči uče se uspostavljanjem veza sa već poznatim i usvojenim rečima, a to u najvećoj meri zavisi od usvajanja na semantičkom nivou: ako se ne uspostavi semantička veza, proces asocijacija po obliku (formalnih) omogućava samo delimično upamćivanje - smeštanje u memoriju. Samo semantičko povezivanje omogućava trajno upamćivanje i smeštanje date reči ili izraza u neku od mreža (sintagmatsku, paradigmatsku itd.). Tako bi se, na primer, reč *pas* paradigmatski povezala sa imenicama *mačka*, *ptica*, *konj*; sintagmatski sa glagolima *lajati*, *ujesti*; hiponimijski sa rečju *životinja*, a konceptualno sa rečima *čuvar*, *policija*, *lov*, *prijatelj* itd. Ovakve mreže asocijacija i povezivanja mogu da u znatnoj meri zavise od individualnih osobina pojedinca, njegovih ranijih iskustava i kulture u kojoj je odrastao (koja ne mora uvek biti i njegova maternja kultura). Lako se pamte izrazi koji su isti ili veoma slični sa onima koji postoje u maternjem jeziku učenika i oni koji odgovaraju mentalnim predstavama u svesti učenika.

⁵⁰ Trevil i Diket navode sledeći primer reklame za sir: « Mon lait, moi, je le mange. - Ja svoje mleko jedem. » M.-C. Tréville, L. Duquette, *Enseigner le vocabulaire en classe de langue*, Paris, Hachette, 1996, p. 37.

⁵¹ Isto, str. 56-57.

Postoje rečnici frazeoloških izraza i idioma (kakvi su i oni koje smo mi u ovom radu koristili kao korpus na kojem je vršeno istraživanje), ali čak i oni, a posebno obični jednojezični ili dvojezični rečnici, malo mesta posvećuju kulturološkim razlikama. Ovo je razumljivo jer oni niti mogu sadržati sve što bi moglo biti zanimljivo, niti je to njihov prvobitni i osnovni cilj, ali budući da prava upotreba reči zapravo često umnogome zavisi od kulturoloških činilaca, možda bi valjalo razmišljati o stvaranju rečnika koji bi obuhvatao reči i izraze sa jakom kulturološkom vrednošću i koji bi objašnjavao implicitno značenje takvih reči i izraza. Ovo bi bilo veoma korisno u učenju stranog jezika i olakšalo bi posao onima koji strani jezik uče i koji se sada samostalno snalaze otkrivajući ovakve reči u procesu učenja i kroz sopstvene kontakte sa datim stranim jezikom i njegovim govornicima.

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GENDER REPRESENTATION IN THE TEXTS
OF THE EU CONSTITUTION

Abstract: This paper deals with the issue of language use in the expression of gender identities in the text(s) of the Constitution(s). An insight is presented into the basic constitutional premises of the Proposition of Treaty for the Constitution of Europe which stem from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and which state the equality of rights for the masculine and the feminine genders in the text(s) of the Constitution(s). A question is being asked: Does the text(s) of the Constitution(s) express the equality to rights of the two genders in the context of the Union's motto "*United in Diversity*"? What needs to be done in case where there is a discrepancy, a non-compliance with the requirements of the Constitution?

Key words: gender, grammatical gender, sexual difference, equality to rights, masculine, feminine, constitution, European Union

Both phenomenal entities, *sex qua gender* in language and *language*, are basic to society and culture. Questions about their interrelatedness are being considered, or better, should be considered, in the widest circle of fields pertaining to the studies of culture and society. Such questions are stemming from a common concern for improvement of the human condition through better understanding of the biological and the cultural mechanisms at work in individual men and women and in the societies in which they live.

Questions pertaining to sexual genders and their representation in language, i.e., grammatical genders, and in speech-acts (*langue/parole*) are intrinsically connected to questions of the (sexual) identity and subjectivity of a woman or a man, and to questions of the relation to the (sexual) identity and subjectivity of an *Other*, either man or woman. This basic relation is expressed as the *sexual difference* that is a universal reality⁵² pertaining primarily to the natural order, and at the same time it also belongs to the symbolic order. As such, sexual difference represents the only pertinent and possible basis for the establishment of a harmonious civil society and an accomplished democracy which can only be founded upon non-hierarchical relations between citizens, both men and women. The debates about the utmost importance of creating an ethics of the sexual difference were raised by the French philosopher and linguist Luce Irigaray⁵³ and reflected by several thinkers, men and

⁵² What is really universal in a logical sense - that is, what involves the totality of a whole - is not being male or being female (obviously one cannot say "all humans are female") but, rather, the fact of being sexed: *all* humans are "either men or women". Taking sexual difference into account, theoretically and practically, does not mean abandoning the universal but, on the contrary, allows us to recognize the concrete and differential content of the universal. We can say that each of the sexes is "particular" in the sense that together they give the universal humanity all its content. Thus, philosophically, the question is not one of being "for or against" the universal but of giving it its concrete meaning; while the abstract universality retains only the most general and formal features of humanity." ([1998], 2001), Agacinsky, Sylviane, p.61-62.

⁵³ Irigaray, Luce (1984). *L'Éthique de la différence sexuelle*, Aux Éditions Minit, Paris
Irigaray, Luce (1990). *Je, tu, nous. Pour une culture de la différence*, Aux Éditions Grasset, Paris
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Irigaray, Luce (1992). *J'aime à toi; esquisse d'une félicité dans l'histoire*, Bernard Grasset, Paris

women, in their own, particular way, from the last part of the twenties century on: Jacques Derrida, Julia Kristeva, Jean-Joseph Goux, Carole Pateman, Rosi Braidotti, Elizabeth Grosz, Sylviane Agacinsky, among others.⁵⁴ These relations, though, must be at the same time respectful of the different needs of each person and as paritative as possible. As an ethical paradigm, they should insure the democratic functioning of a particular social/cultural group as well as the ability to communicate fruitfully with/among other social/cultural groups, thus in-forming the larger community.

A relation, therefore, between a man and a woman should be capable of being transformed from an immediate attraction into a democratic coexistence, a valid base for a social and political order. An encounter between two citizens of different genders, respectful of rights to equality of each other, is the productive basis for the interwoven fiber of the human community.

In the light of the main task of our conference, which is to contribute to the improvement of the communicational abilities and capabilities in the multicultural environment we inhabit, I will present an example of the status of *sex-qua-gender* in language in the contemporary Slovene culture, especially in connection with her new membership in the European Union and her interrelatedness with the variety of other cultures/members of the Union. I shall focus my attention on the two following points:

- the way in which Slovene Grammar and the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia as the two most important and pertinent civil and legal documents contribute to the statements about the equality of rights between men and women expressed in the Proposal of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe;
- a comparison with the English, the French and the German versions of representation of the two genders in their respective texts of the Proposal of the Treaty.

As an introduction to the subject matter of the grammatical gender as a linguistic representative of an individual man and woman, and the multitude of men and women, I am going to present a short overview of its historical development and status. As a grammatical category, the grammatical gender is a particular type of morphological variations in nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and articles described in terms of the sexual categories masculine, feminine, and neuter. In his *Rhetoric* Aristotle tells us that the first of the Greek grammarians to isolate the category of gender was Protagoras, who classified names as masculine, feminine and inanimate according to the sex, or lack of sex, of their referents. Aristotle himself distinguished between natural gender, which was simply a reflection of sex, and grammatical gender, which was independent of reproductive physiology.

Note: All books of Luce Irigaray are translated into English as well as several other languages. Most recent are published in 2008.

⁵⁴ It was already the German philosopher Martin Heidegger who thought about 'the difference' as one of the most important questions to be raised, and possibly defined, in the twenties century. Among many excellent ideas that he shared with his students was the one which states that each epoch has one significant and vital question to answer. Luce Irigaray, following his suggestion, considers the phenomenon of the *sexual difference* as the most important and vital concern of our times.

Nevertheless, a general attitude of linguists and philosophers has been, from Aristotle on, that gender is an unimportant, “accidental” linguistic category without an intrinsic function or a logical motivation. Its main function lies in the classification of concepts and objects, denominated through language. Greek *γενος* and Latin *genus* denote originally the concept of “class, type”, primarily a generic concept which is not directly connected to the male/female opposition or difference.

There had been some views on grammatical gender which differ from the contemporary classificatory nomination which prevails in our contemporary grammar books. The most interesting was presented by the philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder’s in his essay *On the origin of Language* ([1772] 1966). He traces grammatical gender to a primitive animistic world view where the first humans, in order to make sense of the world around them, and of their existence, personified the animals and plants, the inanimate earth, rocks, water, and the natural and supernatural forces around them as women and men, as gods and goddesses working evil or good. Everything in the universe was anthropomorphized, all the nouns were assigned both gender and divinity in the first human language. According to Herder “the oldest vocabulary was thus a sounding pantheon, an assembly of both sexes.”⁵⁵

Nowadays, we are very far from the ancient universe where the two sexes played an equal role. Grammarians have treated the masculine gender as primary in order of creation and in importance, both in the natural world and in the sentence. Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries English grammar as well as Slovene grammar set forth the doctrine of the worthiness of the genders, borrowed from Latin, to justify the use of masculine nouns and pronouns (in Slovene also adjectives and participles) to stand for both the sexes. Even today, many linguists assume that the masculine is the “normal”, or unmarked, gender and that all English nouns are masculine unless specially marked. Following the doctrine introduced by Latin grammars of hierarchical gender worthiness, masculine gender represents feminine (and neuter) gender.

Slovene linguist Rado Lenček (1972) described more in detail the rule for distinction of the grammatical gender in the Slovene language: “The grammatical genders of the Slovene literary language stand as regards markedness in the following relations: the neutral gender is marked in relation to the masculine and the feminine gender, and the feminine gender is marked in the relation to the masculine one. This insight is applied in the interpretation of the concord between the predicative adjective and the paratactically compound subject. Some surface homo-form structures are interpreted as deep-structure unmarked/marked responding the neutralized ones.” Following this arbitrary rule, the most recent Slovene Grammar Book⁵⁶ presents majority of the examples for different grammatical categories using masculine gender almost exclusively. The same thing happens with the most recent Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, which is considered the second (in order, after Slovene Grammar) basic and important text defining the political and social system and structure of the Slovenian State, and especially, the rights and the duties of her citizens, men and women. As such it

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 133

⁵⁶ Toporišič, Joze ([1984], reprint 2004). *Slovenska slovnica*, Založba Obzorja Maribor

plays an important role in defining relations among its citizens, as well as relations with other nations and cultures.⁵⁷ The Constitution puts forward the following declaration in the 3rd article: "Slovenia is a state composed of all her citizens, men and women...Slovenija je država vseh svojih državljanek in državljanov...". Nevertheless, the rest of the text uses masculine gender exclusively to represent both sexes, men and women as citizens. The one other exception is also the sentence, expressing the oath of the President of the Republic in the article 104: "I swear to respect the constitutional order and to act in my best abilities for the prosperity of Slovenia... Prisegam, da bom spoštoval(a) ustavni red, da bom ravnal(a) po svoji vesti in z vsemi svojimi močmi deloval(a) za blaginjo Slovenije."⁵⁸

This tactics (following the rules of grammar) is prevalent in the entire Slovene language world where women need to be silent in spite of the statement of the Human Rights Declaration declaring the right to equality between men and women.⁵⁹ This declaration is also incorporated into the Proposal of the Treaty for the European Constitution. The article I-2 of the Part I states under the heading **The Union's Values** : "The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail."

Following the grammatical rule of non-markedness, the statements about any couple or group consisting of a man and a woman (or several women, and one or more men) are expressed in the masculine gender. The same goes for the names of

⁵⁷ "A group of intellectuals - legal experts, sociologists, philosophers, writers - were the ones who put together the first Constitution of the republic of Slovenia. The writers of the Slovene constitution mostly represented a new, democratically oriented generation which followed the previous generation of the '*ancien régime*' communist leaders...Interestingly enough, fathers of the new Constitution were all men, like their idols, the American founding (fore)fathers - George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, to name just a few, were also among the leaders in the Revolutionary War (1775-1783) who established the Confederation of independent states from the previous British colonies, and presented The Declaration of Independence (1776). The Federalist Essays, published in 1788, represent one of America's most important contributions to constitutional theory. The American Constitution, signed on September 17, 1787, adopted its Bill of Rights (the amendments which guarantee the basic rights and liberties of each citizen) by December 15, 1791. The constitution was exclusively concerned with the rights and liberties of male citizens of the United States of America. Therefore, the language of the Constitution addresses male subjects exclusively with usage of the personal pronoun "he" and the possessive adjective "his".

The amendments to the Constitution were passed in the nineties of the previous century, complying with the feminist demands to use the feminine grammatical gender-pronouns and possessive adjectives side by side." (2006), Zupanc-Ećimović, P., p. 84. Also, (1994). Zupanc-Ećimović, P., p. 806.

⁵⁸ Zupanc-Ećimović (1994), p. 806.

⁵⁹ "The language in the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights when it refers to a person is always specified with the usage of the possessive pronoun "his", and not also "hers" in majority of the articles. The fact is that the Declaration came into existence before the advent of the revolutionary students' and women's movements in the sixties of the previous century, and its language (the basic English version) follows the example of its predecessor - the American Constitution. Most of the addressing of its audiences -men and women as citizens of the world - is expressed by the indefinite pronoun "everyone", "no one", "human beings", "peoples" which denotes a generic person and does not distinguish a masculine and a feminine.", (2006) Zupanc-Ećimović, P., p. 81.

professional organizations as well as for other public discourses, including the legal and the scientific texts. The Slovene version of the European Constitution uses the same routine treatment of the two genders - the masculine gender stands for the feminine gender also. In this way it is disregarding, in the name of the grammatical rules, the rights of women to equality and speech.

In comparison, the English text of the European Constitution uses both pronouns, the feminine and the masculine, following the term "President" in the I-22 Article stating the following :” 1. The European Council shall elect its President, by a qualified majority, for a term of two and a half years, renewable once. In the event of an impediment or serious misconduct, the European Council can end his or her term of office in accordance with the same procedure.” (Underlined by the author.) French and German texts follow the grammatical rule of non-markedness and use the masculine gender only.

Considering the Article II-82 of the Constitution which states the following: “The Union respects the cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.”, and also considering the different treatment of genders with different languages being used by the State Members of the European Union we should ask the questions about the best ways of establishing an equitable understanding of the relation of parity between men and women.⁶⁰ Parity between men and women should be established in all countries forming the European Union, and it should become an essential and functional element within the realm of democracy. Women should not be discriminated and silenced as it is still happening now. The raising of awareness about the hidden discrimination against women via important documents which direct and inform the political and social conditions through language/speech should become one of the basic elements in language and culture teaching.

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⁶⁰ "The well known French linguist and humanist Emile Benveniste stated on the relation between language and society/culture that we cannot study and understand a society without studying its language, and *vice versa*, we cannot study a language without studying its society. One implicates the other, even more, we can find in each precise and constant correlation, issuing from the same necessity", (2006), Zupanc-Ećimović, p. 89.

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III

KNJIŽEVNOST / LITERATURE

RECEPCIJA DRAMSKOG STVARALAŠTVA MIHAILA BULGAKOVA

Apstrakt: U radu se bavimo analizom recepcije pojedinih Bulgakovljevih drama na pozorišnoj sceni Srbije. Riječ je o manje izvođenim dramama nastalim u periodu od 1926. do 1938. godine. Postavka Bulgakovljevih drama na srpskoj sceni nije prošla nezapaženo, što dokazuju brojne recenzije u periodičnim izdanjima. U vrijeme izvođenja predstava Bulgakov je već priznati pisac, tako da većina kritika nije upućena piscu (kao što je bio slučaj sa ranije izvođenim predstavama), već rediteljima i glumcima.

Ključne riječi: Mihail Bulgakov, drama, recepcija, „Don Kihot i Sančo Pansa”, „Bjekstvo”, „Purpurno ostrvo”

Pozorišna publika u Srbiji je imala prilike da se upozna sa dramskim stvaralaštvom Mihaila Bulgakova zahvaljujući Praškoj grupi Hudožestvenika koja je tokom 1930. i 1931. godine izvodila predstavu „Dani Turbina”. Prva predstava koja je rađena u Beogradu sa glumcima nacionalnog pozorišta je „Zojkin stan” u režiji Jurija Rakitina 1934. godine. Predstava je u javnosti ocijenjena kao „skandalozna” i odmah skinuta s repertoara. Razloge neuspjeha ove predstave vidimo u političkim prilikama ondašnje Jugoslavije, ali i u nepripremljenosti publike na inovacije koje nosi sama drama. Dvije godine nakon toga Narodno pozorište Dunavske banovine postavlja predstavu „Novi dom” u režiji Aleksandra Vareščagina. Ovom predstavom će gostovati u Kragujevcu, gdje će doživjeti priličan uspjeh. Nakon toga slijedi premijera „Moliera” (1938) koja je, kao i „Zojkin stan” doživjela neuspjeh: ministar unutrašnjih poslova Korošec je skida sa repertoara, a reditelj, Bojan Stupica je prinuđen da napusti Narodno pozorište u kom je izvedena predstava. Nakon toga nastupa velika pauza i tek će naredna postavka nekog Bulgakovljevog djela biti 1970. godine. Riječ je o predstavi rađenoj po Bulgakovljevoj adaptaciji Servantesovog romana *Don Kihot*. Godine 1972. premijeru će doživjeti dvije Bulgakovljeve drame: *Purpurno ostrvo* i *Bekstvo*, a ponovna postavka drame *Molijer* biće tri godine kasnije - 1975. godine, to jeste iste godine kada i premijera predstave „Ivan Vasiljevič”.

Don Kihot i Sančo Pansa

Septembra 1938. godine Mihail Bulgakov predaje tekst inscenacije Servantesovog romana *Don Kihot* Vahtangovljevom teatru. Kako navodi Milivoje Jovanović¹, zbog razvučenosti teksta Bulgakov je prinuđen da skрати ovu verziju, tako da konačnu varijantu završava 18. decembra iste godine. Za razliku od sudbine njegovih ranijih drama, ovu je Glavrepertkom (Glavni Repertoarski Komitet) odobrio nakon kraćeg vremena, tako da glumci počinju sa probama 17. januara 1939. godine². Međutim, u *Enciklopediji o Bulgakovu* naveden je podatak da je pisac ipak prinuđen četiri mjeseca da čeka odgovor cenzure iako se znalo da će biti odobreno izvođenje *Don Kihota*. Za to vrijeme on radi novu verziju komada i 27. decembra 1938. godine je predaje u Glavrepertkom. Komad je zvanično odobren 17. januara 1939. godine. Uzrok takve reakcije Glavrepertkoma Boris Sokolov vidi „ne u sadržaju komada, već

¹ M. Bulgakov, *Dela*, Beograd, SKZ i Narodna knjiga, 1985, t. VI, str. 367.

² Ibidem.

u imenu njenog dramaturga, koje je bilo cenzuri krajnje mrsko”³ (prevod – N. A.). Tek je 8. aprila 1941. godine Vahtangovljevi teatar imao premijeru ovog komada, to jeste, skoro mjesec dana nakon piščeve smrti.

U Srbiji je Bulgakovljeva adaptacije Servantesovog romana premijerno izvedena 18. novembra 1970. godine u Savremenom pozorištu na Crvenom krstu. Reditelj predstave „Don Kihot i Sančo Pansa” je Radomir Šaranović, prevod pripada Dragovanu Jovanoviću, scenarista je Dušan Stanić, kostimograf Danka Pavlović, dok je muziku uradio Vojislav Kuzmanović. U glavnim ulogama su nastupili Vladimir Popović (Don Kihot), Predrag Laković (Sančo Pansa) i Tamara Miletić (Antonija).

Naveli smo da su razloge ranijeg lošeg prijema Bulgakovljevih drama (predstave „Zojkin stan” i „Molier”) od strane publike pozorišni kritičari vidjeli, između ostalog, i u propustima pisca. Sada to nije slučaj: Bulgakovljeva djela se ocjenjuju kao visokoumjetnička, a ako predstava nije naišla na dobar prijem, krivci se pronalaze na drugoj strani – ili u reditelju, ili u glumcima. Tako Muharem Pervić u prikazu „Pokušajte da se zabavite” (*Politika*, 23. 11. 1970. godine) kritikuje rediteljjev jednostran pristup drami jer nije uspio da ostvari Bulgakovljevu zamisao Don Kihota „kao savremenog junaka” već je u drami tražio samo „povod za smeh i pouku”, pa je u predstavi „sve svedeno i uprošćeno, zaokruženo popularnom komikom i romantičnim osećanjima”. Ovo mišljenje ne dijeli autor prikaza pomenute predstave Milutin Mišić („Legenda o vitezu tužnog lika”, *Borba*, 22. 11. 1970. godine) koji smatra da je režija Radomira Šaranovića „nadahnuto” i „veoma precizno” razvijala Bulgakovljevu viziju Don Kihota. Milosav Mirković u prikazu premijere predstave „Don Kihot i Sančo Pansa” pod nazivom „Vitezi lutaju pozorištem” (*Politika ekspres*, 20. novembra 1970. godine) smatra da je „u jednostavnosti Šaranovićeve vizije bilo i *jednoličnosti*, u njegovom patetizmu bilo je i *naivnosti*”, dok je Bulgakovljeva zamisao bila da Don Kihota vodi „kroz Rusiju, gogoljevski rastuženu, [...] kako bi svojim podtekstom rekao neke, ništa manje tužne istine o gubernijskom vandalizmu svoga savremenika – Staljina”. Propust reditelja Radomira Šaranovića, Milosav Mirković vidi u tome što nije uspio da srednjovjekovni ep obogati „izoštrenom klovnovskom projekcijom” u kojoj se vjera gospodara u ideale nužno pretvara u „istinsku veru vođenih”. Takva vjera se nužno mora hraniti sumnjama, zaključuje Milosav Mirković navodeći misli Migela de Unamuna. Što se tiče glumaca u predstavi „Don Kihot i Sančo Pansa”, Mirković je mišljenja da u tumačenju glavnog lika ima „odviše bajke a malo satire” dok je sama gluma Vladimira Popovića (Don Kihot) bila djelimično „naturalistička”, „uzdržana”, ali i „stilizovano oplemenjena”. Svoje glumačko umjeće Predrag Laković (Sančo Pansa) je najbolje pokazao u „scenama narasle vere u svog viteza”, dok ostali glumci nisu uspjeli da odgovore na postavljeni zadatak, pa su izgledali „kao da vise na pozornici”, ističe autor recenzije.

Milutin Mišić u svom prikazu naročito ističe glumačka ostvarenja Vladimira Popovića i Predraga Lakovića. Po njegovom mišljenju Vladimir Popović (Don Kihot) je glumio „nenametljivo, bez ikakve patetike i preobilne glumačke retorike”, a Predrag Laković je uspješno izgradio lik Sančo Panse. Pohvaljena je i cjelokupna glumačka ekipa koja je ostvarila „prvu vrednu predstavu” u pozorišnoj sezoni 1970-te godine.

³ Соколов Б. Булгаковская энциклопедия. М.: Локид и Миф. 2000, с. 198.

Recenzija predstave „Don Kihot i Sančo Pansa” Žarka Jovanovića pod naslovom „Bekstvo u ludilo” (*Večernje novosti*, 23. novembra 1970. godine) ističe njene pozitivne strane. Po mišljenju Žarka Jovanovića reditelj Radomir Šaranović je bio u pravu kada je produbljavao jaz između dvije stvarnosti: one u kojoj junaci žive i one „kakvu Kihot želi da stvori”. Zato reditelj Šaranović i insistira na Don Kihotu kao „tragikomičnom borcu”, koji, izgubivši slobodu – umire, mišljenja je Žarko Jovanović. Mada je Predrag Laković (Sančo Pansa) „ponekad preterivao u persifliranju svog lika”, ipak je, zajedno sa Vladimirom Popovićem (Don Kihot) dao predstavi „izuzetnu svežinu i snagu”. Sasvim suprotan stav ima Muharem Pervić koji u recenziji predstave „Don Kihot i Sančo Pansa” pod naslovom „Pokušajte da se zabavite” (*Politika*, 23.11. 1970. godine) ističe da je Vladimir Popović (Don Kihot) svoj lik tumačio „odveć logično, proračunato i skućeno”, ali je konstantno naglašavao sukob stvarnosti i fikcije, za razliku od ostalih glumaca kojima to nije polazilo za rukom.

Što se tiče dekora i kostima, za Žarka Jovanovića oni su uspješno uklopljeni u rediteljevu zamisao. Ovo mišljenje ne dijeli Milosav Mirković u prikazu „Vitezi lutaju pozorištem” (*Politika ekspres*, 20.11. 1970. godine) jer smatra da je pozornica bila „nepotrebno dekorisana namernom starudijom”.

Bjekstvo

Mihail Bulgakov počinje rad na drami *Bjekstvo*⁴ 1926. godine. Njen prvobitni naziv je bio *Serafimin vitez (Otpadnici)*. Za Bulgakovljevog života ova drama u SSSR-u za nije izvedena⁵. Hudožestveni teatar je trebalo da postavi predstavu „Bjekstvo”, ali Glavrepertkom 9. maja 1928. godine donosi odluku da se obustavi rad na predstavi. Na lično zalaganje Maksima Gorkog, Glavrepertkom poništava prethodnu odluku i dopušta nastavljanje rada na predstavi⁶. Međutim, 24. oktobra 1928. godine u *Pravdi* je objavljena informacija o tome da se izvođenje komada zabranjuje. MHAT ipak nastavlja sa probama, mada ponovo počinje medijska hajka na Bulgakova. Februara 1929. godine lično će Staljin pročitati dramu „Bekstvo”, a sud o njoj će iskazati u pismu dramaturgu Bilj Belocerkovskom 2. februara 1929. godine. On se u najkraćem sastoji u tome da drama „predstavlja antisovjetsku pojavu”⁷. Drama „Bjekstvo” će biti postavljena u SSSR-u tek trideset godina kasnije. Naime, tek je 1957. godine volgogradsko dramsko pozorište izvelo premijeru ove predstave (režija N. Pokrovskog). Prema motivima drame *Bjekstvo* 1970. godine „Mosfiljm” snima film u režiji A. A. Alova i V. P. Naumova.

Kod nas je dan premijere „Bekstva” bio dvadeset petog januara 1972. godine u beogradskom Narodnom pozorištu. Reditelj – Cisana Murusidze je uradila predstavu prema prevodu Milana Čolića. Scenograf je Veljko Despotović. Glavne uloge tumače: Stanislava Pešić (Serafima Vladimirovna Korzuhina), Milan Mihailović (Sergej Pavlovič Golubkov), Jovan Milićević (Roman Valerijanovič Hludov), Branislav Jerinić (Grigorije Lukjanovič Čarnota), Ksenija Jovanović (Ljuska), Milan Puzić (Paramon Iljič Korzuhin), Miodrag Lazarević (Afrikan), Rastko Tadić (Tihij), Ljuba Kovačević

⁴ Podatak da je 1926. godine pisac počeo rad na ovoj drami našli smo u: Соколов Б. Булгаковская энциклопедия. М.: Локид и Миф. 2000, с. 38.

⁵ Ova drama prvi put je objavljena u: *Булгаков М. Пьесы*, М: Искусство, 1962.

⁶ Vidi o tome u: Vitalij Šentalinski *Iznenadenja Lubjanke*, str. 246.

⁷ Vidi: V. Šentalinski, *Iznenadenja Lubjanke*, str. 247; kao i: M. Bulgakov, *Dela*, Beograd, SKZ i Narodna knjiga, 1985, t. V, str. 367.

(Beli vrhovni komandant), Ramiz Sekić (De Brizar), Boris Andrusević (Krapilin), Predrag Ejodus (Golovan), Radmilo Ćurčić (Artur Arturović), Ljiljana Gazdić (Marija Konstantinovna), Miša Volić (Pajsije), Boško Puletić (Načelnik stanice), Zvonko Jovčić (Komandant stanice), Mida Stevanović (Bajev), Branko Zamolo (Buđonovac), Bogdan Mihajlović (Skunskij, saradnik kontraobaveštajne službe), Zoran Stojiljković (Gurin), Momčilo Žvotić (Anton Griščenko), Dragan Maksimović (Grk), Anđelka Ristić (Turkinja), Vesna Pećanac (Prostitutka), Rade Popović (Odrtaveli iguman).

Na dan premijere „Bekstva”, Avdo Mujčinović objavljuje tekst pod nazivom „Kako pobeći od sebe” (*Politika ekspres*, 25. januar 1972. godine) kojim najavljuje premijeru. U podnaslovu je navedeno kako je Mihail Bulgakov „slavni sovjetski pisac”, a u samom tekstu se ističe kako je on već poznat tadašnjoj čitalačkoj javnosti po „izvršnom romanu *Margarita i majstori* koji je dugo vremena bio best-seler”. Osim netačnog naziva Bulgakovljevog romana *Majstor i Margarita*, ovdje je iznijet još jedan pogrešan podatak: „*Bekstvo* je druga drama Mihaila Bulgakova koja se izvodi na sceni Narodnog pozorišta u Beogradu”. Naime, *Bekstvo* je treća drama koja je postavljena u Narodnom pozorištu: predstava „Zojkin stan” je imala premijeru u ovom pozorištu 23. marta 1934. godine, a predstava „Molier” 20. oktobra 1938. godine (Avdo Mujčinović navodi samo podatak o postavljanju predstave „Molier”). Takođe je plasiran pogrešan podatak da je „*Bekstvo*” nakon zabrane koju je inicirao lično Staljin, u Sovjetskom Savezu prvi put doživjelo postavku „tek 1968. godine”. Avdo Mujčinović (citirajući reditelja predstave, Cisana Murusidze) obavještava nas da je vrijeme 20-tih godina XX vijeka opisano u drami *Bekstvo* (po kojoj je urađena predstava), to jeste vrijeme „posle građanskog rata na Krimu”, a glavno pitanje koje izvire iz drame je: „da li je moguće pobeći od samog sebe”.

Milosav Mirković u prikazu predstave „*Bekstvo*” (“Striženo, košeno!”, *Politika ekspres*, 27. januara 1972. godine) ocjenjuje predstavu kao vježbu „prikriivanja i slabosti pozorišnog zanata” i koja je „nažalost izgubila svoju ravnotežu pesničke i pozorišne aktuelnosti”. Rediteljka Cisana Murusidze je *bekstvo* iz Rusije „shvatila odviše bukvalno”, smatra autor prikaza koji joj, takođe, zamjera i zbog „neutralnog konstruktivističkog dekora”. Ni glumci nisu pošteđeni kritike: Stanislavi Pešić (Serafima Korzuhina) i Milanu Mihailoviću (Sergej Golubkov) je zamjereno zbog upotrebe „oveštalih naturalističkih sredstava”, Branislavu Jeriniću (Grigorij Lukijanovič Čarnota) što je „ovlašno nosio svoj lik”. Gluma Jovana Milićevića (Roman Valerijanovič Hludov) je pozitivno ocijenjena jer je lik koji je tumačio bio „suptilno iskazan”, mada ne i „dramski razmahnut”. Isto tako je i Ksenija Jovanović (Ljuska), po mišljenju M. Mirkovića, uspješno izgradila svoju ulogu.

Muharem Pervić u recenziji predstave „*Bekstvo*” („Kuda i zašto lutamo?”, *Politika*, 28. januar 1972. godine) analizirajući i Bulgakovljevu dramu po kojoj je rađena predstava ističe da je pisac u njoj dao likove „koji su izgubili bitku u najširem smislu te reči, i pred kojima stoji jedno hamletovsko pitanje: Kuda i zašto lutamo? Vratiti se ili ostati?” Jedini način da ovakvi tipovi junaka prežive je – *bekstvo* u san, pa je zato i drama koncipirana kao niz snova. Međutim, Muharem Pervić se drži mišljenja da reditelj predstave Cisana Murusidze nije osjetila da treba da gradi predstavu na ovaj način, zbog čega je „*Bekstvo*” svedeno na „jednu od mnogih stereotipnih realističkih konvencija”. Ono što ugrožava predstavu jeste „sukob apstraktnog, mehaničkog i ljudskog”, a to reditelj nije uspio da pomiri. Način tumačenja uloga Jovana Milićevića (Roman Valerijanovič Hludov) i Branislava Jerinića (Grigorij

Lukijanovič Čarnota) je pozitivno ocijenjen jer im je gluma bila „izrazita i scenski delotvorna”, dok su ostali glumci samo djelimično uspjeli da ostvare svoje uloge.

Purpurno ostrvo

Mihail Bulgakov je dramu *Purpurno ostrvo* napisao prema motivima istoimenog feljtona koji je objavljen u berlinskom časopisu „Nakanune” 20. aprila 1924. godine. Zanimljivo je pomenuti da je Bulgakov nerado objavljiavao u ovom časopisu: „Društvo samih protuva skuplja se oko časopisa „Nakanune”. [...] Velika muka me je naterala da štampam u njemu. Da nije tog časopisa, nikada ne bi ugledali svet ni *Zapisi na manžetnama*, ni mnogo šta u čemu ja iskreno mogu saopštiti književnu reč”⁸. Sama drama je prvi put objavljena 1968. u Njujorku, a u SSSR-u tek 1987. godine. Predstava je premijerno igrana 11. decembra 1928. godine u moskovskom Kamernom teatru u režiji Aleksandra Tairova, mada je drama napisana februara 1927. godine, a 4. marta iste godine predana pozorištu (i ovog puta je Glavrepertkom tražio izmjene u tekstu drame, čime se objašnjava ovako dug period postavljanja drame na sceni). Zanimljivo je pomenuti da Mihail Bulgakov u svom pismu Vladi SSSR-a ističe činjenicu da je njemačka štampa 1929. godine *Purpurno ostrvo* ocijenila kao prvi apel za slobodu štampe u SSSR-u⁹.

U Jugoslaviji je *Purpurno ostrvo* premijerno izvedeno na sceni Ateljea 212 u Beogradu 14. novembra 1972. godine u režiji Ljubomira Draškića, prema prevodu Milana Čolića. Glavne uloge su igrali: Vlastimir Stojiljković (Genadij Panfilovič), Petar Kralj (Vasilij Arturovič Dimogackij), Boro Stjepanović (Metelkin Nikanor), Sima Janićijević (Sizi-Buzi), Renata Ulmanski (Lidija Ivana), Danilo Stojković (Sava Lukič), Dejan Čavić (Beli Arapin), Marina Koljubajeva (Betsi). Scenografiju i kostime je uradio Vladislav Lalicki, koreografiju Boris Radak, a muziku Vojislav Kostić.

O uspjehu i kvalitetu predstave „Purpurno ostrvo” u periodičnoj štampi tog vremena mišljenja su bila podijeljena. Tako se, na primjer, Milosav Mirković („Predstavina predstava”, *Politika ekspres*, 16. 11.1972. godine) drži mišljenja da je reditelj Ljubomir Draškić dobro uradio svoj posao jer je „uspeo da vodi nemirni talas komedije prožimajući ga ovlašnom satiričnom žicom”. Žarko Komanin ističe drugačije mišljenje u prikazu predstave „O lakirovki i ljudskoj gluposti” (*Večernje novosti*, 16. 11. 1972. godine): „Reditelj Ljubomir Draškić, verno je sledio ideju pisca, mada je davao više maha karikaturnom nego satiričnom”. Analizu predstave nalazimo i u tekstu Feliksa Pašića „Na purpurnom ostrvu” (*Borba*, 19. 11. 1972. godine). On smatra da je reditelj dobro postupio kada je skratio dramu za jedan čin (drugi) i izražava mišljenje da je slična intervencija bila potrebna i u trećem činu. Rediteljskim postupkom skraćivanja drame dobilo se na dinamici predstave bez narušavanja sadržajne i dramaturške cjeline. Zaslugu reditelja Ljubomira Draškića autor recenzije Feliks Pašić vidi i u tome što nije zapostavio činjenicu da je drama prije svega satira, ali ima i elemenata komedije, lakrdije, alegorije i pamfleta. Još jedan autor recenzije smatra da je rediteljski posao dobro urađen. To je recenzija Vladimira Stamenkovića koja nosi naziv „Maska kao utočište” (*NIN*, 26. 11. 1972. godine) u kojoj autor odaje priznanje reditelju Ljubomiru Draškiću zbog „izvanredne plastične pismenosti”, zbog osjećanja za ritam i zato što je uspio „da svaki efekat bude [...] organski deo predstave kao celine”. Petar Volk iznosi mišljenje o

⁸ M. Bulgakov, *Pod petom*, Podgorica, Oktoih, 1996, str. 36.

⁹V. Šentalinski, *Vaskrsla reč*, Beograd, Paideia, 1995, str. 140.

predstavi „Purpurno ostrvo” Ateljea 212 u svojoj recenziji „Stil ili kako ga steći” (*Književne novine*, 1. januara 1973. godine): rediteljev koncept je bio da „učini prelaz iz *pozorišta u pozorište*”, ali nije uspio da spriječi prelazak satire u burlesku, što je „bilo dovoljno da sve postane grubo i naivno do te mere da samo sebe obezvređuje”. Zbog toga su izgubljene „glumačke skice” Renate Ulmanski (Lidija Ivana), Danila Stojkovića (Sava Lukić), Sime Janičijevića (Sizi – Buzi), Dejana Čavića (Beli Arapin), Marine Koljubajeve (Betsi). Cjelokupni utisak Petra Volka je da predstava kao „celina nema umetničkog dejstva”. Međutim, sasvim suprotan utisak o uspješnosti glumačkih ostvarenja možemo pronaći kod Milosava Mirkovića („Predstavina predstava”, *Politika ekspres*, 16. 11. 1972. godine): „Precizne u svojoj drečavoj karikaturi, ali i odlično upijene u stil koji se izvrgava i raslojava, uloge Direktora pozorišta i Lidije Ivane ostvarili su Đuza Stojiljković i Renata Ulmanski”. On smatra da je i Danilo Stojković uspješno tumačio lik Save Lukića i uspio da „odmeri i automatizam satire i slikovitost bez preterivanja”. Gluma čitave ekipe „Purpurnog ostrva” je ocijenjena kao odlična u recenziji Feliksa Pašića „Na purpurnom ostrvu” (*Borba*, 19. 11. 1972. godine), a naročito je istaknut „talentat za persiflažu” Vlastimira Stojiljkovića (Genadij Panfilovič). Ovaj glumac je vrijedan hvale i po mišljenju Vladimira Stamenkovića („Maska kao utočište”, *NIN*, 26. 11. 1972. godine) jer „bez muke usaglašava svoju privatnu ličnost sa likovima koje tumači”. Ali nije samo njegovo glumačko ostvarenje pomenuto kao uspješno. U prikazu se pominje Renata Ulmanski (Lidija Ivana) jer „tačno oseća kad karikaturu treba pojačati, a kad u glumu treba uneti notu realizma”, takođe i Bora Stjepanović (Metelkin Nikanor) jer „unosio u predstavu izuzetnu živost, znalački održava njen komički ritam” kao i Petar Kralj (Vasilij Arturovič Dimogackij) čija je gluma „protkana nitima najfinije groteske”.

Posebno je poklonjena pažnja glumi Vlastimira Stojiljkovića u prikazu Milosava Mirkovića „Đuza vodi igru” (*Politika ekspres*, 20. juna 1973. godine) koji je napisan povodom reprize predstave „Purpurno ostrvo”. Ovaj glumac je prilikom ostvarenja svojih uloga Genadija Panfilovića i lorda Glenarvana samoj predstavi „darovao svoju maštovito razigranu i ljudski ponesenu *ulogu u ulozi*”. On, po mišljenju Milosava Mirkovića, nije tumačio „podeljenu”, već „razgrabljenu” ličnost i sa „dečurlijskom lakoćom [...] je našao i melodiju i karakterologiju” u svom glumačkom ostvarenju. Umjetnik ne mijenja samo maske tumačeći naizmjenično svoja dva lika, već se, kako to kaže Mirković sa „njima poigrava”.

Predstava „Purpurno ostrvo” održala se na repertoaru pune tri godine što ukazuje na njen dobar prijem kod beogradske publike. Ovom prilikom treba pomenuti tekst Milivoja Jovanovića „Cenzura i prilagodavanje” (*Književne novine*, 15. 2. 1969. godine) koji je posvećen četrdesetogodišnjici premijere „Purpurnog ostrva” moskovskog Kamernog pozorišta A. Tairova. Milivoje Jovanović iznosi svoje viđenje Bulgakovljevog odnosa prema cenzuri i kompromisu. Naime, iz teksta saznajemo da je Mihail Bulgakov proučavao odnos pisca prema cenzuri i kompromisu u nizu drama – *Purpurno ostrvo*, *Puškin*, *Molijer*, kao i romanima – *Majstor i Margarita* i *Pozorišni roman*. U svim djelima, izuzev romana *Majstor i Margarita*, Mihail Bulgakov prikazuje cenzuru kao neminovnost, pa je samim tim neminovao i kompromis umjetnika prema onima koji vrše cenzuru. S naše strane možemo dodati da Mihail Bulgakov u svojim djelima nije proučavao i pojavu autocenzure jer cenzuru shvata kao nešto spolja nametnuto i nezavisno od stvaraoca. Dakle, njegovi junaci-stvaraoci, mada prinuđeni da u sukobu sa predstavnicima vlasti načine kompromis,

oni su ipak slobodne ličnosti. Ta sloboda se ogleda u njihovim djelima (iako su kasnije, pod pritiskom cenzure prinuđeni da unesu izmjene u djelo).

U drami *Pururno ostrvo* Mihail Bulgakov, po mišljenju Milivoja Jovanovića, „posvećuje pamfletskom elementu mesto samo u *unutrašnjoj drami*” (misli se na dramu pisca Dimogackog – N. A.), dok se u prologu i epilogu umjetnik „bavi problemom ponašanja ličnosti koje učestvuju u poslovima umetnosti” i koji su prinuđeni da daju „pristanak na cenzuru”, pa je to djelo posvećeno „autodemaskiranju umetnikovog puta”. Mihail Bulgakov ističe „svakom replikom da je u pitanju zakonitost umetničkog života u zemlji pobjedničke revolucije”, smatra Milivoje Jovanović. On takođe iznosi stav da u epilogu „umesto istinskog vojevanja za umetnost, nagoveštena je prizemljena, svakodnevnička bitka za opstanak pod skutom zapovednika nad umetnošću”. Međutim, mada su pronalazanjem kompromisnog rješenja u drami svi zadovoljni, Milivoje Jovanović smatra da time jedino nije zadovoljan Mihail Bulgakov koji je „zaključnu misao komedije primio i kao znak ličnog umetničkog poraza”. I upravo ovo predosjećanje poraza u sukobu pisca sa svakodnevicom i njenim predstavnicima navelo je pisca da stvori još nekoliko djela čiji su glavni likovi umjetnici: Molijer, Puškin, Don Kihot. Međutim, smatra Milivoje Jovanović, iako je pisac ismijavao svakodnevicu njihovog vremena, ipak je „reč optužbe” uputio i stavovima umjetnika jer nisu smogli snage da se bore za slobodu stvaralaštva.

Čitaocima je Bulgakov poznat uglavnom kao autor romana *Majstor i Margarita*. Međutim, smatramo da i njegovo dramsko stvaralaštvo zaslužuje pažnju, naročito kada imamo u vidu da se Bulgakovljeve drame i danas izvode u pozorištima širom Evrope. Drame kojima smo posvetili naš rad nisu bile mnogo zastupljene na repertoarima u Srbiji, kao što je to slučaj sa dramama Zojkin Stan, Dani Turbina, Pseće srce, ali smatramo da i ovim dramama treba posvetiti pažnju jer nisu prihvaćene jednoznačno ni od strane publike ni od strane pozorišne kritike.

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АЛЕКСАДАР ТИШМА И ВИЉЕМ ФОКНЕР: КА РЈЕШЕЊУ АНТРОПОЛОШКЕ
ЗАГОНЕТКЕ

Апстракт: Овај рад анализира начине на који Тишма и Фокнер пишу о човјеку, његовим егзистецијалним дилемама, сукобима и стремљењима, суочавајући се са проблемима саме природе зла и његове «природности», као и сапостојањем добра и зла у једном истом човјеку. Природним се намеће питање како два аутора која припадају различитим културним и књижевним традицијама, рјешавају јединствену антрополошку једначину.

Њихова дјела су двије моћне визије стварности и положаја човјека у њој, изражене језиком који у напорима да открије саму суштину људског достиже мјеру поетског. У овим стремљењима често су микроскопски прецизи - циљ им је отворити могуће путеве рјешења антрополошке енигме кроз анализу здравог, а чешће патолошког у нама.

Кључне ријечи: нарација, зло, природност зла, егзистенцијална дилема

Фокнерова и Тишмина проза пружају обиље доказа да сви приповједачи, од библијских времена наовамо, у суштини, причају само једну причу - причу о човјеку и да све различитости које могу стајати између њих - временске, просторне, идеолошке, националне и нису препрека да се успоставе мостови између приповједних свјетова који се наизглед уопште не додирују. Српски и амерички писац нису остварили директан утицај један на другог; стварају у различитим раздобљима, на различитом тлу, израстају из различитих културних и књижевних традиција, а опет, у њиховом приповиједању наилазимо на истоврсне теме, мотиве, питања, недоумице и, што је најважније, исту усмјереност ка откривању најдубљих животних *истина*.

Служећи се типично модернистичким средствима оба писца на свој начин „бациће се“ на рјешавање јединствене антрополошке једначине не плашећи се онога што ће открити. На трагу „одгонетке“ суочиће се са питањима идентитета, идентификације, комуникације, Бога, страдања, зла и коначно, смрти.

У једном од својих многобројних интервјуа А. Тишма каже:

„Оно што бих прво запазио јесте усамљеност, запазио бих специфичну јединку која није успела да срасте са својим окружењем. У људском друштву сам се обрео као неко куче које се родило у неком дворишту, и које је ту где јесте, као неко усамљено куче које се чуди и нимало му није угодно. То не значи да би му на другом месту било боље...Те забелешке у дневницима су у ствари конфликти између мене и дворишта где сам се стицајем околности нашао, и још већег дворишта, околних улица...целог града...Једно сударање са окружењем које ме не разуме и које не разумем, које има другачије погледе и интересе...Ми смо такви какви смо, свет је такав какав јесте. Не можемо га због тога окривљивати. Можемо се само сударати с њим, и, ако имамо потребу то записивати.“¹⁰

¹⁰ <http://www.nedimsejdinovic.com/2001/12/23/165/>

Тишмин, као и Фокнеров јунак/јунакиња често су у оваквој ситуацији: усамљени, никако у могућности да срасту са својим окружењем; њима није угодно ту гдје јесу, али је мало вјероватно да би им и другдје било боље јер коријен сукоба је, осим у „дворишту“ и у њима самима.

Тишмини и Фокнерови јунаци немоћни су, духовно (а каткад и физички) импотентни да се остваре у својој људској пуноћи. Физички или духовни хендикеп онемогућава их да се суоче прво са собом, а онда и са вањским свијетом. Тишмин „*човек у млечном ресторану*“, неименован као и јунаци приповједака *Бдење* и *Најгора ноћ* или са именима попут *Шнека*, *Чаковића*, *Мирослава Блама*, *Роберта Кронера* инертан је и слаб да се ухвати у коштац са животним тегобама једнако као и Фокнерови *Хорас Бенбоу*, *пречасни Хајтауер*, *Квентин Компсон*, или *Дарл Бандрен*. Под проклетством усуда су и „њихови“ злочинци, детерминисани поријеклом и неразријешеним сукобима у себи самима: *Дулич*, ратни злочинац заслијепљен мржњом која се рађа из дугогодишњег осјећаја инфериорности и потчињености, *Понај*, физички обогољен још од рођења, лишен могућности уживања у већини животних задовољстава, или *Џо Кристмас*, пародички искривљена слика Христа чија унутрашња распољеност, праћена фрустрирајућим осјећањем које рађа немогућност сазнања о властитом поријеклу води ка деструкцији и ауто-деструкцији. Тишмине и Фокнерове злочинце прогања демон инфериорности, они се бране насиљем, али болна инфериорност не нестаје, већ се, напротив, интензивира.

Свијест о неприпадању њиховим јунацима наметнута је споља, најчешће веома рано, а затим интернализована постајући нераздвојив дио њиховог „ја“. Стога они најчешће не разликују сопствено осјећање неприпадања и неприхватање од стране заједнице јер је граница међу њима одавно избрисана и јаз се механизмом зачараног круга само продубљује. Здравом осјећање идентитета није могуће без макар минималне **идентификације** са неким од друштвених оквира у којима се налазимо: породицом, заједницом. Тишмини и Фокнерови јунаци у томе не успијевају: излаз се тражи најчешће у насиљу или ескапизму. Оба избора показују се трагичним.

Тишма и Фокнер изабрали су да не пишу о срећним људима. Тако Тишма каже: „не пада ми на памет да описујем срећу живљења“ јер „срећним људима уметност није потребна“, ¹¹ а Фокнер трагајући за оном једном једином причом о човјеку која «ипак стаје на врх чиоде» наилази само на бол, осујећеност, насиље. Обојицу занима патолошко у људском ткиву и стога пишу о страху, сукобима, болести, умирању. Њихови јунаци су или издвојени или се сами издвајају, најчешће обоје истовремено. Могућност **комуникације** је искључена - читаоцу остаје само да посматра како се догађаји крећу ка трагичном климаксу.

Постојање релација међу људима у Тишминим и Фокнеровим приповједним свјетовима најчешће не значи и постојање **комуникације**. Оба приповједача руше илузије и о најсветијим везама међу људима - мајчинству, породици - јер су и ти односи једнако нагрижени рђом савремене стварности као и било који други. Тишмини и Фокнерови јунаци „издвајају“ се из својих породица, бракови су фарсичне слике људске самодовољности и егоизма, илузија породичних

¹¹ Из Тишминих интервјуа, преузето из *Простори реализма*, Марковић Миливоје, Суботица: Минерва, 1981.

односа опстаје на рачун патње једног од супружника, неко се обавезно мазохистички жртвује и тавори у очајању (Роберт Кронер у браку с Терезом, Мирослав у браку са Јањом, Шнек у истоименој приповиједи, Хорас са Нарцисом, Руби Ламар са Ли Гудвином), а љубав постоји једино као тренутни занос и игра пути у којој попут Кронерове и Лазукића у *Употреби човека* љубавници „не гледају једно другоме у очи“. И код Фокнера и код Тишме, љубав је тјелесна, путена и прате је готово обавезно, гријех, кајање, патња и смрт (Џо, Џоана, Еди Бандрен, Темпла, Ред, Вера, Средоје итд.). У игри Ероса и Танатоса Ерос је увијек на губитку јер је љубав само предах између двије смрти, само начин да се нечему преда самозаборавањем или »смртозаборавањем« како би рекао Тишма. Она је просто опијум да се скрену мисли са смрти:

„Сви су они своје сујете и грабежи утапали овде, где их је близина младости, глатка зарумењела кожа под прстима могла опити да начас заборава како ће једног дана бити свеједно мртви, трули под земљом, било шта да су над њом чинили и постизали“¹²

Мајчинство је, такође, лишено ореола светости у ликовима Еди Бандрен која воли само једно од своје петоро дјеце, или Терезе Кронер која потпуно занемарује своје женско дијете - Веру. Једнак егоизам показује се и у односу дјеца - родитељи: Вера Кронер почетком рата планира да напусти породицу и побрине се за себе, Мирослав Блам се на извјестан начин одриче својих женећи се Јањом и прихватајући њену вјеру, Џо убија поочима итд. Најближи сродници издају једни друге (однос Дарлове браће и сестре према њему, Нарцисина издаја Хораса итд.).

Тишма и Фокнер бацају рукавицу у лице свим традиционалним вриједностима (и(ли) заблудама) откривајући колико је човјек огрезао у егоизму да би у исто вријеме показали симпатије према његовим унутрашњим борбама и немирима: савремени човјек је дубоко несрећан, био он добар или зао по нашим уобичајеним мјерилима. Без језгра је, уплашен, ништа ту не «звучи гордо» .

Нарочито тешко је, показују то и Фокнер и Тишма, оним њиховим јунацима који морају да се носе са «двојним идентитетом» и неразумијевањем крутих, компромису несклоних заједница, или што би Блеикастен рекао «затворених друштава».¹³ Најилустративније о овоме говори примјер Џо Кристмаса који се бори с теретом мисгенације, или боље рећи могуће мисгенације. Двојни идентитет носи двоструку мржњу: Џо презире црнца - роба у себи, али уједно и страшно мрзи бијелог «тиранина». Круг насиља, мржње и бијега од себе и заједнице завршава се свјесним одабиром жртвене смрти. Већ одавно су тумачи Фокнера идеју о кривици за Џоов удес престали да приписују проклетству мијешане крви. Истински трагично није сазнање о поријеклу, већ, напротив, немогућност тог сазнања.

И док Фокнеровог анти-јунака у самодефинисању осујећује немогућност сазнања, Тишмина јунакиња «мијешане» крви, Вера Кронер жели да потисне то сазнање, своју различитост, «другост» - оно што је чини посебном у «великом

¹² Тишма, Александар. *Употреба човека*, стр. 44.

¹³ Bleikasten, Andre. «Light in August: The Closed Society and Its Subjects» in *New Essays on Light in August* (ed. by Michael Millgate), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

дворишту»: «У обичајима, калупима, ношњама, конвенцијама осећала је нешто глупо, заостало... и опасно: због истрајности са којом људе... обележавају и разврставају.» Њена жудња за припадањем осуђена је на пропаст колико и Кристмасова - стремићи уклапању она покушава да потисне своје особености и да се дефинише кроз своју тјелесност, склад својих удова, при чему је комуникација с другима сведена на површинску - «до прага и границе поверавања».¹⁴

Има код Фокнера и Тишме и својеврсног *детерминизма* - ликови који се не уклапају у освештане друштвене кодове, који су по нечему или због нечега странци, другачији, предодређени су за страдање и патњу. Тишмина проза нас учи да друштво не прашта гријех различитости, а Фокнерова да је још мање склоно да опрости гријех неприпадања, отпора категоризацији и смјештању у калупе, које им оно само намеће. «Другачији» као Тишмини Јевреји страдају у вријеме историјских бура и колективног лудила, а неуклопљени као Фокнеров Џо Кристмас и Џоана Берден, увијек и свуда. Оба писца нам јасно дају до знања да је колективна несвијест јача од појединачне.

На путу до рјешења људске загонетке два писца суочавају се и са проблемом зла, тачније проблемом обичности и «природности» зла. Тишма и Фокнер не крију своју фасцинацију злом и људском способношћу за зло и злочин. Шта лежи у тој опчињености злочином? Прикривени садистички пориви?

Тишма каже:

»Све те злочине које сам у животу видео изгледа да су оставили трага на мени, да ја то некако разумем, осећам [...]. Ту су мој слух и интуиција добро изоштрени. То је једна моја тема иако ја када је о томе реч немам никаквог искуства [...]. Привлачиле су ме особе које су у толикој мери склоне суровости, привлачило ме је да их одгонетам.»¹⁵

У питању је дакле, одгонетање оног «другог пола људског егзистенцијалног узорка», трагање за истином, историјом и психологијом злочинца, а не самосврховито лутање мрачним дубинама целатове душе. Могуће је да њихово писање о злу треба да има ефекат модерних психолошких терапија у којима се излажемо својим страховима да бисмо их се ослободили или се, као у древним архетипским обредима старих народа страхови симболички инкарнирају да би се «приковали», «фиксирани» и победили јер:

«Писање о злу је облик побуне, човек зло тешко подноси, прво зато што га боли а друго одузима му могућност да ужива. Мени се чини да тумачећи и описујући зло, писац га истовремено и фиксира. Тако скидамо део терета који нам зло наноси.»

Оба писца баве се питањем «*природности*» зла:

Је ли склоност насиљу једнако природна колико и склоност ка чињењу добра, или можда чак и више?

Код неких Фокнерових злочинаца могуће је примијетити дозу неприродног (У карактеризацији гангстера - насилника Попаја доминантна су поређења са

¹⁴ Тишма, Александар. *Употреба човека*, стр. 59.

¹⁵http://www.alexandriapress.com/arhiva/No_1/aleksandar_tisma.htm, prist. 17/01/2005

аутоматом, роботом, пластичним лутком). Америчка критика већ пола вијека упућује на чињеницу како је код Фокнера неприродно најчешће и лоше, зло, али нам ништа не говори да је (за Фокнера) све зло неприродно или да је чињење добра, алтруизам од природе. Критичари су били склони да Фокнерово интересовање за неуке фармере, дјецу и ментално хендикепиране везују за неку врсту романтичног примитивизма и приписују му вјеру у базичну доброту људске природе, али ево шта сам Фокнер каже: «То су (говори о хришћанству – В. Б.) правила понашања помоћу којих (човјек) себе чини бољим људским бићем него што то *природа* од њега жели, ако *само* њу слиједи». Из овога се јасно види да Фокнер сматра да човјек по природи *није* обавезно добар. Фокнеров јунак не смије се задовољити само својом природношћу, нити поводити само за својим природним жељама и потребама. Пред њим је задатак моралног избора и потврде своје људскости кроз супротстављање злу; он треба да прође «иницијацију» у природу стварности и испит човјечности кроз исправан морални избор и устрајавање на том путу. Ријечју, доброта није стање иманентно правој људској природи; она се стиче дисциплином и трудом. То што Фокнерови јунаци попут Хајтауера или Хораса Бенбоуа најчешће не успјевају у својим прегнућима није њихова кривица; оно против чега се боре сувише је јако да бисмо их окривљивали за тај неуспјех – друштво је корумпирано злом до саме сржи и «подземље» и (условно речено) горњи свијет постоје паралелно и неометано све док се међусобне везе не објелодане. Тада «горњи свијет» реагује и побјеђује само зато што је више корумпиран, гори. Поред тога, јунаци сами гоњени су фантомима своје (или туђе) прошлости или садашњости, властита осујећења спречавају их да прозру кроз маске других. И поред неуспјеха, њихов морални избор, уз познавање сопствених слабости оставља наду у људске могућности.

Тишма се у својој пажљивој анализи генезе људског понашања, понашања жртве и понашања злочинца придружује овом Фокнеровом ставу. Природно је, сматра Тишма, и зло и добро. Једни су природно на страни жртве, други на страни злочина. «Игра је иста – игра зла и у оба случаја посредни су молекули свакодневице, атоми обичног [...]. Човек је састављен од оних неколико својих основних рефлекса и нужности, са потиснутим личним бојама».¹⁶ У једној од својих најбољих приповиједака *Најгора ноћ* Тишма дубоко зарања у психологију жртве откривши једну од највећих истина постојања: неутаживу глад за животом, инстинкт одржања који се у мучној игри самобмањивања опире чак и здравом разуму. Парадокс једне одлуке постаје више него проста животна истина. Тишма се пита: «Зашто човјек којем је остала само једна ноћ на слободи пред одлазак у логор не оконча себи живот када зна да га чека само мученичко дотрајавање и извјесна смрт?» и одговара:

«Човек у најгорој ноћи стрепи од смрти неизмерно и вапи за животом страшно до лудила [...]. Он се и спрема за пропаст, за смрт из страсти за животом, јер је наредба коју извршава на страни живота...док је њено неизвршење равно смрти. Па, ипак, и она води у смрт.»¹⁷

¹⁶ Николић, Милица. *Уобичавање стварног: Насиље у Тишминим причама*, Београд: 2004.

¹⁷ Тишма, Александар. *Школа безбожњаштва*, стр. 196.

Логику зла Тишма ће покушати да »разумије» у другој својој приповијетци - Школа безбожништва – у којој рашчлањује изопачени модел човјека садисте и џелата откривајући један могући пут ка злочину: припадност мањинској групацији, трајно осјећање неправедности и из њега рођене завист и осветољубље, прилика за нагло напредовање и успон повезана са могућношћу испуњења жеље за осветом над узрочницима својих ранијих фрустрација или њиховим сурогатима. Млади револуционар којег Дулич мучи није му учинио ништа нажао, али он је оличење идеала, правде, честитости и младалачке чистоте, а поврх свега пријетња новостеченим позицијама моћи. Када кроз Дуличеве мисли и страхове на сцену ступи још један лик - Дуличев болесни син (који игром случаја има исто година као и жртва - Остојин) схватамо да, како би рекао, Славко Гордић «књижевност и зло, батајевски речено, имају једно другом шта да кажу»¹⁸ и ван утвђених представа о њима: откривамо поражавајућу истину о могућности сапостојања добра и зла у једном те истом човјеку.

Да ли нас то Фокнер и Тишма уче безбожништву, нарочито овај други док са садистом Дуличем кличе непостојећем Богу: «Боже, хвала Ти! Тебе нема! Хвала Ти!»¹⁹

И, заиста, у Фокнеровом и Тишмином свијету има мјеста за добре и лоше, џелате и жртве, за људско биће у свим његовим потенцијалним реализацијама – чак и за озвијереног човјека, мучитеља, садисту. Чини се да је њихов свијет ипак тијесан за Бога. Они не вјерују да у «свијету искежених очњака и оштрих канџи» има мјеста за благог створитеља. Тишма помиње оно пријетеће «нешто» у коме се стиче колоплет људских судбина; оно је изван поимања и домашаја, злокобно и пријетеће. Фокнер, пак, призива лебдећу неперсонификовану свијест коју назива Космичким Шаљивџијом или Окрутним Играчем којем је човјек тек предмет неограничене забаве.

И коначно - смрт. Било да је «немушта сила која (откида) из присутности... неповрат»,²⁰ једноставан биолошки «прелаз» из живог у неживо, или «просто-напросто једна функција духа - и то духа оних који трпе губитак [...], самац или породица који се селе из стана или града»,²¹ смрт никако није најстрашније што може да се деси Фокнеровим и Тишминим јунацима; она је чешће жуђено смирење него застрашујућа неминовност. Њихови јунаци су, углавном, тога свјесни и често је умирање коначни избор којим потврђују или оповргавају раније изборе.

Најстрашнија истина коју Фокнер и Тишма откривају ипак није смрт; од смрти страшнија су страдања човјека одвојеног од своје егзистенцијалне суштине, страшније су себичност и отупјелост људска за патње других, страшније осјећање употријебљености и употребљивости човјека, а најстрашнија од свега мјера способности људске да се нанесе бол другом човјеку.

¹⁸ Гордић, Славко. Зло и немоћ: О повлашћеном положају негативних јунака у Тишминој и Лалићевој прози, Поља, октобар-новембар, 1991.

¹⁹ Тишма, Александар. *Школа безбожништва*, стр. 196.

²⁰ Тишма, Александар. *Школа безбожништва*, стр. 34.

²¹ Фокнер, Виљем. *Док лежах на самрти*, стр. 31.

Тишма и Фокнер нису одговорили на сва питања. Нека можда нису ни поставили. Вриједност њиховог дјела није у томе што нам волшебно дају све одговоре - нити је то оно што од књижевности треба да очекујемо - већ у дубини умјетничког захвата у све слојеве људског, у напорима изналажења општег, свељудског у појединачном и коначно, у најискренијем покушају да се ангажујући своје умјетничке потенцијале у највећој могућој мјери, одговори на антрополошку загонетку.

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FRANCUSKA TEORIJA NA AMERIČKOM UNIVERZITETU

Apstrakt : Ovaj rad je posvećen interkulturnoj komunikaciji u oblasti književnih teorija. Naime, francuska teorija je u drugoj polovini XX vijeka imala izuzetan prijem na američkom univerzitetu i imala je veći uticaj nego u samoj Francuskoj. Taj skup različitih tendencija koje su okupljene pod nazivom French Theory uticao je u Americi na razvoj novih teorijskih koncepcija u proučavanju književnosti, ali i na stvaranje novih disciplina u okviru humanističkih nauka.

Ključne riječi: francuska teorija, poststrukturalizam, afera Sokal

Teorijska proučavanja književnosti u načelu imaju univerzalan karakter i ne proučavaju se kao nacionalne kategorije, kao što je to slučaj sa studijama književnosti gdje imamo nacionalno i opšte, nacionalno i svjetsko, nacionalno i komparativno. Teorije su nadnacionalne čak i kada imaju nacionalni karakter u nazivu - *ruski formalisti*, *francuska* naratologija, *američka* Nova kritika, i izučavaju se širom svijeta po metodologijama, pristupima i dostignućima kao kriterijumima po kojima su grupisane.

Međutim, jedna teorija, odnosno vrlo raznolik skup različitih teoretičara koje vezuje francusko porijeklo i francuski jezik, postaje u drugoj polovini XX vijeka toliko uticajna na američkom univerzitetu da se transformiše u posebne kurseve, odnosno posebne discipline zvane *French Studies* ili još preciznije *French Theory*. Preko američkih studija, odnosno integracije, u ovom slučaju bolje reći nego recepcije, francuskih uglavnom post-strukturalističkih teoretičara, *French Theory* postaje referentna i uticajna u čitavom svijetu. Derida, Fuko, Bodrijar, Liotar, Delez i Gatari, Lakan, Altiser, Kristeva i Siks u njihov uticaj na američkom univerzitetu fenomen je koji podstiče i danas brojne polemike, objašnjenja, studije, istraživanja, naročito poslednjih godina, među kojima bih istakla sjanu studiju Francuza François Kisea (François Cusset) upravo engleskog naslova *French Theory* u kojoj autor razmatra ovaj značajan intelektualni transfer i mutacije koje je francuska teorija pritom pretrpela. Ovaj rad je zapravo nastao pod uticajem Kiseove studije tako da mnoge zanimljivosti vezane za obrađeni transfer teorije dugujemo Kiseovoj opširnoj analizi fenomena.

Pitanje koje muči sve one koji se bave ovim konkretnim oblikom interkulturne komunikacije jeste kako je došlo do toga da je jedna teško razumljiva, kompleksna, na evropskoj filozofiji i psihoanalizi zasnovana teorija uspjela tako duboko da se impregnira u američki intelektualni milje i da izvrši mnogostruke i jako značajne uticaje kao što je stvaranje potpuno novih oblasti istraživanja, novih disciplina ili kako to kazu u Americi novih *studies*, a da u isto vrijeme u matičnoj Francuskoj ostane ne-etablirana i ne toliko uticajna.

Famozni susret francuske teorije i američkog univerziteta, kako je to detaljno istražio Kise, dogodio se 1966. godine, dakle godine klimaksa strukturalizma u Francuskoj kada svoja značajna djela objavljuju Bart, Ženet, Fuko, Lakan, Benvenist, kada slogani o smrti autora i promeni paradigme osvajaju sve više humanističke discipline. Dakle, te godine u Baltimoru, na univerzitetu Johns-Hopkins održava se konferencija - The Language of Criticism and the Sciences of Man (the Sciences of Man je tada američki prevod humanističkih nauka - fr. sciences

humaines). Na konferenciji su učestvovali Bart, Derida, Lakan, Lisjen Goldman, Pule, Todorov, a Ženet i Delez šalju svoje radove. Od događaja koji je trebalo da bude predstavljanje strukturalizma američkoj akademskoj javnosti, samo naratološka linija, Ženet i Todorov, uspela je da se implementira u američku nauku, u svom čistom, strukturalističkom obliku. Sve drugo je ustvari predstavljalo početak post-strukturalizma - od Deridinog rada «Struktura, znak i igra u diskursu humanističkih nauka» strukturalistička grupa se podijelila, neki su se distancirali od Deride, drugi su se kritički distancirali i prema strukturalizmu uopšte. Mora se ovde napomenuti da je i sama naratologija u Americi doživela poststrukturalističku evoluciju koja se najopštije može okarakterisati primenom naratologije i na neknjiževne tekstove kao i miješanjem naratologije sa drugim disciplinama i pravcima koje karakterišu taj period - sa dekonstrukcijom, feminizmom i psihoanalizom.

Međutim, od pomenute konferencije francuska teorija nezaustavivo kreće u osvajanje američkog tla, najpre preko časopisa koji počinju da objavljuju prevode Liotara, Deride, Deleza, ali i Fukoa i Kristeve. Pojavljuju se prve prevedene knjige, Deridina *O gramatologiji*, 1974, organizuju se susreti francuskih teoretičara i američke publike.

Ulazak na američki univerzitet dogodio se preko katedri ili departmana za francusku književnost tako da su najprije Derida, Fuko, Delez i Liotar poslužili novom čitanju francuske književnosti. Kao što je poznato nijedan iz ovog četverca nije iz oblasti književnosti niti je prevashodno književni kritičar, niti su njihove teorije u Francuskoj primenjivane u tumačenju književnih dela. Kasnije se isti autori primenjuju u čitanju engleskih autora na katedrama za englesku književnost, a onda, od otvaranja, na katedrama komparativnih izučavanja književnosti. Fukoov tekst « Šta je to autor », Liotarova razlika između velikih i malih priča, naracija, Delezovo pominjanje manjinske književnosti imaće za posledicu formiranje novog kritičkog pravca koji će se baviti manjinskim književnostima na američkom tlu - afroameričkoj, irskoj, latinoameričkoj.

No, vrlo brzo, francuska teorija zahvata i druge discipline, naročito *film studies*. Objavljivanje djela francuskih teoretičara, što nosi sa sobom prevodjenje novih stručnih termina koji vode ka stvaranju novih i ka još većem stepenu mnogoznačnosti i hermeneutici, a naročito pripremani *Readers* za svakog pojedinačno, stvorilo je jedan tehnički operativni vokabular koji je od 70-ih godina postao *lingua franca* američkog univerziteta. Operisanje tim jezikom značilo je važan intelektualni izbor, a francuska teorija, u osnovi filozofska, služila je da se rješavaju mnogi gorući, kurentni problemi američkog akademizma - teorija je gubila precizan i striktan predmet. Koristila se za traženje odgovora o suštini univerziteta, gde su se neki teoretičari i sami svesno uključivali novim radovima, kao Derida svojim tekstom *Bezuslovnu univerzitet*. Međutim, postoje dvije važne uloge koje je odigrala francuska teorija. Najpre, uticaj na stvaranje potpuno novih disciplina, kao što su *Cultural Studies*, *Gay and Lesbian Studies*, *Queer studies*, postkolonijalne studije etc. Drugi veliki doprins francuske teorije jeste novo čitanje klasika, odnosno kanona književnosti.

Eklaktantan primer jeste Derida, kanonizovan i etabliran upravo na američkom univerzitetu čije djelo i lični angažman, uprkos tome što je njegova misao teško prenosiva, neodređena u pogledu discipline kojoj pripada, često nedosledna i neuhvatljiva, postala, kako kaže Kise, najrentabilniji proizvod ikada pušten na američko univerzitetско tržište. Pojam “dekonstrukcije”, koji je Derida uzeo od

Hajdegera, toliko je postala opštepoznata i primjenjiva, ne samo u naučnom već i u svakodnevnom govoru, u medijima, u jeziku mode i reklama, da je čak Vudi Alen snimio sjajan film *Deconstructing Harry*, 1997, što, paradoksalno, nije moglo da se prevede na francuski (fr. *Harry dans tous ses états*). Veliki deridijanac, Paul de Man, zbog tolikog rabljenja ovog pojma koristio je drugu sintagmu - retoričko čitanje.

Da se uključimo u značenja pojma dekonstrukcija poslužićemo se Deridinim riječima : « Termin dekonstrukcija ne treba da shvatamo u smislu razrešavanja i rušenja, već analiziranja struktura koje čine diskurzivni elemenat, filozofsku diskurzivnost u kojoj mislimo. To se odvija preko jezika, preko zapadne kulture, preko cjeline onoga što definiše naše pripadanje toj istoriji filozofije. » U istom intervjuu, smatrajući da je dekonstrukcija reafirmacija filozofije, nastavlja da « dekonstrukcija nije ni filozofija, ni skup teza, čak ni pitanja o biću u Hajdegerovom značenju. U nekom smislu ona nije ništa. Ne može biti ni disciplina ni metoda. Često je predstavljaju kao metodu ili je pretvaraju u metodu, s pravilima i procedurama. « Na kraju ovog teksta « Šta je dekonstrukcija«, Derida zaključuje da je ona postavljanje pitanja o svemu.

Dekonstrukcija, kojom je Derida ušao u raspravu sa autoritetom jezika i lingvistike, s logocentrizmom, po njegovim riječima dakle nije ni metoda ni škola, i uglavnom nam Derida objašnjava šta nije, što je otvaralo vrata različitim interpretacijama. Onako kako se ona najčešće shvatala dekonstrukcija je praksa, čitanje. Različita značenja nekog teksta mogu biti otkrivena dekonstrukcijom strukture jezika na kojem je napisan. Na američkom univerzitetu dekonstrukcija je evocirala subverzivne oblike, ne-verovanje i spremnost da se demistifikuje sve, značila je kritičnost i lucidnost prema oficijelnim tekstovima, što je naravno otvorilo mogućnosti njene primjene na raznolike predmete. I sve se tretiralo kao tekst. Liotar, prije Deride, sa svoje strane označava postmodernizam kao neverovanje u velike priče koje su dva vijeka legitimisale znanja, pa se postmodernizam izjednačava sa opštim stanjem krize legitimnosti znanja. Te dvije velike priče čiji kraj najavljuje Liotar jeste priča o emancipaciji čovjeka i čovječanstva i o osvajanju slobode, dakle diskursi napretka, progressa koji su u zapadnoj civilizaciji, prije svega u Francuskoj, bili važeći od Francuske revolucije.

Većina autora francuske teorije nije ni slutila američku upotrebu istih, neki su čak dolazili u konflikt sa svojom američkom publikom, kao Bodrijar, ali ne i Derida. Kako bi se njegova teorija uključila u neku oblast istraživanja, Derida bi sam u toj istoj oblasti napisao članak ako ne i cijelu knjigu. Ako pogledamo njegovu bibliografiju, osim filozofije i filozofije jezika, tu se nalaze i radovi o reformi univerziteta i odgovornosti univerzitetskih radnika, o seksualnoj različitosti, o rasizmu, o pravu, pravdi i zakonu, o arhitekturi, o pozorištu, o poeziji, o marksizmu, psihoanalizi i to nije sigurno kraj.

Sam Deridin rad se dijeli u Americi na tri faze. U prvoj se objavljuju prvi tekstovi na engleskom i radovi deridijanaca u kojima se predstavlja ovo novo učenje. Drugu fazu čine djela u kojima je sprovedena ova nova praksa čitanja (Paul de Man u čitanju engleskih i nemačkih romantičara, zatim Prusta, Rusoa, a Harold Bloom u čitanju Šekspira, ali i savremenika, Pinčona, De Lila). Bilansi dekonstrukcije karakterišu treću fazu.

Glavna odlika američkog univerziteta od sedamdesetih a naročito osamdesetih godina XX vijeka jeste stvaranje novih naučnih disciplina u oblasti humanističkih

nauka u čemu su važne referentne tačke bili upravo francuski teoretičari. Sve te nove discipline značile su povratak referenta, koji je jos od doba strukturalizma bio odsutan u francuskoj teoriji, recimo u Francuskoj do pojave Burdjea. Pitanje identiteta, odnosno pripadnosti nekom manjinskom identitetu, jeste zapravo prvi značajan referent koji se javlja u Studijama kulture (Cultural studies) koji su nastale 60-ih u Velikoj Britaniji, a američka varijanta oko 1980. naravno pod uticajem britanske škole ali i različita od nje u nekim područjima. Prihvata se da kultura nije puki odraz, već bojno polje gde se bori za hegemoniju, društvena klasa je simbolička konstrukcija, a ne istorijska datost, s tim što se u Americi ne govori toliko o društvenim klasama, koliko o zajednicima i mikrogrupama i okreću se masovnoj pop-kulturi kao novoj pojavi - interesovanje za pod-žanrove pop-kulture koji se čitaju kao priče određenih grupa - niskobudžetni filmovi, serije, trileri i naučna fantastika, biografije i ispovijesti pop-zvijezda. S novim predmetom istraživanja - subkulturnim fenomenima, išla je primena francuske teorije, Liotara, Deride, Deleza i naročito Mišela de Sertoa (de Certeau) koji je svojom knjigom *L'Invention du quotidien* čiji prevod glasi *The Practice of Everyday Life*, obratio pažnju na oblike percepcije televizijskog gledaoca i time otvorio struju Studija kulture prema recepciji, efektima medija i vidovima otpora gledaoca. Druga struja se bavila stilističkim i tekstualnim analizama pop-kulture, pod velikim uticajem francuske teorije, gde su ovi fenomeni tretirani kao tekstovi koje treba dešifrovati, a ne kao društvene pojave.

Francuska teorija se citira, ali i kritički promatra, i kada je riječ o etničkim i post-kolonijalnim studijama, i ono što je važan efekat ovih novih studija pokazuje se i ovde kroz odnos prema književnim kanonima, ne samo novom čitanju klasika već i dodavanjem novih autora na liste kanona, po kriterijumima ukrštanja identiteta, bilo da se radi o potčinjavanju dominantnim oblicima zapada bilo da se radi o revoltu estetike protiv osvajačkog diskursa, bilo da je o trećem putu gde postoji dominacija i reakcija. Glavni predstavnici ovih studija su Edvard Said, Gajatri Spivak i Homi Baba.

Odnos francuske teorije i feminističkih i **gender studies** još je kompleksniji. Najpre, odnos američkog feminizma prema samoj teoriji jeste kontradiktoran jer teorija se vezuje za mušku moć, falocentrična je. S druge strane, postoji različite struje feminizma ili ženskih studija. Neizbežno, Simon de Bovoar i njen *Drugi pol* bila je prva francuska knjiga koja je uticala na američke ženske studije posle rata, ali je brzo zamijenjena značajnijim teorijskim referencama - Kristevom i deridijankom Elen Siksu, čija je knjiga *Meduzin smijeh* postala klasik ženskih studija. Naravno, Derida je od 1972. godine počeo da uključuje žene u domen svog interesovanja, preko dekonstrukcije znaka muskarac koji bi trebalo da proizvede elemenat žena, odnosno elemenat ženskosti (féminin). Ženske studije su preko Lakanovog pojma falus dekonstruisale ideju muške superiornosti. Delez je dugo bio u nemilosti ženskih studija jer je zasnivao svoje stavove na principima seksualne neodređenosti, nasuprot biografizmu feministkinja koje su isticale autore - žene. Ipak, najparodoksalnije preplitanje jeste u odnosu ženskih studija i Fukoovog uticaja. Feministkinje su prihvatile Fukoa uprkos tome što u svojoj *Istoriji seksualnosti* nigdje ne pominje seksualne razlike, žene mu nisi predmet istraživanja, da se ne pominje njegova mizoginija. Međutim, njegove analize seksualnosti kao diskursa otvara mogućnost kritike svih seksualnih diskursa. Naročito je uticajno bilo njegovo premeštanje izučavanja seksualnosti u oblasti istorije i politike- naime preko normi monogamije, heterocentrizma i prenosa bogatstva, po Fukou, seksualnost artikuliše

porodičnu ćeliju, ekonomski sistem i političko upravljanje. Termin **biopolitika** koji Fuko uvodi, označava administrativno regulisanje života, ne upravljanje teritorijama, već životima. Ove tvrdnje iz *Volje za znanjem*, kao prvim dijelom *Istorije seksualnosti* ujediniće feminističke i gej studije što će imati za posledicu eliminaciju binarnih opozicija dominantno/dominirano, muškarac/žena, homo/hetero, i stvaranje norme roda - **gender**, kao precizne političke i istorijske konstrukcije, identitet koji proizvodi društvo, «ženskost» ili «muškost» koje se ne shvataju kao prirodne datosti već kao rezultat jakih društvenih mehanizama. Novo čitanje Fukoa i Deride biće i u osnovi *queer studies*, gdje je *queer* termin koji pokriva sve međuzone seksualnih identiteta.

Francuska teorija je provocirala i kritike, najčešće zbog a-istorizma, ne-angažovanosti, tekstualizovanja stvarnosti čime njihove borbe postaju samo leksičke i verbalne, i ti napadi su najžešće pogađale iz tabora marksističke kritike, pre svega Terija Igltona. *New Historism* i Stefan Grinblat obnavljaju kategorije društvenih i istorijskih okolnosti pisanja i čitanja preko ključne kategorija «pregovaranja» koje se odvija između društvenih činilaca, oformljenih znanja, slobode stvaraoaca i čitalačkog horizonta očekivanja. No, u osnovi ova škola koja nema direktnog pozivanja na francusku teoriju, u suštini prihvata mnoge Fukoove ideje. S druge strane napadi na francuske teoretičare ciljali su isto tako njihovu evrocentričnost, pripadanje dakle dominantnom diskursu, a i kada je bilo pitanje kanona bili su «sumnjivi», kao na primer što je Deridin korpus bio Platon, Ruso, Hajdeger. Pri tom, otkrivanje antisemitskih tekstova Pola de Mana, Deridina sledbenika, a pritom poznati izbor Martina Hajdegera, najvažnije reference Deridine dekonstrukcije, podstaklo je oštre napade inače tinjajućeg neprijateljstva konzervativnih struja na univerzitetu.

Borba oko kanona počela je 1988. godine na Stenford univerzitetu gde je zamijenjen program «zapadna kultura» neodređenim «kultura, ideje, vrijednosti» i gdje su u obaveznu literaturu uključeni i tekstovi koji ne pripadaju zapadnoj kulturi, kao Kuran, afričke priče i Konfučije. Pored kanona, uvođenjem «politički korektnog» govora i ponašanja i selekcija u izboru zaposlenih na univerzitetu na osnovu njihove «različitosti», američki univerzitet je i od najvećih avangardnih profesora uspeo da napravi čuvaru klasičnih zapadnih dela. (Za ilustraciju ovog stanja može se pročitati roman Filipa Rota *Ljudska mrlja*.) No, sve to je poprimilo osobine nacionalne rasprave u kojoj su mnoge kritike išle na račun francuske teorije koja je osuđivana zbog multikulturalnog relativizma i nihilizma, ili kao što čini Noam Čomski osuđujući «francuski iracionalizam» koji svaku političku borbu čini nemogućom. Borba sa francuskom post-strukturalističkom teorijom odvijala se i u Evropi. Habermas je povezivao postmodernizam sa neokonzervativizmom smatrajući da modernizam nije propao već je to samo nezavršen projekat, pa brani modernizam ustaje protiv Fukoa i Deride.

No, verovatno najveći udarac francuska teorija je doživela «Aferom Sokal». Za one koji nisu čuli za ovaj događaj, da kažemo da je 1996. godine fizičar Alan Sokal objavio u časopisu *Social Text* članak pod naslovom «Prekoračenje granica: ka transformativnoj hermeneutici kvantne gravitacije», poštujući novojezik stvoren na osnovama francuske teorije. Koristeći citate uglavnom francuskih autora, Deridu, Deleza, Lakana, Liotara, tekst je ustvari pseudonaučni rad, pastiš nove naučne misli kojem urednici časopisa nisu imali ništa da zamere nitu su konsultovali stručnjake iz kvantne fizike, citirani autori su bili već dovoljan autoritet za uredništvo. Sam Sokal

je mesec dana nakon objavljivanja osvijetlio prirodu i funkciju ovog teksta - demaskiranje intelektualne arogancije književne teorije postmodernizma. Sledeće godine Sokal sa svojim kolegom Žanom Brikmonom objavljuje i knjigu u Francuskoj pod naslovom *Impostures intellectuelles* (eng. *Fashionable Nonsense*), u kojoj analiziraju pravac koji oni da bi pojednostavili zovu opštim imenom postmodernizam, njihov «žargon», «pravu verbalnu intoksikaciju», njihov «prezir činjenica i logike», njihovo odbacivanje tradicije racionalizma, analiziraju isto tako pretvaranje nauka u naracije ili društvene konstrukcije. Naravno, svi značajni francuski teoretičari su obuhvaćeni - Delez, Derida, Gatari, Lakan, Liotar, nešto manje Bodrijar, Kristeva, Fuko. Od neusklađenosti naučne terminologije koja vodi ka «intelektualnim konfuzijama», «iracionalizmu i nihilizmu», autori smatraju da se moraju braniti kanoni racionalnosti i intelektualne časti, koji su zajednički i egzaktnim i humanističkim naukama. Pritom, zamerali su korišćenje pojmova iz egzaktne nauka, fizike i matematike, kojima barataju Lakan i Kristeva, zatim operisanje frazama i igrama riječi lišenim smisla. Autori smatraju da treba da «dekonstruišu» reputaciju tekstova francuskog poststrukturalizma po kojoj su oni teški zato jer su dubokoumni; naprotiv, ova dva fizičara smatraju da oni izgledaju nerazumljivo zato što ustvari ništa i ne kažu. Brojne polemike i reakcije koje je izazvala ova afera uglavnom je išla u pravcu Sokala, od uredništva časopisa koji je objavio njegov tekst do pomenutih teoretičara, ali je isto tako označila kraj jedne intelektualne dominacije.

Oduševljeno prihvaćena, skraćena *digest* izdanjima, tumačena na različite načine i u različite svrhe, kritikovana i parodirana, francuska teorija na američkom univerzitetu *bagage* je generacija američkih intelektualaca. Film *Matrix* tumači se i kao omaž Bodrijaru, na početku filma junak drži knjigu *Simulakramu i Simulacija*, i otvara poglavlje «O nihilizmu». Producenti ovog serijala su čak tražili od Bodrijara da bude «teorijski konsultant», što je ovaj odbio. S druge strane u književnosti roman *Glyph* Percival Everet priča nam o otmici osamnaestomesečnog dječaka, sina čuvenog deridijanca, koji čudom progovara čistim poststrukturalističkim jezikom, bolje čak i od svog oca.

Danas ova grupa teoretičara ima svoje mesto na američkom univerzitetu, ne više tako značajno, ali njihovi tekstovi se i dalje čitaju i izučavaju na nekim novim studijama koji se zovu *After Theory* ili *Post-Theory*. Širenjem novih studija svijet je o ovim francuskim teoretičarima učio preko studija postmodernizma, studija roda ili studija kulture, a ne na katedrama za francusku književnost, još manje na francuskim univerzitetima.

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RUT PRAVER DŽABVALA NA NAŠEM JEZIČKOM PODRUČJU

Apstrakt: Premda je kod nas čuvena po filmu Vrelina i prašina, za čiji je scenario nagrađena priznanjem "Bafta", Rut Praver Džabvala malo je poznata našoj publici po istoimenoj knjizi, za koju je još 1975. godine dobila prestižnu englesku nagradu "Buker". U ovom radu predstavljena je celokupna recepcija stvaralaštva te indoengleske spisateljice na srpskohrvatskom jezičkom području - kako odjeci njenih dela u književno-kritičkim napisima, tako i pregled njihove prevodne recepcije. Istraživanje je pokazalo da, još od prvih pomena ove autorke, čije stvaralaštvo pripada književnosti postkolonijalne Indije - dalekih šezdesetih godina prošlog veka, interesovanje za njena dela, iako sporadično, traje sve do današnjih dana.

Gljučne reči: Rut Praver Džabvala, indoengleska književnost, srpskohrvatsko jezičko područje, kritička recepcija, prevodna recepcija

Uvod

Književnost nama geografski udaljenih i kulturno od nas različitih zemalja, među koje spada i Indija, na žalost, veoma je malo zastupljena i u prevodnoj i u kritičkoj recepciji na našem jezičkom području. Situacija u pogledu indoengleske spisateljice Rut Praver Džabvale (Ruth Praver Jhabvala) još je komplikovanija, s obzirom na to da ona spada u *ekstrateritorijalne pisce*, budući da je poreklom iz Evrope, a tek udajom je dospela u Indiju, gde je živela više od dve decenije pre nego što se sa porodicom odselila za Ameriku. Međutim, iako se u samom središtu njenog stvaralaštva nalazi ova udaljena azijska zemlja, njen narod i običaji, takav životni put ove autorke upravo je bio razlog da mnogi kritičari postave pitanje da li nju zaista treba svrstati u indoengleske pisce ili joj je pak mesto među angloindijskim spisateljima. (Vidi npr. Naik 1982: 2.) Ova dilema odrazila se i na našu književnu scenu, pa zbog toga Džabvala nije našla svoje mesto ni u **Antologiji kratke priče Indije** (1987), ni u zbirci **Nova engleska pripovetka** (1982), nego tek u antologiji **Savremena indijska priča** (2000), u kojoj je zastupljena prevodom jedne pripovetke, dok je iste godine objavljen i prevod celokupne zbirke njenih pripovedaka **Ja u Indiji: izabrane priče**.

U ovom radu izložena je recepcija stvaralaštva R.P. Džabvale na srpskohrvatskom jezičkom području, i to tako što su predstavljeni odjeci njenih dela u književno-kritičkim napisima, a zatim dat pregled njihove prevodne recepcije. Istraživanje je obuhvatilo period od prvog pominjanja ove autorke kod nas, šezdesetih godina dvadesetog veka, pa sve do današnjih dana, a prostorno je obuhvaćena oblast na kojoj se govori srpskim - odnosno, na kojoj se govorilo srpskohrvatskim - jezikom, tako da nije postojala jezička barijera i takvi tekstovi su mogli da imaju uticaja na našu širu književnu i čitalačku publiku. Napis i prevodi navedeni su hronološkim redom, osim tamo gde je radi preglednosti došlo do manjih odstupanja. Da bi korpus bio reprezentativan, svojeručno su pregledane sve publikacije koje su u analiziranom periodu stizale u beogradske biblioteke iz Srbije, Crne Gore, Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine, jer u ovako oskudnoj recepciji jednog u svetu i u matičnoj kritici veoma značajnog autora svaki prikaz, pa i najmanja beleška ili vest, predstavlja važan napis od velike vrednosti. Zato su korpusom obuhvaćeni i analizirani svi tekstovi u kojima se govori o R.P. Džabvali, pronađeni u

publikacijama objavljivanim u izdvojenom periodu na istraženom području. One su u naše biblioteke redovno pristizale do 1992. godine, kada raspad prethodne Jugoslavije prouzrokuje rasparčavanje jedinstvenog srpskohrvatskog jezičkog područja i dovodi do nemogućnosti nabavljanja književnih publikacija prvo iz Hrvatske, a zatim iz Bosne i Hercegovine, te su od tada praćene samo one publikacije koje su objavljivane na teritoriji Srbije i Crne Gore.

O autoru

Mada je poreklom čista Evropljanka, R.P. Džabvala neraskidivo je vezana za Indiju. Ona spada u srednju generaciju pisaca čije je stvaralaštvo obeležilo književnost postkolonijalne Indije na engleskom jeziku, a podjednako je poznata i po svojim romanima i po pripovetkama, kao i po scenarijima za filmove. Jevrejsko-poljskog porekla, rođena 1927. godine u Nemačkoj, oselila se sa porodicom za Englesku početkom Drugog svetskog rata, kao izbeglica. U Londonu je završila studije književnosti, a tu je upoznala i svog budućeg supruga, indijskog arhitektu, sa kojim je po udaji provela dvadeset i četiri godine u Indiji. Iako se nakon toga preselila sa porodicom za Sjedinjene Američke Države, nikada nije raskinula vezu sa Indijom, o kojoj je najviše i pisala. Od samih početaka svoje književne karijere, Džabvala je stvarala na engleskom, pa je mnogi smatraju jednim od najboljih pripovedača na ovom jeziku i nazivaju *majstorom kratke priče*, ali su neki književni kritičari i teoretičari postavljali pitanje da li ona zaista spada među indoengleske pisce, budući da je po poreklu Evropljanka. Preovladalo je, međutim, mišljenje da je - zahvaljujući tome što izuzetno dobro poznaje prilike, običaje i ljude u zemlji u koju je dospela tek udajom - za razliku od angloindijskih pisaca poput Radjarda Kiplinga i E.M. Forstera, ona sebi s pravom obezbedila mesto u istoriji indoengleske književnosti, sa čime se slažu i neki naši autori koji ističu da je ona *indijski* pisac (Obradović 2002: 776). Sama Džabvala, međutim, sebe posmatra kao evropskog pisca koji piše o Indiji, uprkos tome što je neosporno da je sa mnogo više razumevanja od drugih evropskih pisaca uspela da prikaže i lepote i muke života u Indiji, kao i probleme indijskog stanovništva, čiji društveni život je tako dobro upoznala.

Džabvala je autor dvanaest romana, šest zbirki pripovedaka, i brojnih filmskih i televizijskih scenarija, a dobitnik je i mnogobrojnih priznanja. Kod nas je čuvena po filmu *Vrelina i prašina*, za čiji je scenario nagrađena priznanjem "Bafta", dok je našoj publici manje poznata istoimena knjiga - koja nije prevedena na naš jezik, iako je za nju još 1975. godine Džabvala dobila najprestižniju englesku književnu nagradu "Buker". Osim ovih priznanja, dobitnik je i nagrade za književnost "Američke akademije za umetnost i književnost", a kao scenarista primila je još i dva "Oskara".

Kritička recepcija stvaralaštva R.P. Džabvale kod nas

Recepcija dela ove indoengleske spisateljice kod nas započinje još davne 1966. godine, objavljivanjem veoma kratkog prikaza na njen roman *Zaostalo mesto* (*A Backward Place*), koji je štampan prethodne godine. Autor teksta koji zagrebačka *Republika* donosi u broju za novembar te godine, Novak Simić, naslov ovog romana prevodi kao *Stražnje mjesto*, pa ga svrstava u dela koja se trenutno ističu na svetskoj literarnoj sceni. Prikazivač zatim navodi da je tema ove - kako je on

definiše, *njudelhijske komedije* - “bolna usamljenost koja dijeli stvarnost od fantastije, aspiraciju od ispunjenja u životu slabica ili netaleantiranih ljudi”.

Do narednog pominjanja Džabvale u našoj kritici proći će gotovo dve decenije, jer će tek 1984. godine zagrebačka **Književna smotra** objaviti temat “Riječ i misao Indije”, koji je priredila Jagoda Splivalo-Rusan. Temat se sastoji od pripovetke “Ja u Indiji”, u njenom prevodu, i teksta pod naslovom “Ruth Praver Jhabvala i Indija”. Autorka ukazuje na činjenicu da je Džabvalu “životni put donio u drugu kulturu” pa se stoga u pogledu njenog života i rada nameću brojna zbunjujuća pitanja. Ukratko predstavivši čitaocima poreklo i život ove spisateljice, prikazivač prelazi na prepričavanje fabule najpoznatijeg Džabvalinog dela **Vrelina i prašina**, koga naziva *romanom atmosfere*. Sledi karakterizacija glavne junakinje predmetnog dela, koju autor temata ocenjuje kao prilično amorfnu lik u psihološkom pogledu. Ne mogavši da odredi razloge zbog kojih Džabvala nije u stanju da protumači postupke svojih likova, a što po njenim rečima “otkriva i autoričinu nemoć da svlada problem svoga života”, Jagoda Splivalo-Rusan ukazuje na blagu ironiju prisutnu u ovom romanu koji je, zahvaljujući tom postupku, oslobođen banalnosti. Ona napominje da romanu posebnost daje upravo specifičan postupak spisateljice koja izbegava svako tumačenje, pa tako njeni likovi ostaju nepoznati, samo ovlaš naznačeni, a razlozi za njihovu akciju neobjašnjeni. Primenjujući različite tehnike pripovedanja, kao što je mešanje direktnog govora i delova iz dnevnika, Džabvala postiže to da se vremenske ravni stalno izmenjuju, što doprinosi dinamici i fluidnosti dela, čija je atmosfera skoro nadrealna, ističe kritičarka. Ukazano je i na zanimljivost psiholoških odnosa prikazanih u romanu koji govori o traganju za identitetom, vizijom i smislom u zemlji koja “opčinjuje i zarobljuje”. Upravo taj i takav odnos prema Indiji u središtu je opusa R.P. Džabvale, koja uprkos romantičnom okviru svoje fabule uspeva do kraja da izbegne melodramatičnost i banalnost, zaključuje prikazivač. Sledeći put ova spisateljica pomenuta je u prevodu teksta Salmana Ruždija “Komonveltska književnost ne postoji”, uzetog iz zbirke eseja **Imaginarni zavičaji**, koji je objavljen u zemunskom časopisu **Shakespeare & Co** za jesen i zimu 1992. godine. Ukazavši na ograničenja koja u literarnoj kritici nameće povezivanje književnosti sa nacionalnošću pisca, Ruždi ocenjuje da ovakvo tumačenje dovodi do pogrešnog čitanja dela nekih pisaca, među kojima je i Džabvala. Ukoliko se postojanje *komonveltske književnosti* usvoji kao činjenica, “postaje naprosto nemoguće shvatiti specifičan domet uma i vizije jednog nesputanog intelekta, kakav je Džabvalin”, i upravo zbog toga ona je daleko ugledniji pisac na Zapadu nego u Indiji, jer “prema propozicijama komonveltskog geta ona ostaje s one strane ograde”, zaključuje Ruždi u svom eseju.

Još jedan zemunski književni časopis - **Pismo**, ubrzo zatim, u broju za leto 1993. godine, beleži u rubrici “Hronika” da je upravo objavljen novi, jedanaesti Džabvalin roman - **Pesnikinja i plesačica (Poet and Dancer)**. Iako je ova knjiga u kritici proglašena *bajkovitom*, autor beleške smatra da “u njoj nema ni traga uobičajenih zadovoljavajućih priča o putu devojke od izmećarke do princeze”. Naime, pošto prijatan zaplet uljuljka čitaoca, on iznenada biva šokiran mračnom pripovešću nalik na one iz pera Andersena ili braće Grim, napominje prikazivač. Blago ironičnim postupkom, Džabvala “vodi čitaoca ka neizbežnoj propasti na kraju romana”, jer njeno je viđenje ljubavi i porodice u osnovi mračno, zaključuje se u napisu. Sledi nekoliko veoma kratkih osvrtu na život i delo ove autorke u beleškama o piscu uz prevode Džabvalinih pripovedaka koje u našoj periodici objavljuju Slavica Miletić i Nadežda Obradović, kao i u dve zbirke pripovedaka, takođe u njihovom prevodu.

Prvu belešku donosi beogradski književni časopis **Mostovi**, u broju za period jul-septembar 1994. godine, uz prevod pripovedaka “Ja u Indiji” i “Sahib s kućencetom”. Prevodilac Slavica Miletić kratko opisuje životni put ove spisateljice, pa zatim ističe da je ona lično iskusila, tokom svog života u Indiji, “čari i muke koje sobom nose susreti i sudari različitih kultura”. Ovo je i tematika većine priča u knjizi **Iz Indije**, u kojoj su po autorkinom izboru sakupljene pripovetke iz njene do tada objavljene četiri zbirke, napominje pisac beleške, koju završava dajući još neke bio-bibliografske podatke. Potpuno ista beleška proučava i prvo zapaženije predstavljanje Rut Praver Džabvale kod nas, a to je objavljivanje prevoda zbirke njenih pripovedaka, pod naslovom **Ja u Indiji: izabrane priče**, u izdanju beogradske kuće “Zepher Book World” i prevodu Slavice Miletić, 2000. godine.

Narednu, veoma kratku belešku sastavila je Nadežda Obradović, uz prevedenu pripovetku “Muž i sin”, koju objavljuju pančevačke **Sveske**, u broju za jun 1999. godine. Izloživši samo nekoliko podataka o Džabvali, Obradovićeva ističe da je ona u kratkoj priči *maestralna*. Ista autorka sastavila je i kraću belešku o ovom piscu u prilogu naslovljenom “Biografski podaci o autorima”, na koji nailazimo u antologiji **Savremena indijska priča**, koju je ona i prevela, a izdala ju je beogradska kuća “Clio”, takođe 2000. godine. Kao po nekoj već ustaljenoj šemi, i ova beleška je istovetna onoj u časopisu **Sveske**, jedino sa tom razlikom što je dodat i podatak o pojavljivanju Džabvalinog poslednjeg romana, /sic!/ ²² **Istok i gornja istočna strana**, prethodne godine. Antologija sadrži i predgovor iz pera Salmana Ruždija, naslovljen “Pregled indijske književnosti”, u kome se takođe pominje delo R.P. Džabvale.

Nadežda Obradović je autor još dve kraće beleške o ovom piscu, uz prevod pripovetke “Ispaštanje” u beogradskoj **Književnosti** za period jul-septembar-oktobar 2002. godine, kao i uz prevod pripovetke “Farid i Farida” u pančevačkim **Sveskama** za septembar 2003. godine. Obe beleške su potpuno iste sadržine, a osim nekoliko bio-bibliografskih podataka sadrže samo još konstataciju da se Džabvala smatra *indijskim piscem*, kao i činjenicu da su obe priče uzete iz zbirke **Sa istoka na gornju istočnu stranu**, čija radnja se dešava u Indiji i u Americi.

Pored ovih kratkih napisa u našoj periodici, 2006. godine pojavio se i jedan ozbiljniji članak o indoengleskoj spisateljici, pod naslovom “Dva lica Indije u pripovetkama Rut Praver Džabvale”, objavljen u **Zborniku radova “Lice u jeziku, književnosti i kulturi”**. Autor članka, Biljana Đorić-Francuski, ističe “prilično ambivalentan stav ove književnice prema njenoj *usvojenoj domovini*”, koji se ogleda u naizmeničnom osećanju ljubavi i nestrpljenja prema Indiji. Posle kraćeg pregleda Džabvalinog života i rada, sledi podela njenog stvaralaštva na dve faze: dok u svojim ranim delima uglavnom preispituje dva motiva, a to su život urbane srednje klase u Indiji i mešanje kultura sa Istoka i sa Zapada, kasnije se Džabvala najviše posvećuje prikazivanju doživljaja zapadnjaka u Indiji. U pogledu pripovedačkog postupka, naglašeno je da ova književnica komičnost postiže kombinacijom blage ironije i dobroćudne satire, a skrenuta je pažnja i na njen dar za uočavanje detalja, kao i slikanje neuobičajenih likova. Od najistaknutijih odlika Džabvalinog stvaralaštva pominju se “izuzetno oštro zapažanje, te suptilnost i veština sa kojima ona opisuje fino tkanje zamršenih odnosa između ljudi - pogotovo žena koje žive u nepodeljenoj porodici, pokazujući veliko razumevanje njihovih složenih ličnih drama”. U

²² Ovu grešku - odnosno, činjenicu da se radi o zbirci pripovedaka a ne o romanu - ispraviće sama Nadežda Obradović već u narednoj belešci o istoj književnici, kao što se to vidi iz daljeg teksta.

vinjetama iz indijskog života koje slika u svojim kasnijim delima - i to prevashodno u pripovetkama iz tog perioda - ova autorka upravo predstavlja dva lica Indije na koja se odnosi naslov članka: Indiju viđenu očima zapadnih turista - kao svet iz snova, živih boja i aromatičnih mirisa, a sa druge strane *pravu* Indiju - prljavu i prepunu ljudi, kao i problema, nastavlja autor napisati. U Džabvalinim zbirkama pripovedaka ove pojave nisu prikazane “u crno-beloj tehnici već je njeno pripovedanje iznijansirano u tananim prelivima”, napominje se u članku, a zatim se još jednom ukazuje na neke od karakteristika stila ove spisateljice, kao što su to dubina i oštrina percepcije kakvu ne poseduje nijedan drugi pisac sa Zapada, dok je Džabvala za razliku od svih njih uspela da se istovremeno u odnosu na Indiju postavi kao da se nalazi i *spolja* i *iznutra*. Na kraju je navedena i jedna od zamerki matične kritike - da se ona “suviše često zadovoljava površnim realizmom reportažnog tipa, /.../ odbijajući da prihvati izazov dubljeg istraživanja psihe”, ali uz zaključnu napomenu da su njene *indijske priče* maestralno ukrašene *lokalnim bojama*.

Pregled prevodne recepcije pripovedaka R.P. Džabvale kod nas

Iako naizgled broj prevedenih pripovedaka nije zanemarljiv, u stvari se radi o ponovljenim prevodima, tako da ih je ukupno našoj čitalačkoj publici predstavljeno samo devet: “Ja u Indiji”, “Sahib s kućencetom”, “Udovica”, “Jedan doživljaj Indije”, “U planinama”, “Svetogrđe”, “Muž i sin”, “Ispaštanje” i “Farid i Farida”. Detaljnom analizom ujednačenog uzorka - odnosno, po jedne pripovetke u prevodu svakog od prevodilaca Džabvalinog dela,²³ uz dodavanje najupadljivijih primera iz ostalih pripovedaka, ustanovljeno je da su prevodi prilično lošeg kvaliteta i puni propusta. U skladu sa metodom Svetozara Ignjačevića (1977: 1) za ocenjivanje kvaliteta prevoda, izvršena je analiza četiri osnovna elementa na mikroliterarnom nivou.

Ni u jednoj od dve analizirane pripovetke nije pronađen nijedan slučaj nepotrebnog narušavanja *specifičnog ritma izvornog dela*, ali su u njima, na žalost, veoma česti primeri narušavanja *integriteta izvornika*. U pripoveci “Ispaštanje” uglavnom su izostavljane reči čiji smisao nije teško shvatiti, pa se da pretpostaviti da je za to uzrok nemarnost prevodioca, dok su u pripoveci “Sahib s kućencetom” izbacivane ne samo pojedine reči, već ponekad i delovi rečenice, čime se bitno menja smisao: “and anyway, perhaps it doesn't matter, because it isn't very much money” = “uostalom, reč je o maloj svoti” (20), “and as I could see with my own eyes he had already begun to pack up his things” = “i prionuo je na pakovanje” (32), “He had his back to me, and I stood looking at it and longed to thump it.” = “Poželega sam da ga udarim.” (32).

Najbrojnije su greške koje se tiču *prenošenja sloja značenja izvornika*, a nastaju zbog nepoznavanja značenja pojedinih reči i fraza, ili usled ogrešenja o gramatička pravila engleskog jezika. Izuzetno su zanimljive omaške čiji je uzrok nepoznavanje kulture i običaja zemlje u kojoj je nastalo izvorno delo, tako da se naš čitalac nađe u čudu kad pročita da junak pripovetke “Ispaštanje” izlazi iz kuće noseći “prljavu iscepanu *pidžamu* i prljavu iscepanu košulju preko nje” (769) - pošto ne zna da u

²³ Odabrane su pripovetke “Ispaštanje” (Obradović 2002) i “Sahib s kućencetom” (Miletić 2000), dok pripovetka u prevodu Jagode Splivalo-Rusan (1984) nije uzeta u obzir zato što se radi o prevodu na hrvatski jezik, a ista ta priča predstavljena je čitalaštvu nešto kasnije i na srpskom jeziku - i to dva puta.

Indiji reč *pajamas* označava donji deo muške odeće, nalik na šaljvare, dok se kod nas ovaj odevni predmet nosi isključivo za spavanje; zatim da taj isti junak i njegov prijatelj “nikada nisu izlazili, sem noću, kada je jedan od njih išao da kupi *gram*, jedino su tu hranu mogli sebi da priušte” (773) - jer je *gram* u našem jeziku samo merna jedinica, dok su na orijentu to razne grickalice tipa lebleblija; kao i da na prosipanje pepela (što je ekvivalent sahrani u našoj tradiciji) njegova žena ide “u novoj *beloj* odeći” (775) - budući da je u Indiji to boja koja označava da je neko u žalosti, a ne nosi se crnina kao kod nas.²⁴ U ovom prevodu potkrala se i jedna veoma ozbiljna greška, nastala zbog nepoznavanja života i tradicije u Indiji, kada ne samo da nije dato dodatno objašnjenje za advokata iz čuvene kaste čiji se pripadnici nazivaju *Parsi*, a nalaze se na vrhu kastinske lestvice indijskog društva, već je on više puta preveden kao “čuveni *pariski* advokat” (772 + 774 - 3 puta) što je u ovom kontekstu besmisleno.

I u svim pripovetkama uvrštenim u zbirku **Ja u Indiji: izabrane priče**, srpskom čitaocu nigde nije razjašnjen kulturni kontekst jedne zemlje koja se toliko razlikuje od naše, niti ima bilo kakvih dodatnih informacija o pojmovima koji su za našu publiku strani i nepoznati, kao što su to na primer: “ja žvaćem list *betela*” (23 - 2 puta + 47); “iznajmljivala je *tongu*” (36); “otključala bi čeličnu *almiru*” (40 + 47); “tako da se rukav njegove *kurte* povlači” (40); “nedopečeni *čapati*” (57); “da me osluškuje kao svoj *sarod*” (63); “pušio svoju *huku*” (99); “njegov labavo pričvršćen *doti*” (107). Čak je na nekoliko mesta došlo i do užasnih grešaka, koje pokazuju da nije u pitanju samo nemarnost prevodioca, već i neznanje usled koga su one nastale. Neko ko se bavi prevodjenjem, naime, morao bi da zna da su *hindu* i *urdu* dva najzastupljenija jezika u Jugoistočnoj Aziji, dok se reč *hindu* koristi kao pridev za sve ono što je vezano uz tu religiju - isto kao i na engleskom, sa koga su ove pripovetke prevedene: “premda *hindu* nije naučio” (19 - više puta), “Pisao je dugačka pisma koja sam ja slala u Urdu” (65) - kao da se radi o nekom mestu, a ne o jeziku na kome su ta pisma napisana.

Što se tiče postizanja *stilske čistote jezika na koji se prevodi* - pored ne malog broja štamparskih grešaka u svim analiziranim prevodima i neslaganja u okviru srpske rečenice - u ogrešenja ove vrste možemo ubrojati i nezgrapne konstrukcije, koje nisu u duhu našeg jezika jer su doslovno prekopirane iz engleskog, kao ove iz pripovetke “Ispaštanje”: “rekao sam joj *da drži usta zatvorena*” (767) ⇒ da čuti, “Da sam samo i ja mogao *da ostanem takva neznalica!*” (768) ⇒ da nastavim da živim u neznanju, “Njegov otac je vukao ručna kolica *za izdržavanje*” (771) ⇒ i tako je zarađivao; i nepotrebno korišćenje stranih reči u istoj pripovetci: “kad god se obavlja *egzekucija*” (765), “*diskutovali* su o tome” (766), “Moram da se prisetim jednog malog *incidenta*” (767x2), “spavao u *komforu*” (770) što je pogrešan prevod engleskog “he slept *comfortably*”, “u teškom čeličnom *tranku*” (771), “uhvaćeni u velikom *bumu* pamučne tkanine” (772), “*Erija* naselja je dosta odvojena” (772) ili “*tankova* za kupanje” (773x4), a i u pripovetci “Farid i Farida”: “kazao je Sunil u tupoj *rezignaciji*” (49), “svojim *flegmatičnim* glasom” (50), “taj *ornament*” (50), “odgovorio je *iritiran*” (50), “Do sada je postao dobro poznata *figura*” (50), “izgledao je svaki *inč* kao pozapadnjačeni orijentalni gospodin” (51), “*flegmatičan* ali pun poverenja” (52), “posmatra ga čutke i *spekulativno* u mraku” (53), “Bio je

²⁴ U ovakvim slučajevima uobičajeno je da se u prevodu dodaju objašnjenja za te kulturne različitosti, bilo u okviru teksta, bilo van njega: u fusnotama ili beleškama na kraju prevoda, a ponekad i u obliku izdvojenog rečnika, takozvanog glosara.

šokiran" (54), "eterične avionske stjuardese" (54), "da je impresionira" (56). Ogrešenja o maternji jezik nešto su reda u zbirci **Ja u Indiji: izabrane priče**, ali i u njoj ima dosta štamparskih grešaka, nezgrapnih konstrukcija i nepotrebno upotrebljenih stranih reči.

Završne napomene u pogledu recepcije stvaralaštva R.P. Džabvale kod nas

Ovaj rad bavi se ukupnom recepcijom dela indoengleske spisateljice Rut Praver Džabvale na srpskohrvatskoj govornoj teritoriji. Iako je istraživanje književno-kritičkih odjeka pokazalo da interesovanje za Džabvalin opus traje još od šezdesetih godina dvadesetog veka pa sve do današnjih dana, tu recepciju možemo da ocenimo kao prilično nezadovoljavajuću. Naime, Džabvala je prva od pisaca čije stvaralaštvo pripada književnosti postkolonijalne Indije – posle V.S. Najpola – dobila "Bukerovu" nagradu za svoj roman **Vrelina i prašina** 1975. godine, međutim, to nije dodatno skrenulo pažnju naših kritičara i izdavača na njena dela. Pa ipak, mada se odziv naših autora na njen opus ne može oceniti kao brojčano zadovoljavajući, sadržina tekstova koji su kod nas objavljeni sasvim je adekvatna, jer su oni veoma povoljni, što je i inače u skladu sa ugledom koji Džabvala uživa i u matičnoj kritici.

Što se tiče prevodne recepcije Džabvalinog stvaralaštva na našem jezičkom području, iako je prevedeno samo devet njenih pripovedaka i nijedan roman – pa čak ni onaj za koji je dobila nagradu "Buker" – ipak je naša čitalačka publika bila u dovoljnoj meri upoznata sa njenim pripovedačkim dostignućima. U pogledu kvaliteta samih prevoda, međutim, primećeno je da je on dosta loš, a u analiziranom uzorku osim grešaka koje su i inače uobičajene za prevode sa engleskog uočeno je i puno onih koje su nastale zbog nepoznavanja indijske kulture i običaja.

Na osnovu svih rezultata istraživanja prevodne i kritičke recepcije dela R.P. Džabvale, zaključeno je da su srpskohrvatski kritičari i izdavači posvetili sasvim dovoljno pažnje njenim pripovetkama, tako da je taj segment njenog opusa u zadovoljavajućoj meri predstavljen i našoj čitalačkoj publici i našoj široj književnoj javnosti. Jedino preostaje sugestija da u budućnosti i neki od brojnih romana britanske spisateljice bude preveden na naš jezik, kako bi domaća recepcija njenog stvaralaštva u potpunosti odgovarala popularnosti koju je ona dostigla u svojoj zemlji, odnosno, da bi interesovanje naše književne javnosti za njena dela bilo do kraja adekvatno.

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DASHIELL HAMMETT AND THE SYMBOLIC CAPITAL
OF THE AMERICAN DETECTIVE NOVEL IN FRANCE (1930-1950)

Abstract: In the 1930s the field of the detective novel was subject to a radical transformation. At first marked by British hegemony (characterized by mystery novel or *roman à énigme*), the French field gradually became dominated by American novelists (beginning with Dashiell Hammett). Symbolic capital came about from an innovation of American origin - the emergence of the *hard-boiled* novel, best represented by Hammett's work. Unlike mystery novels, hard-boiled fiction recounts the adventures of a private detective where the guilty party is not a specific person or group, but society at large. To understand the determining factors in this transformation of the detective novel, we will use the notions of symbolic capital, legitimacy, struggle for classification and re-classification, habitus, and field borrowed from Pierre Bourdieu. Thus we believe we will be able to understand the transfer of legitimacy of the translated American detective novel into the French field and the alleged superiority of the "American Way of Life" in France as observed from the late 1940s, despite the criticisms of the American lifestyle presented by the translated texts.

Key words: American detective novel, habitus, symbolic capital, struggle for classification, legitimacy, France, United States, 1930s, the late 1940s.

Introduction

The socio-cultural legitimacy of productions of a geographical area is generally linked to the symbolic capital of a nation-state and its economic and cultural organization in the eyes of another nation-state, precisely, where the translation of its productions is carried out and published. To speak about symbolic capital is to refer to all professional activities which produce economic and financial power, which as such generates unrecognized power, that is, as Bourdieu puts it, "recognized as legitimate"²⁵ (1997, 285). In the current neo-liberal globalized economic system, where the apparent double operative word is *laissez-faire*, *laissez passer*, conditions are particularly conducive to the free circulation of goods and services. But in the period between the World Wars there was another era of internationalization of economic and cultural powers. To situate ourselves in the symbolic power which emanates from cultural productions, the 1920s and 1930s were a period of establishment for American hegemony in cinema and literature with the emergence of major realist authors such as Hemingway and Dos Passos and of supposedly new literary genres like science fiction. As for the detective novel, leading up to the 1930s, it was not the United States that dominated the French market, but Great Britain. Uri Eisenzweig refers to "The entirety of classic French detective novel production which defines itself to a certain extent as an *imitation* [of the British detective novel], with which comes a purely parodistic dimension" (1986, 167). In fact, the *Grand Prix du Roman d'Aventures*, founded by Albert Pigasse in 1930 for French writers, was awarded to Pierre Véry for *Le Testament de Basil Brooks*, whose connotations are undeniably British. The situation would change

²⁵ This quotation and all others taken from French sources have been translated into English by the translator of this paper.

with *hard-boiled* novels, or *romans noirs*, with American production progressively encroaching on British domination.

Struggle for classification: mystery novels and *romans noirs*

To understand the transfer of domination, let us consider the example of Peter Cheyney. Cheyney himself was British, which could seem paradoxical, but, in reality, he made the hard-boiled model his own by producing the muscled adventures of his G-man, Lemmy Caution, whose setting was understood to be North America²⁶. The following remarks, made by Lemmy Caution to the reader, are integrated into the novel *Don't Get Me Wrong* (1939), translated as *Vous pigez ?* (1948, n° 7):

Maybe you think I'm holdin' out on you about that wire that I made Zellara send after I got her outa that white satin bed an' talked horse sense to that baby boa-constrictor.

Well I am not. [...]

An' I do not want you boys an' girls to make any mistakes or get tanglin' yourselves up in phoney clues an' things which is a thing which does not help anybody.

Me, I hate clues. I just can't get along with 'em. A clue - in case you don't know - is somethin' that the ace detective always finds stuck in the linin' of the dead guy's pocket, or else it is somethin' he finds hidden away in the water butt an' in nine case outa ten this clue hasn't got anything to do with anything at all, but it makes the ace detective feel good an' also amuses the children. (p. 121)

This criticism of the mystery novel is common. It is the classic style of writing detective stories invented by Edgar Allan Poe - the inverted writing. It is this writing that would be in question here if the writers of hard-boiled novels hadn't used it themselves. Not only did R. Austin Freeman, British mystery novel theorist ("The Art of the Detective Story", 1924), or S. S. Van Dine ("Twenty Rules for Writing Detective Stories", 1928) advocate it, but also Dashiell Hammett used it. In reality, the difference between the mystery novel and the *roman noir* resides in the nature of the plot: in a *roman noir*, as opposed to a mystery novel, the plot is based partially on the personality and role of the detective and partially on revealing guilt diffused throughout society, not centered on a character who the plot would unmask.

The function or role of the private detective is not specifically to shed light on a mystery. As Uri Eisenzweig writes, "[...]it is not so much the *how*, nor even the *who* of the crime as its *why* that is henceforth the primary object of attention - but a why that is found on the surface of things, a surface [...] sociopolitical for the American private detective" (291). The *roman noir* tends, at its best, to become a global social criticism, one of urbanized capitalist America.

²⁶ Like James Hadley Chase, himself British, who published the classic *No Orchid for Miss Blandish* (*Pas d'orchidée pour miss Blandish* translated by Marcel Duhamel and published in 1945 in the *Série Noire*, n° 3). *La Môme vert-de-gris* (*Poison Ivy*) by Peter Cheyney was the story that started the *Série Noire* (n° 1).

The hegemony of Dashiell Hammett and his successors (Chandler...)

Let us focus on the emblematic figure of the novel which revolutionized the domain of the detective novel, Dashiell Hammett. This will allow us to understand what is possibly at the origin of the work of the author and maybe what is at the heart of his novels written in American English. Hammett published his (very short) first story, "The Parthian Shot," in the magazine *Smart Set* in 1922. Then, he read in *The Black Mask*, a magazine published by celebrated critic H. L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan, the hard-boiled story that founded the genre (it was "The False Burton Combs", authored by Carroll John Daly), four months before the publication of his first short story that would introduce his detective Waldrom Honeywell. It was on October 1, 1923 that *Black Mask* published his first text ("Arson Plus") with the Op as the main character²⁷.

What did the new genre of detective story consist of? To answer this question, it is useful to recall the constitution of Hammett's habitus. In 1917, Dashiell Hammett was employed by the Pinkerton National Detective Agency. Hammett, who began his career with the Pinkertons, would accompany his colleagues on their investigations and activities. In the same year, the Pinkerton agency was hired by the owners of a mine to protect it against the *Wobblies*, that is, the radical American workers who were part of the Industrial Workers of the World. Pinkerton's men hanged a unionist named Frank Little and young Hammett was present. This event profoundly marked Hammett: he became aware, following Little's murder, that some representatives of order behaved like delinquents (D. Johnson, 1983, p. 21). Hammett's awareness would be shared by numerous other authors and it is upon these sorts of observations that the hard-boiled world view would rest.

How does the idea of general culpability express itself in Hammett's work? In *The Glass Key* (1931), for example, one of the main characters, Paul Madvig, is the friend of detective Ned Beaumont. Madvig lends his support to elect Senator Henry, support which could guarantee the latter's election. However, the son of the senator is murdered some time before the election, and Beaumont also discovers that the senator has given his daughter to Madvig in exchange for his support. Since the rumor is that it is Madvig who killed the senator's son, Beaumont sets out to clear Madvig from any responsibility. This story of sex, political power and money is very much *demi-teinte*: Beaumont is himself invested in the plot, as he has everything to lose if Madvig is found guilty. It is not the vengeful, righting-of-wrongs tone that is found in serial novels, the ancestors of the detective novel. Beaumont is in danger of losing a friend, one who gives him the money he needs to support his gambling on dice, races, etc. Finally, when at the end of the plot Beaumont is convinced of Madvig's guilt, he turns away from him in keeping with the tradition for positive heroes of popular fiction.

²⁷ Dashiell Hammett was first translated and published in 1932 (*La Clé de verre* and *La Moisson rouge*, transl. by P. J. Herr), in 1933 (*Sang maudit*, transl. by Marcelle Gauvin), in 1934 (*L'Introuvable*, transl. by É. Michel-Tyl), and in 1936 (*Le Faucon de Malte*, transl. by É. Michel-Tyl), by Gallimard. These were retranslated by Henri Robillot between 1949 and 1950 for the *Série Noire*. The influence of Hammett on the *Série Noire* was considerable judging by the deference with which the American author was treated. Duhamel would cite Hammett as one of the models to follow when he advised Chester Himes (Himes, 1976), "Read Dashiell Hammett - There's the man to read. He was the greatest writer who ever lived." (p. 102)

Here is another example. In *The Dain Curse* (1929), Hammett tells a story of pretenses and machination. A young woman, Gabrielle Leggett, believes that she is perpetuating a family curse. Her father, a man with a troubled past, is a fugitive from French justice who has assumed a false identity. Under this false identity he marries Lily, who has a sister, Alice, whom she hates. Alice trained little Gabrielle (she was only 5 years old at the time) to kill her mother Lily; and apparently she succeeded. The narrator is friends with a writer, Fitzstephan, who reveals himself as the author of the plot to create a belief in a curse because he wants Gabrielle. But the positive narrator takes Gabrielle under his wing. End of story. This story is made up of psychological lucidity as well as lucidity in human relations, against all of the tricks by the manipulative Leggett, Alice, and Fitzstephan.

Let us consider another example, this time from Raymond Chandler's *The Long Goodbye* (*Sur un air de navaja*). This tale is one of the stories in the Philip Marlowe series. Detective Marlowe is the model hero whose values remain intact despite all solicitation. These values are in opposition to those of the fauna that surround him, whether it be the police, politicians, doctors, businessmen, thieves, or women. Everyone is ready to betray even their own parents for power, money, and fame. Philip Marlowe, the urban romantic, is faithful to true values, those of the heart, and does not allow himself to be corrupted, even when his own life is at risk. His strength is also his courage, physical courage where he would choose to be beaten rather than betray a friend. Because of this, the reader is faced with manicheism: Marlowe represents true values and so one is never lost to indecision. In this story of manipulation, Philip Marlowe is friends with battle-scarred Terry Lennox. Lennox's wife, Sylvia Potter, is murdered and since Lennox is a suspect, Marlowe drives him to Mexico. There are many twists in the plot, particularly the one where the criminal Menendez tells Marlowe that Lennox was part of a British commando operation in November 1942 in Norway. His face was injured while escaping with his buddies. The women in the story are generally deceitful beings who cannot be trusted. Sylvia Potter is actually murdered by Eileen Wade, Lennox's first wife (he married her in August 1942). Since this little group is part of the social elite, the various murders in the story must be kept secret. Marlowe confirms that the police, the press and the law behave no differently from crooks. At the end of the story, Lennox (who does not die in Mexico) introduces himself to Marlowe under a false identity and with a new face; Marlowe rejects him because of how he has been manipulated before.

Importing the hard-boiled novel to France

These novels would be phenomenally successful starting in the 1950s translated in Marcel Duhamel's *Série Noire*. But what was imported in the translation?

First of all, the cultural contact produced by detective novels did not occur outside of the struggle for classification: Duhamel imposed upon the translation a classification that would allow all of his books to be recognizable as detective novels excluding *romans à énigme*. Novels in the *Série Noire* are works of social criticism of America. There is, therefore, a classifying effect, a mass effect, that is specific to the effect of reading on the otherwise very diverse audience.

Secondly, what is specific to the *roman noir*, namely the diffuse culpability that the detective unveils while trying to bring the plot of the novel to light, would be easily imported through translation; this is the fundamental trait of the story which is an

integral part of the story. In these *Série Noire* novels, the macro-story does not suffer any structural modifications that jeopardize the meaning of the text, at least on this level.

Third, was the very present playful aspect of the novels in the *Série Noire* preserved in translation? We have just seen that, in the works by Hammett and Chandler, the hero is a “positive one” (everything works out in the end for him), whether it is Sam Spade, Ned Beaumont or Philip Marlowe, even if he must sacrifice himself or perhaps **because** he must sacrifice himself. This story structure induces a style of reading with no danger for the reader: the reader can enjoy the events narrated without having to take part, as if shielded from the hard blows by the hero.

(Re)classification in the *Série Noire*

This dimension is barely dissociable from the linguistic form of the text, the use of the slang of crooks, police, prostitutes or, in short, everyone on the margins of official and normal society. The pleasure, the jubilation of the reader is heavily invested in the author’s usage of specific vocabulary and syntax, sociolects of the underworld. Marcel Duhamel showed exceptional creativity in his adaptation of American slang into French usages which contributed significantly to the global success of the translations of the *Série Noire*.

At this stage we can confirm that the symbolic capital of the American hard-boiled novel was imported in an ameliorative way in the French field of the detective novel, conferring upon it strong legitimacy. The way that this symbolic capital was transmitted remains to be studied by examining the texts and part of their meaning. What Bourdieu wrote in “*les Conditions sociales de la circulation internationale des idées*” (The Social Conditions of the International Circulation of Ideas) must be remembered: “International exchanges are subject to a certain number of structural factors which are generally misunderstood. The first factor: the fact that texts circulate without their context”. (3) They “do not import with them the field of production [...] of which they are the product and only the recipients, being themselves inserted in a different field of production, [...] reinterpret according to the structure of the field of reception [...]” (*ibid.*). Even though Bourdieu addresses philosophical and scientific ideas in this article, what he says is, up to a certain point, equally valid for literature. We treated this question in 2007 (23- 25) regarding the translation of the American realist novel in France from 1920 to 1960. As is inevitable in translation, American authors are the object, in the operation of translation, of a dehistoricization by scotomization and a rehistoricization in accordance with the determining factors in the target culture. Up to what point is the scotomization of which detective novels are the object reductive of the effect produced on the reader? This question remains unsolved at this point in our research.

Conclusion

The essential fact that structures the translation of American literature in France is the legitimacy of the United States for the French literary field. This legitimacy is founded on the power of an economic and financial model. It is introduced through literature and, where we are concerned, through detective novels (but also other literary genres), which import the “American Way of Life.” The “American Way of Life” seems to be the social model to be imitated. We say “seems” because some works are particularly critical of the American system, such as those by Dashiell

Hammett or Chester Himes²⁸, who show the alienation of those sectors of society left behind by American democracy. It is as if the belonging of American authors - even those who are the most critical of the cultural system - as if this belonging to the United States supersedes the criticisms, as if the criticisms themselves were guarantees of the superiority of the “American Way of Life” concerning the social future of the societies where translation takes place. This tends to prove that the determining factors of symbolic capital are at the foundation of the translation of the detective novel and that, more generally, one cannot do without this notion in the study of cultural contact through translation.

Translated from French by Claire Maryniak

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²⁸ Chester Himes’s first novel was *If he hollers, let him go* (1945), not a detective novel, translated by Renée Vavasseur and Marcel Duhamel and published in 1948; his first detective novel, however, was published in French in *Série Noire: La Reine des pommes* (1958, n° 419). He received the *Grand Prix du Roman Policier* for the year 1957.

КУЛТУРОЛОШКА ФИЗИОНИМИЈА МОСКВЕ ДВАДЕСЕТИХ ГОДИНА
У КРАТКИМ ФОРМАМА МИХАИЛА БУЛГАКОВА

Апстракт: У марту, 1921. године, у Русији заживљује Нова економска политика - НЕП. Историјска литература описује НЕП као компромис између капитализма и социјализма, хибридно творевину која је покушала да премости два супротстављена друштвено-економска модела. У то доба настаје и нови социјални тип руског грађанина - непман. Москва двадесетих кодирана је драматичним промјенама на свим нивоима структуре града, антирелигиозном политиком власти и покушајем побједничке класе пролетеријата да наметне своју хегемонију у сфери културе. Ми ћемо се у овом раду бавити особеностима културног живота, чије смо рефлексе пронашли у раним причама и репортажама Михаила Булгакова, посвећеним овом периоду.

Кључне ријечи: Булгаков, Москва, НЕП, семиотика

Ако упоредимо есеј писца чувене анигиутопије „Ми“, Јевгенија Замјатина и живописне приче и репортаже М. Булгакова о Москви двадесетих, наићи ћемо на један велики степен фактографске подударности.

Како примјећује Замјатин²⁹, у стару Москву ступа Америка, тачније, најдоступније берлинско издање Америке - «конструктивистичке» комбинације камених коцки, типа Корбизијевих радова. Али како је московски укус захтијевао ултрамоду, Москва се потрудила да «надкорбинизује» Корбизијеа,³⁰ па су многа московска здања још сувља, апстрактнија и огољенија од његових. Неки од лијевих московских архитеката прогласили су овај америчко-берлински стил «пролетерским», али по Замјатиновом мишљењу, пролетаријат није насјео и и протествовао је када су те тмурне коцке почели да расту у радничким рејонима.

Интересантне су и Замјатинове опсервације постреволуционарних умјетничких токова. Он закључује да шаблоне «пролетерске умјетности» које су прихватили снобови, није прихватио пролетеријат.

Московске опозиције

Крајности двадесетих година подијелиле су Московљане на два главна пола: неповце и остале. Неповци су појединци који се издвајају у гомили, а остали су маса, гомила, нитима сиромаштва везана у жилав организам који се на московским улицама жилаво батрга у борби за опстанак. Маса је компактна, уочава се као једно. Појединци су у њој покренути снагом мноштва, њих не носи сопствена, већ енергија масе.

²⁹ Види о томе: *Замјатин, Е. И.* Москва - Петербург (1963) "Новый журнал", Њу-Йорк, No 72.

³⁰ Француски архитекта и теоретичар архитектуре, Шарл Едуард Ле Корбизије био је родоначелник и заговорник нових праваца архитектонске мисли и праксе - рационализма и функционализма. По његовом пројекту у Москви је изграђен Дом Центросавеза (ЦСУ СССР, 1928-1935).

Издвајају се следеће социјалне опозиције: неповци - бољшевици, неповци - умјетничка средина, неповци - просјаци. Богатство - сиромаштво је заједничка компонента социјалног конфликта између неповаца и осталих група.

Булгаков са хумором описује гостопримство московске боемије као аскетско искушење за госта: „неудобан намјештај, стално фали чај или шећер, човјек је непрестано као на иглама у ишчекивању да ће га неко ухапсити и најгоре од свега, млади пјесници читају стихове“.³¹ (Т.2, с.54) Насупрот атмосфере оскудице и опасности, али евидентно засићене духом, у неповском дому влада бајковита раскош, одјекује лагана клавирска музика, топло је и удобно. Једини проблем је што се пјесници у лошој одјећи и обући осјећају нелагодно у окружењу које истиче сваку подеротину. Присуство духа и материје је обрнуто пропорционално у односу на боемски дом. Пјесник који опјева дијаманте у пракси показује потпуно незнање о каратима када се суочи са прстеном непмана свих непмана. Контрапункт боемског духа и неповске прагматике Булгаков истиче кроз поређење драгог камена са крстом Христа Спаситеља на заласку.

Неписменост је такође шокантно-мучна московска појава. Булгаков је потресен сусретом са неписменом продавачицом новина, усред неповског трговачког раја.

Сам Булгаков се налазио на међупозицији између буржуја и пролетера, суочен са проблемом немогућности потпуне идентификације ни са једном од ове двије групе, што описује у фељтону *Сорок сороков*. Поглед на његову одјећу буржујима говори да није из њихове класе, а пролетери га тјерају из стана под образложењем да је буржујски сурогат.

Позориште

Конструктивистичке декорације протјерују из позоришта све трагове сликарства и форсирају схематизам и огољеност. Замјатин примјећује да је првих година послје револуције надирућа американизација потисла у други план Художественный театр Станиславског, док је истовремено Мејерхољд признат као вођа револуционарног позоришта.

Ишчитавајући фељтон *Престоница у нотесу* налазимо потврде Замјатинових свједочанстава о позоришном животу у Москви двадесетих година. Подударност са Замјатиновим судовима указује на објективност Булгаковљевог писања. Слиједећи моду у свим областима живота, Москва није пропустила да и театар огрне у ново рухо. Конструктивистички, максимално упрошћени стил који се наметнуо у архитектури пресликава се и на позоришну сцену. Декорације и костими су огољени и једноставни, одбацује се пређашњи сјај. Најпомоднији позоришни редитељ је онај чија се идеја позоришта највише удаљила од класичног руског позоришта, онај који у америчком маниру највише тежи сензацији, необичном и трику - Мејерхољд. У сјећањима Овчиникова³² из редакцији «Гудка» (Сирена, прев. аутора) такође се помиње Булгаковљев став према Мејерхољду. Коментаришући свој изношени кожух, Булгаков каже да код Мејерхољда у таквим кожусима бојари падају са првог спрата, а пострадале

³¹ Сви цитати и парафразе наводе се по: Булгаков, М. А. (1989) *Рассказы и фељетоны, Собрание сочинений в пяти томах, Том второй*, Москва: «Художественная литература».

³² *Воспоминания о Михаиле Булгакове*, Москва, Советский писатель, 1988, стр. 131.

глумце и гледаоце дворски чувари одвозе у Институт Склифосовског. Будући драматург и режисер, Булгаков, против је пада бојара са првог спрата. На московском позоришном своду водила се борба између реалистичке школе Станиславског и нове школе Мејерхољда. Булгаков је био у табору Станиславског. «Исмијати противника није само његово право, него у неку руку, чак и обавеза» - сматра Овчиников, налазећи оправдање за Булгаковљев став према Мејерхољду.

Захваљујући дијелу «Биомеханичка глава» (Т2, с.258) из фељтона *Престоница у нотесу*, можемо реконструисати Булгаковљев однос према новој револуционарној умјетности, на примјеру представе «Великодушни рогања», у поставци Свеволода Емиљевича Мејерхољда, у позоришту Гитис. У «Биомеханичкој глави» Булгаков пише да се послјије прозивки од стране двојице дугокосих футуриста да је «малограђанин», одлучио да погледа поменуту представу. (Примијетимо овдје да је и став према футуристима са помодном фризуром идентичан ставу према Мејерхољду.) За јунака фељтона (у фељтону су јунак и наратор подударни са аутором), театар је уживање, мир и забава, све осим начина да се заради неурастенија, „која се у Москви лако може зарадити, а да човјек не баца новац на карте за позориште“. Позориште је офуцано, у њему је промаја, умјесто сцене налази се рупа, а у позадини је голи зид са два мртвачка прозора. На сцени се налази чудна конструкција, у поређењу са којом је пројекат авангардног умјетника Татлина образац јасноће и једноставности. Булгаков даље исмијава глумце у плавој радничкој одјећи, коментаришући да би их он послао мало у фабрику да виде што је радничка одјећа. Супростављајући се одушевљењу футуриста који налазе да је Мејерхољд геније, Булгаков износи своје схватање позоришта.³³ По њему, позориште је за гледаоца и за масу, а не за усамљене геније. Он жели да иде у разумљиво позориште и предлаже да Мејерхољд, пошто је испред времена, умре и васкрне у двадесет првом вијеку, нехотице тим ставом антиципирајући алтернативни театар који акценат ставља на покрет, са краја двадесетог вијека, и уопште, модерну и постмодерну. Да Булгаков није против модерног, већ само против неразумљивог, види се из опаске да се све ово догађа близу Никитинског циркуса у коме клоун Лазаренко запањује својим феноменалним салтом. Он респектује истинске, раскошне таленте у чијој се умјетности ужива дјечије спонтано. Осим Лазаренка, такав је и оперетски умјетник Јарон чијем се маштовитом и урнебесном наступу смеје цијела публика. (Расположење публике на представи Мејерхољда је «као на гробљу, поред гроба вољене жене.»)

³³ «После первого акта капельдинер:

- Не понравилось у нас, господин?

Улыбка настолько нагла, что мучительно хотелось биоманхнуть его по уху.

- Вы опоздали родиться, - сказал мне футурист.

Нет, это Мейерхольд поспешил родиться.

- Мейерхольд - гений!! - завывал футурист. Не спорю. Очень возможно. Пускай - гений. Мне все равно. Но не следует забывать, что гений одинок, а я - масса. Я - зритель. Театр для меня. Желаю ходить в понятный театр.

- Искусство будущего!! - налетели на меня с кулаками.

А если будущего, то пускай, пожалуйста, Мейерхольд умрет и воскреснет в XXI веке. От этого выиграют все, и прежде всего он сам. Его поймут. Публика будет довольна его колесами, он сам получит удовлетворение гения, а я буду в могиле, мне не будут сниться деревянные вертушки.

Вообще к черту эту механику. Я устал.», Т2, стр. 260.

У Оперном позоришту Зимина јунак са задовољством гледа класичну оперу «Хугеноти», радујући се што се приказује нешто што је било актуелно и прије револуције. Међутим, ни у њој не ужива до краја. Чињеница да га више не забављају «Хугеноти» и опера »Риголето», Булгаковљевог омиљеног композитора Ђузепе Вердија, говори да он ни класичну умјетност није сматрао идеалном. И њој је требало удахнути свјежину новог, али не по цијену револуционарних, неразумљивих и отуђених Мејерхољдових експеримената, већ еволутивним помацима, надградњом старог.

Одјећа као ознака социјалног распознавања

Одјећа и професија су такође ознаке социјалног распознавања Булгаковљевих Московљана.

Долазак у позориште је својеврсни културни ритуал који претпоставља одређени начин облачења као израз поштовања према ономе што се догађа на сцени. Сакрални простор позоришта нарушен је изношеним сакоима и френчевима публице која није свечана и уредна како то налаже позоришни бонтон и како је то некада било у царској Русији. Међу њима се издваја Московљанин у фраку за који се аутор пита «да ли он представља музејску ријеткост међу френчевима 1923. године или је сигнал за неко ново доба». Фрак је знак друштвене неприлагођености, јер маса захтијева утапање, а не штрчање.

Двоструки живот Баљшог театра

Повремено одржавање конгреса у Баљшом театру мијења његов ореол културног храма (*Град купола*). Большевици су и овом здању додијелили додатну функцију, потпуно опозитну његовој основној намјени. Светилиште културе са вечерњим ритуалом представа преобраћа се у большевичко светилиште са ритуалом конгреса. Умјесто поклоника културе појављују се поклоници нове идеологије. На олтару Баљшог институција позоришта се жртвује и музе привремено замиру да би уступиле мјесто идеји большевизма. Изглед позоришта, боје, свјетлост, као и укупна атмосфера која га окружује потпуно се мијењају за вријеме одржавања конгреса. Изгледа као да постоје два здања.

Црвене заставе, стражари и коњаници, сумрак у коме гасну и боје и звуци, сакрализују амбијент око Баљшог тетра. Конгрес је тишином и стражарима изолован од спољашњег свијета и огрнут велом тајне. У ваздуху трепери страхопоштовање према ономе што се дешава унутра. Ентеријер остаје недоступан посматрачевом оку, као да из њега вреба нека зла коб која би могла угрозити превише посвећеног у њене тајне.

Друго, уобичајено лице Баљшог театра лишено је конгресног декора (застава, блиставе звијезде, стражара) и загонетности. Позориште изгледа као одувијек - отворено, весело, пуно људи, изложено свима.³⁴ Кинематографском техником

³⁴ «Другой - такой: в излюбленный час театральной музыки, в семь с половиной, нет сияющей звезды, нет флагов, нет длинной цепи часовых у сквера. Большой стоит громадой, как стоял десятки лет. Между колоннами желто-тускловатые пятна света. Приветливытеатральные огни. Черные фигуры текут к колоннам. Часа через два внутри полутемного зала в ярусах громоздятся головы. В ложах на темном фоне ряды светлых треугольников и ромбов от раздвинутых завес. На сукне волны света, и волной катится в грохоте меди и раскатах хора

дескрипција се са спољашњег плана пребацује на унутрашњи и дочарава се узбуђење масе која слуша Радамеса. Такође филмичан опис публике и крајње опуштености и неформалности једне непманке диференцирају слободу и отвореност позоришног простора за вријеме представе од издвојености и затворености истог тог простора за вријеме конгреса.

Музика

Није ни чудо што су различити музички фрагменти упечатљив лајтмотив Булгаковљевих прича, када се има у виду његова љубав према музици. У *Граду купола* он са крова ослушкује градски живот и дефинише кроз звук градске пунктове, док се у причи о згради Елпита пожар распламсава у маниру убрзавања темпа оркестра.

Истанчано ухо Булгакова ухватило је московске тонове и регистровало московске музичке укусе. У цијелом његовом стваралаштву доминира његова омиљена опера «Аида». У *Граду купола*, у Баљшом театру тријумфује арија «Радамес» из «Аиде». ³⁵ Јунак *Серије нула шест бр. 0660243* сања да је добио премију и присјећа се ствари које би желио да оствари. Изгледа да је «Аида» посједовала нарочит културни ексклузивитет, јер је у мноштву материјалних ствари, Жожиков зажелио да иде на оперу. И у његовој жељи да посједује бисту Лава Толстоја уткано је поштовање и дивљење Булгакова према великом руском писцу.

Послије неудобности и мириса сиромаштва које се осјећа у московској боемској средини, јунаку је дивно у благостању неповског дома у коме «нико не чита стихове», а неповчева ћерка оплемењује атмосферу свирајући на клавиру «Молитву дјеве». ³⁶ У «Пехару живота» у хотелу на Неглином виолине свирају за богате и бахате неповце «Под врелим небом Аргентине...». ³⁷ Гдје има неповаца, ту има и музике. Огромно самозадовољство и осјећај важности и моћи ескалирали су уз лаку, махом веселу, ритмичну, често до тривијалности једноставну музику која је из њих ослобађала вишак енергије и која је била манифестација њихове надмености. Звуци оркестара допиру до крова зграде Нирензеа у *Граду купола*. Са исте позиције види се и чује неповски пир у спахијској кући.

Рустикални мотиви старих руских пјесама визуелизују се у машти слушалаца и буде нејасне, али пријатне емоције, док их на свиралама изводе владимирски трубачи на изложби у *Злаћаном граду*.

У «бившим» временима зграде руског милионера Елпита, за вријеме Распућинове посјете, круг изабраних ужива у «Мађарској рапсодији» и циганским експлозијама. Са смјеном станара звуке клавира насљеђују грамафони.

У причи *Испод стакленог неба* дувачки окестар свира час досадне валцере, час некакву музичку гнусобу «потпури од руских пјесама». (Т.2, с.286)

триумф Радамеса. В антрактах, в свете, золотым и красным сияет театр и кажется таким же нарядным, как раньше.

³⁵ Види стр. 282.

³⁶ *Столица в блокноте*, стр. 255.

³⁷ Стр. 269.

Звуци «природне «полке» надјачавају буку кафана на Цвјетном булевару. (Сорок сороков (Град купола), с. 284) «Интернационала» одјекује у *Представи у част лорда Керзона*.

Наталија Јегоровна, која се помиње у *Москви двадесетих година*, (стр. 440), због ужасне хладноће, цијеле зиме свирала је Шопенове валцере у ваљенкама. Приметијемо овдје да се Шопенова музика изводи у огољеном амбијенту, у условима елементарне егзистенције, као побуна духа против неправди живота, као очајнички тријумф љепоте музике над ругобом свакодневнице. Баналне поскочице и полка изазивају салву доброг расположења раскалашних неповаца и уклапају се у баханалијске оквире богате, али површне средине која их конзумира. Очигледна су културна преплитања старе и нове епохе, судари и борба два различита свијета, једног класичног и са традицијом блиског аполонијској линији умјетности и другог површног, заведеног масовном културом, блиском дионизијском духу.

У огледу *Кијев-град* Москва је град-узор граду-провинцији. Она је престоница оперете, у њој се игра лото и људи се опијају шампањцем «Абрау-Дирсо». Масовност поменутих појава указује на то да су оне нека врста градске моде, коју са закашњењем прихватају Кијевљани.³⁸

Лектира Московљана

Большевичка мисија едукације пролетеријата имала је превелику амбицију. Булгаков је исмијава у «Степеницама за рај», описујући образовну тортуру над радницима, преко њиховог, и буквално, мукотрпног пута до књиге. Радници падају и повређују се на залеђеном степеништу библиотеке станице Москва-Бјелоруска. Покушавајући да се домогну «Рата и мира», «Сабраних дјела» Гогоља, «Тараса Буљбе», Бухаринове «Азбуке комунизма», радници западају у низ трагикомичних ситуација које говоре о (не)прикладности поменуте литературе њиховим личностима и исфорсираности настојања да им се приближе руски класици и социолошко штиво. У *Москви двадесетих година* жена која не чита по директиви одабрала је «Тарзана» (стр. 438), роман који више одговара њеном интересовању.

Богатство културног живота у Москви, разнородност културних дешавања, актуелне и забрањене теме, осуда класичног, форсирање авангардног промиче као у филмском слепстику (убрзаном ређању кадрова), преко динамичног описа и препричавања градских транспарената.³⁹

³⁸ «Нэп катится на периферию медленно, с большим опозданием. В Киеве теперь то, что в Москве было в конце 1921 года. Киев ещё не вышел из периода аскетизма. В нём, например, еще запрещена оперетка. В Киеве торгуют магазины (к слову говоря, дрянью), но не выпирают нагло «Эрмитажи», не играют в лото на каждом перекрёстке и не шляются на дутых шинах до рассвета, напившись «Абрау-Дюрсо», стр. 312.

³⁹ «Зовут на новые заграничные фильмы, возвещают "Суд над проституткой Заборовой, заразившей красноармейца сифилисом", десятки диспутов, лекций, концертов. Судят "Санина", судят "Яму" Куприна, судят "Отца Сергия", играют без дирижера Вагнера, ставят "Землю дыбом" с военными прожекторами и автомобилями, дают концерты по радио, портные шьют стрелецкие гимнастерки, нашивают сияющие звезды на рукава и шевроны, полные ромбов. Завалили киоски журналами и десятками газет...», Т.2, стр. 284.

Москва двадестих година изневјерила је својом еклектичношћу и бујношћу хришћанску једноставност и смиреност, материјално је потиснуло духовно, американизацијом је заборавила на своје словенство, наслијеђену језичку културу оскрнавила је бољшевичким скраћеницама. Умјесто елитне културе која је била разумљива и масама, положила се за масовну, пролетаријату неразумљиву културу. Хришћанску заповијест «не лажи» обесмислила је лицемјерјем које је било једини начин дјеловања да човјек опстане у режиму. Социјална, идеолошка и просторна мимикрија видови су лицемјерја коме Московљани прибјегавају као нужном начину да обезбиједе себи пристојан живот.

Раскида се са најбољим традицијама царске Русије у име устоличења модерне културе. Баљшој театар не служи само као храм културе већ и као конгресна сала за бољшевице. Христово име је прогнано и сатанизовано, а умјесто забрањеног хришћанског култа настаје бољшевички. Москва му се предаје са истом страшћу и вјеровањем са којима се раније предавала православљу.

Мада све говори у прилог томе да је Булгаковљева Москва двадесетих година издала обећање да ће бити Трећи Рим, не треба јој судити због тога. Можда су то историја и епоха искушавале град и људе и преиспитивали њихову енергију, страсти и издржљивост, провјеравајући да ли су достојни неких великих будућих догађаја. Булгаков је живописним сликама, за дуго сјећање и за истински читалачки ужитак, забиљежио како је Москва прошла кроз искушења.

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ПАРИЖ - БЕЛГРАД - ХАРБИН В РУССКОЙ ПОЭЗИИ ЭМИГРАЦИИ 1920-30-Х ГОДОВ

Абстракт: В статье рассмотрены особенности восприятия Парижа, Белграда, Харбина русскими поэтами первой волны эмиграции. Доказывается, что в поэзии «русского» Парижа, в лирических текстах, посвященных Белграду, шире - Сербии, Черногории, Хорватии, в стихах дальневосточных поэтов о Харбине запечатлен процесс «вживания» в новый культурно-исторический ландшафт. Представлены результаты анализа большого корпуса текстов поэтов русской эмиграции 1920-30-х гг., в которых оказались художественно осмысленными, ценностно упорядоченными и символически организованными избранные ими для места жительства Париж, Белград, Харбин как «города рассеяния» русских эмигрантов в Западной Европе, Балканской Европе, Китае.

Ключевые слова: Поэты-эмигранты, культурный ландшафт, образ города.

Революция в России в октябре 1917 года повлекла за собой небывалый отток из страны огромного количества людей, среди которых оказалось талантливые художники слова - поэты, писатели. В возникающих во многих странах мира русских колониях активно и интенсивно развивалась литературная жизнь. Культурными центрами русской диаспоры становятся такие великие города мира, как Константинополь, Берлин, Париж, Прага, Белград, Харбин, Шанхай. Несмотря на то, что для всех эмигрантов эти города были местом вынужденного проживания, поводом для ностальгии, каждый из них воспринимался ими по-особенному и наделялся индивидуальными художественными чертами. Попав в новое для себя пространство, поэты-эмигранты пытались его художественно осмыслить, ценностно определить, сообщить ему структуру и смысл. Рассмотрим, какими предстают в творчестве некоторых русских поэтов-эмигрантов 1920-30-х годов такие знаковые в их судьбах города, как Париж, Белград, Харбин.

К 1924 году центром русского зарубежья становится Париж. Перечень поэтов, поселившихся там, впечатляет. Георгий Иванов, Владислав Ходасевич, Борис Поплавский, Лидия Червинская, Анна Присманова, Александр Гингер, Юрий Терапиано, Довид Кнут, Ирина Кнорринг - лишь некоторые из поэтов-«парижан». Париж отразился в сотнях эмигрантских произведений. В какой-то мере Париж становится одной из сквозных тем русской эмигрантской поэзии. Поэзия эмигрантов о Париже - попытка почувствовать реальный образ города, в который приходилось «врастать».

Стихи о Париже отражают энергию ностальгии. Возникают поэтические конструкции, основанные на соотношении «здесь и там». Пожалуй, каждый из эмигрантов мог бы сказать о себе словами Николая Оцупа: *«Конкорд и Елисейские поля, / А в памяти Садовая и Невский...»* Поэты устремляются из «здесь» (Париж) в «туда» (Россия). В стихотворении Дона Аминадо «Бабье лето» лирический герой, грезящий о России, готов отправиться из прекрасного Парижа в маленький провинциальный русский городок Елец хоть сейчас: *«Утро. Пастушья жалейка. / Поздний и горький волчец. / Эх, если б узкоколейка / Шла из Парижа в Елец...»* [Вернуться в Россию - Стихами, 1995, 37].

Часто поэты сближают Россию и Париж. По мнению Романа Тименчика и Владимира Хазана, «в этих сближениях царят “иллюзии”, “абберации”, “смещения” памяти, “путающей” чужое пространство с родным, накладывающей одно на другое» [Тименчик и Хазан, 2006, 45]. Лирический герой может терять топографические ориентиры и уже не знать в точности, где он живет, - по сути, Россия «прорастает» в Париже. В этом контексте интересно стихотворение Михаила Струве «Январь в Париже»: в нем автору, уже старому человеку, живущему «в окрестностях Парижа», в картине наступившего января («холодный, чистый и суровый снег», «запах зимы и гари») вдруг начинается Россия. Все в увиденном ассоциативно отсылает его к русским пейзажам и ощущениям, и он признается: «Я снова старыми глазами / На побелевший мир гляжу, / И меж французскими словами / Знакомых слов не нахожу». Побелевшее от внезапно повалившего снега предместье Парижа превращается для поэта в провинциальную Россию: переступившая порог ласточка кажется ему уездной барышней или русской гимназисткой - «лисичкой, ласточкой, голубкой» в «заснеженной шубке» с «брусичным запахом уст и щёк», а за окном ему видится типично русский пейзаж - «И неожиданный и скорый / Из снежных звезд горит венец. / А за окошком у забора / Поет и плачет бубенец» [Вернуться в Россию - Стихами, 1995, 459, 460].

Одним из важнейших значений образа Парижа становится понимание его как точки высоты, на которой открываются трагические экзистенциальные истины. Так, для поэтов «парижской ноты» (Кнут, Червинская, Штейгер и др.) Париж - это своего рода «время и место», где человек узнает для себя то, о чем при обычных обстоятельствах он, возможно, никогда бы не задумался. Именно таким предстает Париж в стихах идеолога «парижской ноты» Георгия Адамовича: он убежден, что поэт должен говорить о «последних» вопросах (одиночество, смерть, надежда), и Париж как место вынужденной эмиграции дает ему, человеку, оторванному от пространства собственного языка, культуры, привычного уклада, такую возможность: «Нет доли сладостей - все потерять, / Нет радостней судьбы - скитальцем стать. / И никогда ты не был к Богу ближе, / Чем здесь, устав скучать, устав дышать, / Без сил, без денег, без любви, / В Париже...» [Вернуться в Россию - Стихами, 1995, 24].

Некоторые из поэтов подчеркивают, что в Париже так и не произошло их слияние с городом. Человек чувствует свою отделенность от города, окружающего его, не интегрируется в него. Мотивы экзистенциального одиночества, остро и пронзительно испытанного в Париже, городе красоты, особенно ощутимы в творчестве Ирины Кнорринг. Основными в ее «парижской» поэзии становятся мотивы холода, неприютности - «Я покину мой печальный город, / Мой холодный бесприютный дом...», «И все. И кончились тревоги / Чужой неласковой земли...». В ее стихах передано ощущение неразговорности в пространстве Парижа. И «большой концерт в большом парижском зале», где звучит прекрасная «музыка в притихшей ложе», и «парижская улица, где стынет ночь» - одинаково чужие для поэтессы места, которые существуют не пересекаясь, но параллельно жизни ее души, лишь усиливают ощущение ее одиночества - «И там, на улице, где стынет ночь, - / И там, где музыка, в притихшей ложе, - / Там холодно и одиноко тоже» [Вернуться в Россию - Стихами, 1995, 250, 251].

Как правило, в стихах с преобладающими в них экзистенциальными мотивами при изображении Парижа отсутствуют топонимические подробности. Город не обозначен конкретикой локальных мест. Это город вообще, некое урбанистическое пространство, в котором протекает жизнь человека, потерявшего родину. Именно так пишет о Париже Борис Поплавский. Его Париж - это трамваи, кафе, городские сады. Этот урбанистический фон лишь подчеркивает одиночество поэта. Париж в оценках Бориса Поплавского амбивалентен. В нем холодно, одиноко и страшно («*Как холодно. Молчит душа пустая...*»), он же заставляет пережить особенные состояния духовного прозрения («*И сквозь жар, ночной, священный, адный, / Сквозь лиловый дым, где пел кларнет, / Запорхает белый беспощадный / Снег, идущий миллионы лет*» [Вернуться в Россию - Стихами, 1995, 386]).

Противоположной «деструктивной» тенденции в изображении Парижа назовем линию, представленную стихами, в которых передается прекрасный облик этого города, запечатлены его очарование и шарм, увидены его древняя свежесть и красота. Париж может вдохновлять, помочь справиться с упадком чувств, оказать своего рода психотерапевтическое воздействие.

Так, например, Александр Неймирок в стихотворении «Парижское утро» запечатлевает прекрасное начало дня, когда город для вышедшего на прогулку поэта открывается в его замечательной панораме, соединяющей вытянутое вдоль Сены горизонтальное пространство Парижа («*Заиграла темная река», «У слепых лавчонок букинистов / Приостановись и посмотри, / Как дрожит в сиянии волнистом / Дымчатый утес Консьержери*») с его устремленностью вверх, к высоте («*Отозвались эхом многократным / Башни, голуби и облака*»). Поэт словно присутствует при рождении красоты: «*А вокруг, совсем необычайна, / Радостная розовая тишь. / Это зов тысячелетней тайны. / Это просыпается Париж*» [Вернуться в Россию - Стихами, 1995, 343, 344]. Владимир Злобин пытается побороть свое одиночество прогулкой по Парижу («*В окне все так же небо хмурится, / Все тот же кашель за стеной. / А ты оденься и - на улицу, / Да погуляй хотя б весной*»), и он растворяет тоску и душевную печаль в красоте и прелести Сены, острова Ситэ: «*Когда над Сеною смеркается, / Но не зажгли еще огней, / И лодка легкая качается / В сияньи ровном без теней, / Пустынный остров - как видение. / Ты к берегам его причаль, / И на единое мгновение / Сольются радость и печаль*» [Вернуться в Россию - Стихами, 1995, 222].

Можно говорить об особой оптике и поэтике эмигрантского восприятия Парижа. Париж вошел в поэзию русского зарубежья и как тема, и как присущий этой теме определенный стиль. «“Париж” <...>, конечно, условный термин», - писал Юрий Терапиано. Париж - это сдержанность стиха, это уровень вкуса.

Трудно переоценить ту роль, которую сыграли балканские страны: сегодняшние Сербия, Черногория, Мекедония, Хорватия, Словения, Болгария - в литературных судьбах русских поэтов-эмигрантов первой волны. Не случайно первый зарубежный Съезд русских писателей и журналистов (1928), участниками которого были члены Парижского, Пражского, Берлинского, Белградского, Варшавского Союзов, открылся именно в Белграде. Такое явление, как прибытие на Балканы в 1919-1920 гг. двухсот тысяч русских, Мирослав Йованович в девятивековой пульсирующей истории отношений России и Балкан называет «одним из наиболее драматических, психологически

сложных и исключительно плодотворных в культурном аспекте событий в русско-балканских взаимоотношениях» [Иванович, 2005, 7 - 8].

Безусловно, особенное место в судьбах представителей литературы русского зарубежья первой волны занимало Королевство сербов, хорватов, словенцев. С ним были тесно связаны судьбы Ильи Голенищева-Кутузова, Екатерины Таубер, Михаила Залесского, Лидии Алексеевой, Алексея Эйснера, Александра Неймирока, Алексея Дуракова и др. Белград оказался для многих из них тем городом, где они учились, находили работу, писали стихи, печатались.

Очевидно, что в стихах о Белграде и о Балканской Европе, принадлежащих эмигрантам первой волны, доминирует «позитивное» начало. Вместе с тем, отношение поэтов к «балканскому» топосу имеет свои оттенки.

Теплота и задушевность интонаций характеризуют стихи русских поэтов-эмигрантов, посвященных Сербии. Столицу Сербии - Белград - русские поэты запечатлели как место, ставшее родным. Лидия Алексеева, например, воспринимает Белград как «свой», дорогой и родственной душе, город. Изображая начавшуюся весну в прекрасном и легком, ставшем родным городе, она пишет: «А у нас в Белграде, / Хоть ледок еще на лужах прочен, / Но вороны с криком гнезда ладят, / И трава пробилась у обочин / Тех тропинок» [Алексеева, 2007, 358]. С Белградом чувствует свою тесную спаянность и Нонна Белавина. В стихотворении «Белград», вспоминая свою юность, проведенную в этом городе, она перечисляет те его локусы (парк, театр, университет, церкви, «Споменик»), которые навсегда остались жить в ее сердце: «Я в этот парк спешила на свиданье... / А в этот дом за пачкой новых книг. / Сюда, дрожа, бежала на экзамен. / А там сиял искусства строгий храм...», «И старый парк, и церкви, и "Споменик"... / О, город мой, проти меня, прости!» [«Мы Жили Тогда на Планете Другой...», 1997, 145].

Георгий Гачев, размышлявший о «балканском космо-психо-логосе», заметил, что его оригинальность определяется «"рожденностью" <...> вблизи Природы» [Гачев, 1998, 257]. Многие русские поэты подчеркивают особенное природное начало в балканском топосе. Весьма характерна в этой связи строчка из текста Зинаиды Ковалевской, перечисляющей страны, ставшие звеньями ее эмигрантского пути, где Балканы ассоциируются не с «цивилизацией и культурой», но с «природой»: «И сплетались цветные узоры - / Снег на горных балканских вершинах, / И вода голубого Босфора, / И ночные Парижа витрины» [«Мы Жили Тогда на Планете Другой...», 1997, 154]. Как видим, здесь «урбанистический» Париж противопоставлен «природному» миру Балакан.

Для Екатерины Таубер балканская «глушь» дает возможность выпасть из современности: «Не видно моря. Облака / На небе выцветшем застыли. / Кустарник пощипать слегка / Пришла коза из древней были, / <...> / Здесь остаюсь на целый день, / Пьяна сладчайшим тонким хмелем. / О эта глушь и эта лень...» [«Мы Жили Тогда на Планете Другой...», 1994, кн. 3, 33]. В созданной Екатериной Таубер картине природы нет ничего урбанистического - только «выцветшие облака», «кустарник», «коза из древней были». Но именно это и рождает ощущение «райского оцепенения», отсылает к библейскому пейзажу.

Балканы представлены как «timeless land» («земля без времени») и в стихотворении Михаила Залесского «Билеча». Михаил Залесский называет Билечу, местечко, бывшее в прошлом Австро-Венгерской крепостью на границе Черногории, «центроглушью». Билеча все время вспоминается ему и не оставляет его памяти: «Мне часто ночами снится / Серых гор и туманов встреча: / Черногорская граница: / Угол Богом забытый - Билеча» [*«Мы Жили Тогда на Планете Другой...»*, 1994, кн. 3, 126].

Подчеркнуто «природным», спасительным и гармонизирующим отношения человека с миром предстает «сербский» ландшафт в стихотворении Алексея Дуракова «Вранье». Приезд во Вранье для поэта - выход в другое измерение. Вранье как художественный локус вбирает в себя разнообразные оттенки смыслов: это и граница, перейдя которую, лирический герой попадает из цивилизации в природу («Из духоты, от жизни пыльной / Да вдруг в благословенный край»); и окно в мир красоты, света и гармонии («...А в небе - синь и воронье»); и место, с которым связывается надежда на обретение душевного и физического выздоровления («...и воздух солнышком разнежен / И для чахоточных грудей / Всевышней властью обезврежен / Над морем высоты своей» [*«Мы Жили Тогда на Планете Другой...»*, 1994, кн.2, 227].

Иногда поэты подчеркивают величественность и тождественность балканского пейзажа. Это можно увидеть в строчках «Далматинской элегии» Ильи Голенищева-Кутузова: «Непобедимая армада облаков / Плывет торжественно над Адрией ночной, / Над безнадежностью безлюдных островов, / Над этой жесткою и голою скалой...» [*«Мы Жили Тогда на Планете Другой...»*, 1994, кн. 3, 91].

В лирических опусах русских поэтов, живших на Балканах, природное начало в «балканском» ландшафте дополняется историко-культурной составляющей. Поэты глубинно ощущают силу и обаяние балканского мира, сложившегося на перекрестке культур. Об этом свидетельствует стихотворение Алексея Дуракова «Дубровник», в котором автор пристально всматривается в лик древнего города, покровителем которого стал католический святой Влаха: «Из темной порыжевшей ниши / Взирает сокрушенно Влаха / На голубей на древней крыше, / На мох на треснувших стенах» [*«Мы Жили Тогда на Планете Другой...»*, 1994, кн. 2, 230]. В лирическом опусе Лидии Алексеевой «На Адриатике» Дубровник - уникальное место в мире, где «накопились» культурные традиции: «Так же о дарах святой свободы / Возвещает стройная латынь. / Этот звон - и этот камень серый... / Если ж взгляд на Локрум подниму - / Вижу в дымке царственной галеры / Плавно уходящую корму» [Алексеева, 2007, 132].

Наконец, еще одним центром русской зарубежной литературы 1920-30-х годов следует признать Китай - в Харбине, Шанхае, Тяньцзине, Пекине реализовывали себя многие талантливые русские поэты и писатели. В дальневосточной русской литературе возникает интереснейший феномен - поэзия так называемой «харбинской ноты». Это художественное явление, предсталенное творчеством Арсения Несмелова, Алексея, Ачаира, Валерия Перелешина, Ларисы Андерсен, Марианны Колосовой, Николая Щеголева, Александры Паркау и др., сложившееся в специфических геополитических, социо- и этнокультурных условиях, можно охарактеризовать как вполне самостоятельную и талантливую ветвь русской поэзии.

Для дальневосточных русских поэтов Харбин был особенным городом - по словам Елены Таскиной, городом, в котором они существовали «под чужим, хотя и гостеприимным небом, на фоне уникального мира старого Китая» [Таскина, 2005, 37]. Харбин, несомненно, символизируется и мифологизируется в стихах русских поэтов.

История Харбина напоминает им петербургский миф - подобно Петербургу, нерусскому городу, выросшему посреди болот, Харбин, в их видении, возникает из степей Маньчжурии как город русский. Эту мифологическую модель использует, в частности, Арсений Несмелов в своем стихотворении «Стихи о Харбине». В нем он реконструирует историю возникновения Харбина, сразу же отсылая сознание читателя к известной сторочке о рождении Петербурга «...тут будет город заложен»; поэт задает риторический вопрос: «*Перед днем Российской встряски, / Через двести лет, / Не петровской ли закваски / Запоздалый след?*» И если Петербург возник в болотах, превратившись в европейский город, то Харбин, появляющийся в степях «*без тропы и без дороги*», становится городом русских: «*Здесь построим русский город, / Назовем - Харбин*». Поэт гордится красотой города, в котором, правда, по его предположению, вскоре забудут, что он построен «русской рукой»: «*Милый город, горд и строен, / Будет день такой, / Что не вспомнят, что построен / Русской он рукой*» [Русская Поэзия Китая, 2001, 328, 329].

Во многих стихах русских эмигрантов в Китае Харбин воспринимается «землей обетованной». Харбин поэтизируется, наделяется чертами удивительного города, в котором человек чувствует себя находящимся в гармонии с миром. Ирина Лесная называет Харбин «чудесным», уверяет, что живет в «*нашем уютном маленьком Харбине*» [Русская Поэзия Китая, 2001, 281]. Виктория Янковская в стихотворении «Харбинская весна» мартовский Харбин видит во всей прелести пробуждения и неброского шарма: ее пьянят первые весенние запахи («...в саду запахло талой прелью»), у нее вызывают восторг радующиеся теплу голуби («...урчат, блаженствуют и пляшут - / Их шейки - радужней, синей»), ее пронзает эфемерно-бестелесная красота воздуха, поднимающегося от земли («*А воздух - золотой и тонкий, / Ихсходит нежность от земли...*») [Русская Поэзия Китая, 2001, 609, 610].

Впрочем, экзотическая красота Харбина с «*мистическими лицами*», «*бегущим рысцою рикшей*», «*солнечных в зимах днями*», «*незнакомкой <...> в ярком кимоно*» рождает у Василия Логинова состояние, которое он называет «*эпической мирной тоской*», «*покоем*», «*ленью*» и которое он пытается преодолеть мечтой о Париже и чтением Гомера: «*...домой вернуться. В свете тусклых свеч / Поужинать, мечтая о Париже. / И ты, Гомера кованая речь, / За Сунгари звучишь не очень странно*» [Русская Поэзия Китая, 2001, 293, 294].

Для Варвары Иевлевой Харбин - это город, от которого она бежит и к которому притягивается одновременно. Это противоречивое отношение вбирает в себя характеристика «*странный город*», которая впоследствии все более и более уточняется. Харбин - это город подлинности и маскарадности («*Город, где сквозь маску пестрого наряда / Смотрит полудикий сумрачный Восток*»), искренности и цинизма («*Где слова без смысла - нежность и пощада...*», «*Где ничто не честно, где ничто не свято, / Где звучит насмешкой звон колоколов*»). Тем не менее магнетический для поэтессы город, по ее признанию, не может быть вытравлен из памяти ничем: «*Город, где*

скрестились пыльные дороги, / Я в свой час последний вспомню о тебе» [Русская Поэзия Китая, 2001, 214].

Харбин, безусловно, стал источником ностальгии русской души по настоящей родине. В стихах о Харбине обнаруживает себя целый комплекс актуальных для эмигрантской лирики мотивов, объединенных чувством ностальгии: родины / чужбины, «своего» / «чужого», чужбины как вынужденной родины, воспоминаний о родной земле. Александра Паркау в своих стихотворениях «Весна в Харбине», «Харбинская весна», «Воспоминание», «Под сиренью» запечатлела всю меру тоски по России, которая буквально настигала ее в Харбине. В весеннем Харбине ее сознание отмечает только знаки чужого и губительного: «...песочными смерчами / Метет на улице жестокий ураган», «...протяжный вой тайфуна, / Дыханье стиснуто удушливой волной», «...рвется в воздухе пятиполосный флаг», «кругом густая мгла, пирушка злобной тьмы». Поэтессе хочется увидеть настоящую русскую весну и испытать знакомые эмоции от встречи со знакомыми реалиями русской жизни. Эту свою тоску по безвозвратно утраченному она оформляет вопросами, на которые нет ответов: «Где запах первых трав? Разбрызганные льдинки? / Великопотных служб томящий душу звон? / На вербах розовых прелестные пушинки?» [Русская Поэзия Китая, 2001, 364].

Итак, Париж, Белград, Харбин для эмигрантского сознания - это не только определенные географические точки, но, скорее, метафизические и символические понятия, оказавшиеся семантически и аксиологически «плотно» наполненными, а также отразившие экзистенциальный аспект отношения человека к месту. «Проживание» поэтами конкретного - парижского, балканского, китайского в его харбинском варианте - топоса с его природными, культурными, антропогенными составляющими художественно зафиксировалось в их стихах, где нашли свое воплощение результаты восприятия «других» / «чужих» / «иных» природных ландшафтов, культур, менталитетов, а также зафиксировались поиски своей собственной национальной идентичности.

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MAINSTREAM LITERATURE FOSTERING INTERCULTURAL AWARENESS

Abstract: Whenever languages and cultures are in contact, intercultural awareness becomes one of the decisive factors establishing the ensuing dialogue. Multicultural mainstream literature can contribute to sensitization of readers to cross-cultural communication. This is proven by presenting Harper Lee's novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960), one of the classics of multicultural fiction. This book was proclaimed the American bestseller of the twentieth century and was translated into several languages. The aim of the research paper is, first, to analyse the multicultural issues presented in this literary work and, second, to establish how multicultural awareness is fostered in the text. The notions of culture and identity are tackled by applying Stuart Hall's and Werner Sollors' theories on fluctuation of culture and construction of identity. The study proves that the novel presents the issues related to racial identity and that the elaboration of all fictional entities promotes intercultural awareness and advocates multicultural communication.

Key words: mainstream literature, intercultural awareness, multicultural dialogue, the other, identity, *To Kill a Mockingbird*

Introduction

Whenever languages and cultures are in contact, intercultural awareness becomes one of the decisive factors establishing the nature of the ensuing dialogue. Even though it appears that international organisations put particular stress on the importance of teaching intercultural skills and competences to the young, it is generally expected that adults manage to handle the complex realities of our societies. When the year 2008 was proclaimed The European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, one of the aims of the proclamation was "to inspire" people to tolerance and mutual respect "which are prerequisites for intercultural dialogue" (http://ec.europa.eu/culture/portal/events/pdf/proposal_en.pdf). Admitting that official declarations and organized public actions and manifestations may serve as a kind of inspiration, it is appropriate also to pinpoint that literature has been acknowledged as a source of inspiration *par excellence*.

Quality mainstream literature, targeting mature readers with its literary value, can therefore contribute to the sensitization of adult readers to contemporary issues. Among these is the necessity of raising intercultural awareness, something which is viewed as one of the prerequisites for the peaceful coexistence of various traditions and cultures. Literature has the potential to help us see the human dimensions of "the encountered other" (32), as Derek Attridge puts it in his work *The Singularity of Literature*. If literature can help us "to respond fully to the singular otherness of the other person (and thus render that otherness apprehensible)," it means that it facilitates the process of accepting the other as an individual. At the same time it should alert readers to all those who are in one way or another akin to the fictional other and thus different from the readers themselves. When the otherness can be linked with a cultural group, our acknowledgement becomes the recognition of the uniqueness of this entity. We cannot but affirm that group as 'the other,' having all the rights of existence and thus also a right to dialogue.

The ultimate result of intercultural awareness is the creation of the atmosphere of “mutual respect which is a prerequisite for intercultural dialogue” (http://ec.europa.eu/culture/portal/events/pdf/proposal_en.pdf) as established in the official documents claiming the importance of the European Year of intercultural dialogue.

Nowadays this atmosphere leading to successful cross-cultural⁴⁰ communication is to be created by the adults who are in the positions of power and decision. The adults of today are those whose influence and impact on the society will be exerted longer than those of previous generations, due to the existing demographic trends. Current generations are the first to be faced with the requirement of life-long learning policies and hence with the need to reassess their standpoints and to adapt. However, like all previous generations, they can also learn from literature. By reading literary works they can combine the pleasant and the useful: discover the singularity of the connection between society and literary texts and consider the inspiration that fiction may bring to their vision of reality. Hence, it is no wonder that nowadays when most countries have known the impact of multiculturalism, “multicultural literature remains one of the sources through which issues related to intercultural communicative competence can be successfully addressed” (Mazi - Leskovar, 278).

One of the monumental classics of multicultural fiction globally is Harper Lee’s novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960). At the start of the 21st century, the American Library Association proclaimed this book as the bestseller of the 20th century. The novel has enjoyed popularity with both professional audiences and with the reading public since its publication, and in 1961 the author was awarded the Pulitzer Prize. In 1962 the story was made into a major film. On the cover page of the First Perennial Classic edition, published in 2002, it is stated that the bestseller was translated into more than forty languages and sold in more than a million copies worldwide. However, the success of *To Kill a Mockingbird* is only a repetition of the acknowledgement that multicultural literature received at the start of the 20th century when Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin or Negro Life in the Slave States of America* (1852) was proclaimed the 19th century American bestseller. If Harriet Beecher Stowe’s book started raising the awareness of multicultural issues, Harper Lee’s masterpiece showed that in the subsequent 100 years America had become ready for forthcoming radical changes. *To Kill a Mockingbird* was written in Alabama in the time when the Civil Rights Movement led by Martin Luther King started questioning the basic multicultural texture of the USA. Even though the novel was quite timely at the date of its publication, its international success clearly proves that the text displays features that may be applicable universally to different human conditions cross-culturally.

The aim of this research paper is therefore to analyse *To Kill a Mockingbird* in the light of multicultural issues that address such a large reading public belonging to a gamut of cultural backgrounds and traditions. Moreover, the object of this contribution is to research how intercultural awareness is fostered in this novel. Hence, the fictional entities which are related to the concepts of identity and the perception of culture will be highlighted.

⁴⁰ The term cross-cultural is used as a synonym for intercultural and multi-cultural.

The interplay between culture, identity and multicultural literature

Culture has many definitions and it has been acknowledged to be one of the most difficult concepts to define. Moreover, the definitions often seem to contradict themselves. For example, the view of seeing culture as a kind of means used by individuals to structure and express their experience conceptually so that belief, knowledge, behaviour can be transmitted from one generation to the next, appears to contradict the vision that “culture is not the script which determines how its members have to act, but rather contains a wide variety of beliefs and values” (Bredella, 78). The more recent definitions of culture tend to stress in particular its role in communication (Tomalin and Stempleski, 2008) and this pinpoints the crux of the challenges in cross-cultural or multicultural communication. Cross-cultural communication, characterised by encounters between various cultures, is a challenge, and literature presenting communication issues in multicultural situations is often referred to as ‘multicultural’. Multicultural literature is above all fiction about cultural identity and fluctuation of culture.

Cultural identity in this context refers to individual and ethnic identity and in the analysis of this novel this theme will be tackled by applying Stuart Hall’s and Werner Sollors’ theories. Cultural identity has emerged as a political concern highlighting the position of marginalized groups, as for example, African - Americans, if we restrict our perspective to the situation constructed in *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Since the deconstructive critique has established itself, the view that no identity is entirely stable has been widely accepted. Terms such as “Americanness and blackness”, to enumerate only a few of those concepts related to the identity issues presented in the selected novel, are thus viewed as being subject to continual change. Culture is consequently seen as a place where identities are not only formed but also contested. Accordingly, the concept of identity is, by its very nature, subject to questioning. The cultural theorist Stuart Hall claims in his *Questions of cultural identity* that: “Identities are never unified and, in late modern times, they are increasingly fragmented and fractured positions” (Hall, 1996:4). This is another confirmation that identities are wholly socially constructed and that there is always the possibility of multiple and shifting identities.

The concept of cultural identity has several facets; however, with respect to the identities which are highlighted in the novel of our interest, only the personal and ethnic identities will be put to the fore. Personal identity will be viewed also in the light of Werner Sollors’ theory about the various types of links which determine an individual’s relationship to a particular culture. Sollors’ interpretation of consent and descent appears to be most suitable for the analysis of the relationships presented in the novel. Sollors uses the term descent in compliance with the general usage defined in Brown’s *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* as “the fact of descending or being descended from an ancestor or predecessor” (643). Descent relations thus reveal the person’s origin. Sollors’ term consent relations, on the other hand, expresses the relations that are not determined by nature or birth but by environment and individual choices. These encompass both the ones based on voluntary agreement and those based on acquiescence. Within the context of the novel in question, consent relations appear to be of particular importance since they are testimony that we, humans, are capable of acting “as mature free agents and ‘architects of our fate’” (Sollors, 1986: 6).

Research confirms that ethnic identities are constructed through a complex interplay between 'us and them'. "Only in relating to me is the other, and its otherness is registered" (Attridge, 30) in the way I react. The complex notion of 'us' and 'them' is thus based on the foregrounding of various aspects of existence and experience, e.g., the long-standing allegiance to a region, shared history and tradition. However, mobility, which is not an exclusive feature of modern times, has set the ground for the changes of cultures which lead to potential alterations of individual and ethnic identities. These changes, generated by inner and outer factors, have been identified with different terms. Stuart Hall has developed the concept of fluidity of cultures in his study *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. Since then the concept has been recognised by cross-cultural research which confirms that culture is not rigid but subject to alterations. It does not only change in time, it is a heterogeneous whole since decisions and actions in a culture are often contested. Culture is not uniform, it contains a wide variety of beliefs and values often "interlocking, overlapping and contradictory" (Attridge, 21). Hall developed his theory on the basis of research into diasporic situations; however, the study of multicultural literature has proved that Hall's system is applicable also to the literary context. It will therefore be applied to the selected mainstream novel.

To Kill a Mockingbird

The storyline and intercultural awareness

The novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* has become an outstanding exemplar of multicultural literary works. Due to the variety and complexity of the multicultural relationships that it illustrates, it falls into the category of multicultural books that represent "distinct cultural groups through accurate portrayal and rich detail" (Yokota, 1994, 212 - 219). At the same time it stands among literary texts which are about members of groups considered to be outside the socio-political mainstream. Consequently, the text offers a repository of motifs building the themes of cultural identity and of fluctuation of culture. It is told in retrospect by the adult Jean Louise Finch, whose nickname during the period of the story, the 1930s, when she was aged between six and nine, is Scout. Hence, the complexity of the multicultural aspects of the novel gradually reveals itself through the narrator's perception of society and the perspective she affords us of her father's standpoints.

The fictitious location presented in the narrative, which is set in Alabama, is called Maycomb. The narrator's father, Atticus, is a lawyer who has entrusted the care of Scout and her brother Jem to a black housekeeper Calpurnia. In the town, which is culturally split between the white and the black, Atticus is appointed to represent a black, Tom Robinson, who is falsely accused of raping and beating a white woman. Scout and Jem have to face a barrage of racial insults and therefore get increasingly involved in the goings on. The pre-trial atmosphere gradually uncovers the prejudices on which most of the contacts between the two races are based. The legal process itself proves that the legal and social systems prevent fair trial. Tom is convicted even though Atticus proves that he could not possibly have committed the crime. Despite the fact that Atticus has foreseen this conclusion, he uses the opportunity to pinpoint indirectly to the real offender, the accuser's father. Humiliated, the white man vows revenge. However, when he tries to kill Scout and Jem, he succeeds only in severely injuring Jem. Before being able to realise his plans, he himself is killed by the neighbour of the Finchs', a reclusive man who has

followed the multicultural clashes without actively intervening before the crucial moment. The children are rescued and they are given the opportunity to understand that there is a larger group of people who supports Atticus acting and secretly share his perception of the world.

By the close of the narrative, the children have begun to discover another and more positive aspect of Maycomb. However, even from the very start of the story Scout has tried to come to terms with the particularities of the town. She views them from a specific perspective because even though she knows that segregation is legal in the country, the equality-based education is a rule at home. The mere fact that Calpurnia is part of the family rather than simply being a servant clearly indicates that in the Finch household the black and the white cultures complement each other. The children consider race as a fact that has nothing to do with the real evaluation of the personality of an individual. Even more, the principle of empathy is not restricted to the racial issues but is a guideline to observe when considering others. Atticus repeatedly teaches his children that “you never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view-[...] until you climb into his skin and walk around in it” (33). Because he himself gives an example of this conviction by his everyday behaviour, the children try to practice this principle. However, the ethical standards that Atticus has set are high and if their realisation had not been monitored by Calpurnia, Scout wouldn't always have taken them seriously. On a few occasions, the black woman's insistence on respect for 'home rules' which required absolute respect for the other makes the girl rebel. For example, when Scout is expected to show respect for anybody who enters their house, irrespective of the way they behave, it is too much for her. To show empathy towards the ones who behave contrary to the standards in which she has been brought up is beyond the girl's understanding of the ways of the world. She protests and she is offered her father's and Calpurnia's explanation but she has to admit that she hardly understands anything about her father and his standpoints.

The theme of race and intercultural awareness

Scout has experienced multicultural environment from her tender childhood and she used to believe that she had learnt the different ways a person needs to respect till the Robinson's trial was announced. The expectation of the great event brings a new polarisation between the white and the black section of the population and it thus uncovers a part of the hidden structure of the place.

The pre-trial period and the trial itself thus become an important eye-opener for Scout, her brother Jem and Dill, a friend from Meridian. It is not only Dill, the outsider, who needs the explanation of the interracial situation in order to see what is really going on in the trial. Scout, as an insider, also needs a thorough explanation about the societal structure. Firstly, the children learn that the white community is not homogenous: class is a big separator within it. The economic factor is a strong divider and there is almost no dialogue between the two social groups. The old and rich inhabitants look with disdain at the poorer and the have-nots. Besides, they show strong suspicion of the newcomers who have changed the social landscape of the place. Secondly, the children learn that the town is not divided only in the white and black communities. There is a third community based on race that for Scout did not exist until a white man who has followed the trial, Dolphus Raymond, revealed to them the existence of Mulattos. The offspring of parents who belong to

the white and black races are treated as nobodies. Even though Raymond feels disdain for “the hell white people give colored folks, without even stopping to think that they’re people, too” (229) and, accordingly, prefers to live in the black community, he blames also the black community for its attitude towards the biracial children. “Colored folks won’t have ’em because they’re half white; white folks won’t have ’em because they’re colored, so they’re just in-betweens, don’t belong anywhere” (183). Mixed-race children do not belong anywhere. The society which has elaborated strict rules for the whites and the blacks has excluded biracial children from social life. They are invisible in the social structure because they embody the real possibility of bridging the gap between the two races which are kept apart due to the societal norms.

Thus Scout not only learns how important it is to be a member of a community. In addition, she understands that individual identity within a family is not necessarily uniform, since race as a cultural factor is not obvious. The children of bi-racial parents may appear to belong to either the white or the black race but their appearance does not always tell the whole truth about their person’s racial features. On the other hand, the protagonist is also informed about the societal viewing of race, since a single drop of black blood seems to suffice to declare a person as black. Hence, the children have to accept the fact that the notion of race is constructed in place and time. Accordingly, Scout and Jem become curious about their own descent. When informed that perhaps in the distant past their family might have had some black ancestors, they are reassured and feel even stronger empathy with the blacks. Their consent relations with the black community appear even more justified to them and they feel as if they have reconstructed the image of their personal identity. Nevertheless, Calpurnia, who is also aware of the importance of the ties with one’s own race and tradition, does her best to educate Atticus’ children in the culture of the white group.

The characters and intercultural awareness

Most of the fictional characters in the novel are adults. However, there is a group of three children that has a specific role in this work which addresses mature readers. Despite being children, each of the characters can be considered a promoter of intercultural awareness due to their critical and enquiring nature. Dill, the only character who is a child throughout the narrative, is the outsider, the one who is not really from the place even though he feels in sympathy with his Finch friends. Ironically, his involvement makes Jem and Scout reflect on the intercultural aspects of Mycomb. When he asks them about the causes and reasons of events and ways of acting, they have to acknowledge that their familiarity with the issues is only superficial. Jem, who in the course of the story reaches the age of 13, tries to understand the real nature of multicultural gaps and clashes and to put it into simple language in order to be understood. The boy attains the status of a young adult and in his wish to be like his model father he tries to put into practice the communication precepts he has learnt from his father. Scout is the main protagonist, yet her narrating voice is the voice of an adult who reconsiders the events lived as a child. Her narration is thus filtered by her adult experience and cannot avoid some impacts of her maturity.

The novel brings the whole panoply of grown-ups representing various cultural communities, standpoints with respect to the cross-cultural dialogue and varied

degrees of multicultural awareness. Taking the intercultural competence into account, the most influential adult characters are: Atticus, Calpurnia and Dolphus Raymond.

The two adult characters at the extreme poles of the line of cross-cultural encounters are Calpurnia and Dolphus Raymond. They both foster multicultural awareness, each in a particular and specific way. Calpurnia as a black woman spends most of her time in the house of a white family where she has the function of a substitute mother. She is self-confident and respected by the family she works for. She likes the children whom she refers to as “my” when she talks to the other members of the establishment. Her identity is obvious, she is versatile in the white and the black cultures and she is culturally aware: she knows how to adapt to her environment in order to enable the best communication possible. By practising openly the two cultural codes and by living with the family, she can become a model for the white girl. Raymond, by contrast, has to play a drunkard in order to protect his family and himself from the vengeance of the governing white community. Knowing the values of the whites, he has to accept his self-imposed outsider’s position in order to be able to live in the black community. His respect for Atticus makes him reveal his real nature to Scout and Jem. By being honest with them, he gives them the most important lesson on fluctuation of culture, on construction and reconstruction of identity, on the importance of consent relations. He is the one who explains to the young fictional characters that community is vital for the survival of an individual. His way of coping with the social exclusion of his mulatto children shows that he knows that the level of multicultural awareness depends on various factors and that it cannot be prescribed by the authorities. Besides, his testimony proves that intercultural dialogue is possible also when the societal conventions are created by groups which are not in favour of cross-cultural exchange. If Calpurnia appears to accept the status quo of the society she lives in, Raymond questions it and with his ‘subversive’ lifestyle prepares its collapse.

Atticus in his role of a father and a lawyer seems to harmonise both attitudes. He is not only aware of the intercultural situation of his place, region and country but also discusses it when asked, even if the question is put by his children. He speaks to his children in an adult-like manner and he teaches them the art of survival in their specific intercultural context. He believes in the success of the art of compromise and peacemaking. In his calm way he tries to make it clear that the prerequisite for successful dialogue is the awareness of the interlocutor. For him this means above all to be aware of the possibility of adopting the standpoint of the other. The way he instructs Scout how to communicate with her teacher who is a newcomer in Maycomb shows that he considers cultural background as important. His fostering of intercultural dialogue is effective because he is not prejudiced and because he respects people on the basis of their personality and not their race or social status. It is significant that he does not so much fight for Tom because he is an African American, but because he is convinced that the black man is wrongly accused.

Conclusion

The novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* was written in a very specific multicultural context, the period when the black section of the American nation rose in a peaceful way in an attempt to change the inhuman circumstances which had drastically marked not

only the identity of Afro-Americans but also the identity of the rest of American citizens. In order to address her audience, Harper Lee spoke about a fictitious place, within a narrative located in a real state of the American south. She highlighted the intercultural context typical of the first half of the 20th century. These facts could have trapped the text between the steps that America had to make in order to enable its citizens to engage in this intercultural dialogue. However, the artistry of the author created a narrative that surpasses the geographical and temporal borders of its publication. Moreover, by constructing a multi-layered text, the book can address both mature and educated readers and younger and less demanding audiences for it allows several levels of reading.

To Kill a Mockingbird may thus be approached as a *Bildungsroman*, a story of a white girl who gradually unveils the multicultural situation between the whites and the blacks in a society where her father struggles for the rights of the blacks and the have-nots and eventually fails. As a coming-of-age story, the book is also a narrative about the importance of family ties: of the father who takes his children seriously and of the girl who starts learning about the black community. Additionally, it is a story of a friendship between the Finch children and Dill, the boy who tries to understand the relationships between races in the town of Mycomb.

The book can also be read primarily as a story about cross-cultural encounters between the members of two races which, despite the fact that all are citizens of the same state and inhabitants of the same place, seem not to have much in common. In this case the novel becomes above all a narrative of fluctuation of culture concerning primarily racial and linguistic issues and the construction and deconstruction of identity. This reading will highlight the role of those individuals who come into contact with the members of the other group, above all the situations of Calpurnia and Dolphus. The first is put into the limelight as a black woman proud of her tradition and willing to make this experience available to the Finch children. Her familiarity with the two cultural codes makes her a go-between for the two races: she stands out because she shows respect for the background of all individuals and because her behaviour confirms that she believes that each community has the right to develop its culture. Dolphus, a white man who is a loser in the eyes of his source community, is highlighted as the one who confirms that the fluctuation of cultures is a fact, regardless of the attitudes displayed by the white and the black communities. His revealing explanation of the racial landscape identifies him as a severe critic of the society. His accusation against both races makes the white children reconsider their consent relations and even their descent: they can easily embrace the idea of reconstructing their identity.

However, the *To Kill a Mockingbird* can also be read as a story of the challenges that every human being has to encounter in order to meet the 'other'. Then the text may, besides being a story of growing up and of inter-racial and cross-cultural encounters, turn into a narrative that speaks about intercultural awareness in its wider sense and consequently about all possible human encounters. Such a reading can elicit and support the identification of a perennial theme of human communication. The reader can discover the brilliancy of the interrelation between the theme of intercultural communication between two races - the novel's mimetic aspect, and the way the theme is expressed through the story and the characters, through the setting and the atmosphere - through the novel's creative-imaginative

aspect. The interplay of these major features of this literary work constitutes the literary value of the novel (Lamarque and Olsen, 449) which can relate to any cross-cultural situation where “the ‘other’ is in question and where the ‘I’ has to adjust to the ‘other’ in order to acknowledge it” (Attridge, 30).

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“HISTORY IS A DARK LAND” - (CANADIAN) FICTION INTO (SERBIAN) FACT⁴¹

Abstract: The paper explores three works by Canadian authors of Serbian origin: David Albahari's *Gotz and Mayer*, Dragan Todorović's *The Book of Revenge* and Dodić's *Madness of History*. The focus will be on fiction as a significant agent of intercultural communication which can bridge the gap of misunderstanding between cultures and ethnicities kept apart by distances and lack of reliable information. Fiction can often supply facts that are not readily available through the media or history books. The works presented in the paper bring Serbian culture closer to the Canadian reader, and thus contribute to the goal of building constructive and productive cultural relationships.

Key words: history, fiction, Canada, Serbia, culture, communication, information

In his novel *Götz and Meyer* David Albahari makes numerous references to history, and creates a couple of memorable metaphors. In one of them he says: “History is a dark land... You're damned if you venture in, and damned if you don't” (62). The originality of this metaphor lies not so much in depicting history spatially, as a land which can be explored, but in the image of darkness related to it. If history is supposed to be “the branch of knowledge that records and researches past events” (www.collections.ic.gc.ca/peh/teachers/Glossary.html), then what remains to an interested person is to simply acquaint himself with it. All the relevant facts are supposedly recorded in historical texts, unambiguous and easily accessible, with no room for obliqueness or fiction. It is, therefore, startling that Albahari relates an element of evil magic or witchcraft to it. First, it requires daring to venture into that dark land, and then, whether you do or don't, you may be cursed. These curious ideas reflect Albahari's realisation that researching history can be very unsettling, especially if one wants to deal with the still very sore issue of the Holocaust.

On the other hand, his masterful novel insists on pondering the darkness of history, implying that the facts written down in history books or publicised through the media are not all there is to history, since history is “a written reconstruction and interpretation of the past” (www.lib.unc.edu/instruct/manuscripts/glossary). A lot remains unknown for various reasons and Albahari, as many other authors, puts forward the idea that literature can have a cognitive and educative function. I propose to analyse the significance of historical facts given in three books by Canadian authors of Serbian origin in the context of cultural contacts.

In our modern times of globalisation, when the world is gradually shrinking into McLuhan's global village, it seems easy for cultures to get in contact. Different parts of the world can be brought closer to each other either through a spectrum of media, or through international travel, not to mention the academia and its publications. It would be therefore logical that the representations we make of the Other are fairly correct, be it a country, a nation, or an ethnicity. Yet, nothing could be further from the truth. Distortions of the facts, misrepresentations of the

⁴¹ This paper is part of the Project 148024D, financed by the Ministry of Science and Environmental Protection of the Republic of Serbia.

causes, falsifications of the consequences out of ignorance, faulty information or downright manipulation are more of a rule than an exception. For this reason, even the most benevolent citizen of one of the most tolerant countries like Canada is likely to create an incorrect picture of the Other at issue. Given the recent events in former Yugoslavia, this is more than likely, especially in the way Serbian culture, understood simply as the way of life shared by the members of a society, is experienced.

A euphemism that the image of Serbia in the world is unfavourable at the moment will suffice. On the one hand, the negative image may have been caused by the failure of the authorities to project a more complete picture of the Serbian culture at the right time. On the other hand, direct cultural contact through travel is in the case of Serbia insignificant as a source of information that would improve its rating in the world, considering the number of foreigners who visit the country for whatever reason. What remains are the media which are, objective or biased, never immune to the mechanisms of adverse political propaganda. Even scholarly work manifests a tendency to prejudice which will be difficult to correct. For example, a collection of essays I happened to read last, a theoretical reader on the phenomenon of the Holocaust, refers to Serbia in two instances. First, Yehuda Bauer mentions Serbs among Poles, Czechs, and Russians in the context of Jewish extermination as analysed by Lemkin (Bauer, 452). However, he does not offer any statistics, nor does any other author in the reader, on the number of murdered Jews and Serbs, so that the picture of mass murders in Serbia is not even sketched. The other instance is found in the Introduction to the chapter *Rethinking Visual Culture*, where the editors, Neil Levi and Michael Rothberg, say: "Finally, questions about the power and meaning of photographic images of the camps have arisen again in recent years as pictures of emaciated prisoners behind barbed wire in Serbian concentration camps appeared in newspapers around the world" (Levi, 373). I am not saying that the editors had a particular message which they wanted to pass to their readers, but the effect of this reference, whether it did or did not reflect the reality, has probably the same effect on the small circle of cultural students as the newspaper photo had on the vast readership all over the world. Not the authorities or perpetrators, but the whole culture is being denigrated.

For fairness' sake, I will not discuss the third instance which may be understood again as implied anti-Serbian propaganda when the editors refer to "the recent use of mass rape as an instrument of genocidal violence in Bosnia" (Levi, 9), since it is not directed against a particular ethnicity. But the point is that in a very good theoretical reader of 485 pages about a historical event that, among others, decimated all nationalities of the population of Serbia in WW2, Serbian culture is inadequately portrayed. I believe it can be proved that by reading only three works of fiction published in English by Canadian authors of Serbian origin, one can create a much more complete and objective picture of Serbian culture. The books in question are: Dodić's *The Madness of History*, Albahari's *Götz and Meyer*, and Todorović's *The Book of Revenge*. These books are not a representative sample by any standards which may hopefully contribute to the goal of objectivity.

The back-cover of *The Madness of History* published by Exile Editions in 1994 does not tell us anything about Dodić, apart from the fact that this is his first novel. It is only by his name that one can tell he is of Serbian decent, and of course by the content of his novel whose title is very indicative of his attitude to Serbian history.

Despite certain stylistic shortcomings attributable to the author's inexperience, the novel offers to a Canadian reader an interesting short survey of the most significant events in Serbian history along with an insight into some elements of Serbian culture. The story is about a young woman, Mara Rustic, a typical Canadian, whose Yugoslav roots are gradually revealed. She is twenty eight, employed at a book store, single and independent, very much aware of her gender rights, and cherishing common Canadian ideals. She says:

I have two one-word mottos by which I live my life: civility, privacy. I don't pry, and I say thank you and excuse me and I'm sorry so fast my lips don't move. If I happen to be asked a question I deem too personal, I nod in silence, or look away, or mumble to myself, waiting for the awkward moment to die of negligence (76-7).⁴²

She loves poetry and reading but as a practical and realistic person, she keeps down to the earth, knowing she is not Joan of Arc, Anne Frank, Eva Braun, or Sylvia Plath. What she implicitly promises the reader is the dullness of her life which she ungrudgingly accepts. Yet, on the first page, Dodić describes her climbing the stairs to her apartment and feeling uncomfortable about “all that movement and effort and face-to-face” (7). She does not know that the letter informing her of her father's death will precipitate her into a mode of living where she will have to come face-to-face with a different reality.

By origin, Mara shares the destiny of many Yugoslavs. Her mother, Jelina, was a Macedonian who left the native village as a girl, her parents looking for better opportunities in Serbia. The youngest child, Nick (Nikola), was left behind with an aunt, and was never reunited with the family. This reflects the common fate of many Yugoslavs who had to move or emigrate for economic reasons. Such was the case with Mara's own family, who went to Canada after WW2. According to Lopusina (1998), a Serbian historian, there were seven waves of emigration from Yugoslavia, which makes it almost a generational phenomenon, with predictable consequences: families are fragmented and become dysfunctional, while the strain of adaptation causes psychological problems. Mara's father Anthony (Antonije) works as a night guard while her mother scrubs and cleans the homes of those more fortunate. When a baby brother, Danny (Danilo), is born, the mother gives in to psychosis, and the father who believes he failed her leaves with the baby-son back for Yugoslavia. Mara is left without her brother, just like her mother before her. The pattern of fragmentation and pain characteristic of so many immigrant families is established. The civil wars of the 90s further confirm it, as Mara will learn when she finally visits Serbia and discovers that her brother is also separated from his own family. The reader likewise learns about this persistent “curse” of Serbian culture, always driven out of its home and homeland, exposed to historical vicissitudes.

When Mara gets a summer job at the book shop, it is already the time of war in Yugoslavia (1991-94), which gives her an excuse to tell the reader about the history of the country. She is not mistaken assuming that most people in Canada knew nothing about Yugoslavia, apart from the 1984 Winter Olympics, and the 1914

⁴² All references to the text of the particular novel are marked by the relevant page number in parenthesis following the quotes.

assassination of the archduke Franz Ferdinand which launched WW1. Scholarly studies published before the civil wars, such as the book *Yugoslavia* printed in Great Britain as part of the “Nations of the Modern World” series in 1961, did not provide more than a tourist guide and conciliatory rhetoric. So Mara reads other books to be able to give a summary of Slavic history in her teenager’s idiom. She is fascinated by the excessive violence, which is not surprising since she identifies with the Canadian culture of peace. Likewise, her vocabulary specific to her age and pop-culture throws more objective light on the events she lists. The evolution of Serbian culture is seen from the perspective of an uninvolved and unbiased observer, full of mocking glee at all the unimaginable atrocities.

She starts with the year 1014 when the Slavs were attacked by the Byzantine Empire. The leader of the Slavs, Samuilo, was beaten by Basil the Second, whose reputation for brutality was well-deserved. Over fourteen thousand of Slavs were surrounded on the banks of the Struma river, with most of them eventually captured. Then Basil sent them back to Samuilo in groups of one hundred men, all blinded except for one man, left with one eye to guide the rest. This nightmare lasted for six days and nights, and was brandished in the collective memory of the people. This was neither the first nor the last battle disastrously lost by the Slavs.

Serbian history can pride itself on the first Legal Code in that part of the world. Mara describes how King Dušan in the mid-fourteenth century, with the assistance of the Orthodox Church, founded the famous Legal Code (Zakonik). Mara laughs at the alleged justice and humaneness of this document which defined the penalty for every crime as “the cutting off (or pulling out) of the following body parts: fingers, toes, hands, feet, arms, legs, breasts, buttocks, testicles, tongues, noses, ears and, perhaps with a nod to Basil the Second, eyes” (54). However, she also informs the reader of the first attempts to create a well-organised state which could protect its citizens, thus offering a corrective to the common picture of Serbia as a barbaric country.

Reading *The Madness of History*, one can also learn about a legendary cultural figure from the fourteenth century, Serbian Jefimija. Her exceptional gift for singing became her curse. Despot Uglješa the Unclean heard of her haunting, sepulchral voice, and married her though she was only ten. Then he hanged her whole family. When he was killed in the Battle of Marica in 1371, she remained with her in-laws only to be publicly raped after the Battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389, after which she found refuge in Prince Lazar’s court. When he himself was killed by the Turks, she went to a covenant, took a vow of silence, and turned her singing gift into beautiful golden embroideries. This mythical story about art and life is dear to many Serbian people who still cherish her embroidered epistles as the precious cultural heritage and the first recorded women’s writing. However, what is more important is the information Mara provides about the two battles crucial for Serbian history. That was the time of discord among small Serbian states which could not get united, while, disunited as they were, they became pray to the Ottoman Empire. The Turks invaded the Balkans and for five hundred years ruled the area, consistently exploiting and humiliating the Serbian people. If nothing else, this can explain the hatred of oppression inbred in the nation. When the infamous assassination of 1914 happened in Sarajevo, it was 28 June, Vidovdan, the national day of mourning for Serbia’s defeat at Kosovo Polje. It was a wrong choice of date for the manifestation of foreign power. At that time, just before WW1, a national

underground movement was created under the name “Union or Death”, which sought independence for Slav states from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At the early stages of WW2, when the pro-German government signed a Protocol by which Yugoslavia joined the Axis Pact, the people walked out in the streets on 27 March 1941 shouting “War is better than the Pact!” and “Death is better than slavery!” All these mottos become more meaningful and less irrational if one is acquainted with the Turkish past of the Slavic peoples.

Through Mara, Dodić also informs the reader of other important and interesting characters from our part of the world: Šćepan Mali who came to rule Montenegro on false pretences (killed in 1774), Prince Danilo of Montenegro (strangled in 1860), Prince Mihailo of Serbia (slain in 1861), and Aleksandar Obrenović who was axed to death with his wife Draga Mašina on Christmas day in 1903. Mara is now 28 and she can only say: “My God, they must be genetically programmed. Different” (59). She forgets that if this is in the genes, then the same ones are running through her veins, too. As a Canadian, she is predictably prejudiced and wary, but also curious, so learning about her father’s death, she decides to go to Serbia and meet her brother again. She manages to find him in an asylum, his humanity completely broken after he had been forced by his superiors to commit unimaginable crimes. Mara is also broken, she does not want to be there, she wants to go home, away from this reality she came face-to-face with.

This episode, nevertheless, reveals another cultural trait that Dodić repeatedly goes back to: respect for luck. Mara’s father used to say: “It’s bad luck to lie in bed when the sun’s up” (9), a superstition which was probably meant to make people work in daytime, and rest at night. When a wrong boy was shot by a Nazi soldier for the cigarettes her father actually stole as a child, the only explanation he can offer is “Luck.” When Jefimija, the heavenly singer, is married to the Despot, her luck brought her nothing but misery. So finally, when Mara meets her dehumanised brother, she remembers her father: “My father was right, it’s all luck, look what bad luck did to my little brother” (137). Her insane brother, kept in a Croatian hospital for murdering a Moslem family, killing his commanding Serbian officer, saving a Moslem child, is in the grip of bad luck that will not change.

This fatalistic reconciliation with bad fate is as much a Serbian trait as their obsession with the past. Maybe not only Serbian. A Croatian taxi-driver in Toronto explains to Mara on her way to the airport and Serbia:

We are a sick bunch. No foresight, just backsight. We live in the past. We eat the past. We want to take what’s already burnt and cook it differently. Always the past, never the future. Who killed whom, who is to blame for what. Revenge, revenge, revenge, and then, when that’s done, a *little more* revenge” (79).

This helps to understand the present and the Slavic obstinacy concerning some issues if one knows of this cultural feature. *The Madness of History* elucidates the apparent irrationality of the Serbian nation in a fictionalised way which occasionally has a powerful impact. Mara in the end accepts her typical Serbian features, the oversized nose and high cheekbones, as well as the warm embrace of her sister-in-law, the communion with the Other that is part of her self. The novel ends in this loving embrace that throws a different light on Serbian culture and promises a more informed future.

In his novel *Götz and Meyer*, originally published in Serbia in 1998 by Stubovi kulture and then in 2005 by Vintage, Random House, David Albahari focuses on a short historical period during WW2 and German occupation of Belgrade. His narrator shows an indicative distrust of history knowing that it is impersonal as a science and that at the level of the individual it would be impossible to grasp it. "That was why every history came down to searching for the smallest and largest common denominators, as if every person was the same, and all human destinies were equal" (34). To prove that this is not so he describes the fate of Belgrade Jews, and gives the reader an opportunity to learn a lot about what history books do not mention.

On 16 April, 1941, ten days after the bombing of Belgrade, the German occupying forces issued an order to register and identify all Jews. On 13 July the Municipality of Belgrade submitted the report to the Ministry of the Interior registering 9,500 Jews. On 30 May another order was issued by the military commander in Serbia obliging all Jews and Gypsies to report their property within ten days. On 14 June the Legal Department sent on a list of 3,474 Jews and Gypsies who had reported their property. In mid-October 1941 all the Jewish men in Belgrade were shot, and the Fairgrounds Camp opened. By 8 December, the rest of the Belgrade Jews were transported to the Camp. According to a report dated 6 February, 1942, sent by Commander Andorfer to the Municipality of Belgrade, there were 1,136 children at the camp who were under 16 years of age, and 76 children still nursing. In mid-March 1942, Heinrich Müller, head of the Berlin Gestapo, announced in a telegram the arrival of a gas truck with two drivers. "The truck was a Saurer, a five-tonner with a box-like body, 1.7 metres high and 5.8 metres long, and it could be hermetically sealed" (3). By the spring of 1942 thirty such trucks had been produced. The Belgrade one made about fifty rounds from the Fairgrounds Camp to the burial grounds at Jajinci, and on the route asphyxiated about 5,000 Jews. In total, 700,000 people were suffocated in such trucks by the Nazis. On 10 May, 1942 the last group was taken from the Camp to Jajinci, which is when the Serbian gravediggers were also shot. Soon the rear axle broke, the truck was taken to Berlin, and then sent on other assignments. The Jewish question in Belgrade had been successfully solved, with about 90% of their population exterminated.

These are the historical facts Albahari quotes in his novel, though not in the chronological order. It is interesting that Dodić's Mara attends a Holocaust Studies course, though the author does not make much use of this detail, apart from stressing the excessive violence. Nevertheless, the detail signifies that the Holocaust was part of the Serbian cultural heritage. By reading *Götz and Meyer*, if at all interested in the Holocaust, the reader may learn most of the historical facts pertaining to the fate of Belgrade and other Jews, and also gain an insight into the consequences of the Nazi mass crime. Albahari's narrator acquires the fact that 9,500 Jews were registered in Belgrade, which is a historical fact, but history does not tell one how these men, women and children felt when they were marked and set apart from the rest of the Belgrade population where they belonged. They were not allowed on the public transport, "For Jews Forbidden" was a common sign; and a curfew was established for Jews only. It is then that history begins to crumble and fail, and the narrator comments: "No, that is not history, it is a catastrophe of cosmic proportions, in which every individual is a separate cosmos" (35). Only empathetic imagination can fathom the depths of confusion and pain at the terrible injustice and inhumanity exercised over the unfortunate Jewish people. Not only

was their freedom limited, their property confiscated, their families split, but their lives were also taken from them: men were shot, women and children gassed to death in the “soul-swallower” truck. How each of these cosmoses perished never to be brought back to life is outside history. History does not record the feelings of men in front of the firing squads nor the screams and dull thumps of women and children in the gas truck. History does not describe the shock of the Serbian gravediggers when the back door would open and the corpses would tumble out, their lips cherry-red because of carbon-monoxide poisoning, an asphyxiated woman, a convulsed little child (6). Albahari knows that it is terrible to live in history, and even more terrible to live outside it: “Whatever you do you’ll regret it forever” (62). The narrator concludes: “History was a millstone, a millstone doesn’t think why it is grinding grain” (80). That is why he resorts to literature.

Through Adam, an admittedly imaginary character, Albahari imagines what is no concern of history, “how their teeth chatter, their stomachs growl, their joints creak”:

Adam heard all those things, from other people and from himself, especially at night, when he had to bite the pillow to stop his teeth from chattering and curl up in a ball to quiet the howling of his stomach. By day, he’d double over with a nasty cramp cinching his stomach in a steel vice, but even then he kept his eyes open, because someone had to see it all and remember every humiliation, every escape into madness and flight into dreams, every bit of frostbite or bruise from being struck by the butt or kicked by boots (137).

The millstone of history grinds everybody at the camp, and does not record the weather, because history is not meteorology (98). Nor does it record the feelings of the survivors, such as Albahari’s narrator. Since the family of the nameless narrator was decimated at the Fairgrounds Camp, he is left without any clues in deciphering his own origin. History is for him “a big crossword puzzle” (61) which he does not know how to fill. Even worse, by the end of the novel he comes to believe that “Life is history... and in history no-one can help anyone else” (118). He refers to history as a sequence of events, not as a science. However, not even as a science can history help a person who was its victim. The narrator has become a question mark (166), and his life a chase after the windmills, which only a psychiatric record or literature can document. This is exactly what Albahari accomplishes through his novel offering the reader both the historical facts concerning the extermination of the Belgrade Jews and an imaginative insight into individual destinies.

In 2006, Random House Canada published *The Book of Revenge* by Dragan Todorović, subtitled significantly *A Blues for Yugoslavia*. Both the title and the subtitle of this autobiography impart a lot of information to an interested reader regarding Todorović’s attitude to the country he left for Canada. If related to the above quote from Dodić’s novel, the title clearly reflects a well-known cultural trait of the Slavic people, the need for revenge to which Todorović gives a creative personal turn and takes his revenge through writing, not fighting. The subtitle, on the other hand, refers to the most recent history of the country and the sentiments of many of its citizens.

Todorović was born in 1958, well after WW2, so he belongs to the generation that was not supposed to know 'death by government'⁴³. However, as pointed earlier, seldom is a generation in our part of the world spared the violence caused by war. It seems that the cultural formula of the Serbian people contains war destruction as its constant. *The Book of Revenge* outlines the most important periods in the post-WW2 Yugoslav and Serbian history which can hardly be separated from the personal stories of its citizens. The advantage of autobiographies over purely historical texts is the subjective and personal air they create. As Albahari claims, history is impersonal, it provides dry facts, while an autobiography may offer more relevant information in its combination of the facts and their impact on the author, his family, and the community at large. Therefore, recreating his life-experiences, Todorović leads the reader from communism and socialism to the break-up of Yugoslavia, the fledgling democracy, and his own emigration to Canada. His life story is therefore typical of the last wave of emigration, characterised by brain drain, and in a way, it confirms many of the cultural elements already mentioned. What Dodić called the glorification of violence, Todorović describes as the glorification of Serbian heroes and bravery: "The stories we heard from our grandparents and parents, as well as the stories we read in our first books, were all the same: Serbian heroes were strong people, stronger than the Turks, Germans or whoever else came to conquer us in the past, everybody loved heroes, and the biggest heroes were all dead" (42). This is very much in line with the story Mara's father told her about the stealing of cigarettes. Boys are expected to be manly, courageous, dangerously daring. Neither Dodić nor Todorović approve of this, and yet, both of them did such foolish things as children, simply because the myth of bravery is engrained in the culture.

Todorović's autobiography describes many customs of the Serbian people practiced from times immemorial, like pig slaughter in autumn, as well as some new ones, introduced during President Tito's era, like visiting WW2 battle sites or celebrating the Day of Youth, which was Tito's birthday. He takes care to explain to a foreign reader the significance of *Štafeta*:

Štafeta was a ritual, one of many the Communist system developed after the war to replace the old ceremonies and to celebrate the new era, the victory of the working class. Promising youth carried a sculpted baton throughout Yugoslavia, as if it was a long relay race, until finally it would be handed over to Tito on Youth Day, a national holiday honouring his birthday on May 25. The whole idea was to show how the socialist youth of Yugoslavia would devotedly follow Tito's revolutionary path. But this was also the way to tie the president's aging image to the metaphor of eternal youth (154).

The reader can learn a lot about how the Communist Party functioned in Serbia and especially about the Socialist Youth of Serbia, whose Secretary for Culture in 1980-81 was Todorović himself. One can also get an insight into the workings of the media in Serbia in the second half of the twentieth century, or the music scene, in both of which Todorović was very active. Likewise, quite a few culturally significant names are mentioned in the book which are still present in the everyday life of

⁴³ 'Death by government' or democide is a term coined by R. J. Rummel, who wanted to create a concept that includes all intentional government killing in cold blood.

Serbian people. Persisting political problems, Kosovo being the most prominent one, are illuminated from Todorović's personal perspective. Besides the factual information, the author naturally deals with his own delight or frustration for being part of the historical process. The struggle of his own family to move on in life, his private ups and downs, and the final decision to leave for Canada after the end of the civil wars are part of the generational experience which he brings closer to his reader. The Serbian sense of humour and his own self-irony are well illustrated in the book as well as the swearing habit common to too many Serbs. The things Todorović was proud of, like the fact that as early as 1833 the First Gymnasium was founded in his home town, or the things he hated, like the oppression of the system victimising many citizens, found a place in his narrative. If an autobiography is supposed to focus on the life and times of the author, then it got a fair deal from Todorović.

Presumably, not many of the foreign readers may be expected to know all the facts that permeate the books by Dodić, Albahari, and Todorović. In that sense, Serbian history is a dark land. However, reading their books, one can learn some of these facts and feel more comfortable when exposed to the information reaching him from other sources, be they even history books. It is interesting that all the three narrators are closely related to literature: Todorović himself is the author of at least two books besides his autobiography, Mara loves reading, especially poetry, while Albahari's narrator teaches literature. This is the strategy by which the authors indicate the cognitive significance of literature. Albahari is quite explicit about it when he says that he has, in picturesque terms, sowed the seeds of remembering that would prevent the weeds of forgetting from growing. He wanted his novel to remind and warn against the horrible facts of the Holocaust and its repetition. And though it seems that he foregrounds science in relation to literature, it is actually the other way round: "If I had a better grasp of mathematics, I wouldn't be teaching literature, in which, unlike any true science, every interpretation has equal value" (71). What he wants to say is that obstinate insistence on facts and science points to "a blind alley of the human spirit" (71). However mockingly Mara says that a library card is "a passport to knowledge" (58), she is right. It is rather in the works of art than in science that the darkness of history can be illuminated, especially when different cultures come into contact with each other.

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HIBRIDNA KULTURA U PROZI SALMANA RUŽDIJA

Apstrakt: Hibridna kultura u prozi Salmana Ruždija je rad koji ima za cilj da pruži kratak uvid u preplitanje kultura u Ruždijevim delima. U svojim romanima i pričama, Ruždi spaja Istok i Zapad, ukazujući na međusobno prožimanje dvaju svetova, posmatrano kako iz perspektive emigranata tako i iz ugla savremenog čoveka u doba globalizacije uopšte. Kroz različite životne priče, on opisuje probleme usko definisanih granica kultura i pronalaženja vlastitog identiteta u okviru njih, upućujući na sve prednosti prihvatanja hibridne kulture. Svojom prozom, Ruždi pokušava da premosti jaz između suprotnosti, dočaravajući bogatstvo koje njihovo pomirenje donosi.

Ključne reči: hibridnost, kultura, Istok, Zapad, identitet, multikulturalnost

Trenutno među vodećim i najuticajnijim piscima današnjice, Salman Ruždi jedan je od međunarodnih pisaca koji sami sebi biraju korene (Bredberi 1994: 422), a čija su dela u svim svojim aspektima hibridna i kosmopolitska. S obzirom na raznovrsne i složene mešavine kultura i tradicija, kao i tema i motiva, njegovu prozu nemoguće je svrstati u jednu kategoriju. On se istovremeno bavi historiografskom metafikcijom, magijskim i mitskim realizmom, a ponekad i čistim realizmom, pa i naučnom fantastikom, spaja Istok i Zapad, staro i novo, bajke, mitologiju, religiju, književnost i život, sa mnogo ironije, humora i igre rečima, a sve to u nameri da nam predoči kako lične preokupacije tako i savremeni svet onako kako ga on vidi. Njegova proza istovremeno je i postmoderna i tradicionalna. Mešaju se žanrovi, hronologija nije linearna, pripovedači se odlikuju nekim karakteristikama sveznajućeg pripovedača, a njihovo pripovedanje ponekad ima prizvuk usmenog predanja. Ruždi, naravno, nije jedini u čijim delima dolazi do spajanja postmodernog i tradicionalnog romana i mešanja različitih kultura, niti je jedini koji piše o temama emigracije, preobražaja, doma, korena i osećaja pripadnosti, ali to čini na sebi svojstven način, pa sva njegova dela imaju lako uočljiv lični pečat.

Budući da Ruždi stvara u doba u kome globalizacija nastavlja ono što je kolonizacija započela, spajajući narode i kulture, doba u kome se različite kulture toliko prožimaju i zavise jedne od drugih da ih je gotovo besmisleno posmatrati odvojeno, sasvim je prirodno što upravo multikulturalnost, hibridnost kao jedna od osnovnih karakteristika kulture danas, ali i problemi usko definisanih granica kulture predstavljaju neke od suštinskih elemenata njegove proze. Po rečima Edvarda Saida, kultura, onako kako je danas doživljavamo, predstavlja izvor identiteta. Ona je to što nas razlikuje od drugih. Kao takva, ponekad se pretvara u bojno polje na kome se sukobljavaju različita politička ili verska opredeljenja i ideologije. U svojoj prozi Ruždi pokušava da premosti te razlike, ukazujući na brojne prednosti prihvatanja kulture kao hibridnog spoja ponekad i naizgled nespojivih elemenata.

Na Ruždijevo viđenje kulture kao nečeg hibridnog i protejskog velikim delom uticali su njegovo poreklo i život u emigraciji. Samim tim što je rođen u Indiji koja je stecište velikog broja različitih kultura i tradicija, i to u Bombaju, po piščevim rečima najhibridnijem indijskom gradu, Ruždi je predodređen da kulturu prihvata kao amalgam. I njegovo književno poreklo predstavlja veliko bogatstvo naraznovrsnijih uticaja, koje pisac doživljava kao poliglotsko porodično stablo kome, između ostalih, pripadaju Dikens, Kafka, Gogolj i Melvil. Kao emigrant, on

priprada kulturama Istoka i Zapada, a istovremeno ne pripada ni jednoj. Stvarajući određenu ravnotežu između subjektivnosti i objektivnosti, ta pozicija pruža mu dubok uvid u obe kulture. Kao i Ormus iz romana *Tlo pod njegovim nogama*, pisac je obdaren dvostrukim vidom.

Za razumevanje Ruždijevog viđenja kulture važna je i činjenica da on piše u periodu nakon što je Indija stekla nezavisnost. U vreme redefinisanja društva i kulture, procesa koji još uvek nije završen, on ne stvara književnost otpora prema kolonizatoru, nego književnost prihvatanja baštine Imperije, koja je tokom kolonizacije postala i baština indijskog naroda. Kao i mnogi drugi poreklom iz nekadašnjih kolonija, Ruždi prihvata svoje kulturno nasleđe u celini. Upravo zbog toga kultura o kojoj piše nije nacionalna, ili nije samo nacionalna, nego internacionalna. Čak i dok predstavlja samo jednu, u njoj nailazimo na odjeke neke druge, pa je tako priča o Pakistanu u romanu *Sramota* prožeta mnogobrojnim aluzijama na englesku književnost, a muzičkom scenom Zapada u *Tlu pod njenim nogama* vladaju muzičari iz Indije.

Kao odgovor svima koji mu zameraju činjenicu da piše o svetu koji je napustio, Ruždi kaže kako su Indija i Pakistan u njegovim delima imaginarne domovine, a ne one stvarne. Zemlje u kojima je rastao više nisu ono što su nekada bile, a piščeva želja da ih predstavi ujedno je i pokušaj da ih povrati. Onima kojima, pak, smeta što piše na engleskom jeziku promiče činjenica da je to deo zadatka koji postkolonijalni pisci često sebi postavljaju kao jedan od ključnih vidova sučeljavanja sa kulturom metropole i Imperije, koristeći tehnike, diskurse i oružja nekada rezervisana samo za Evropljane (Said, 293). Kao međunarodni pisac koji piše na najrasprostranjenijem svetskom jeziku, Ruždi i time pokazuje kako njegovo kulturno nasleđe nije nacionalno nego kosmopolitsko. Preplitanje kultura Istoka i Zapada u Ruždijevom delu nije samo lične prirode. Ono je i njegov pokušaj da na neki način reši problem neprestanog povlačenja granica između kultura i insistiranja na superiornosti jedne u odnosu na ostale, problem koji se naročito često sreće u odnosu između kolonizatora i (nekadašnje) kolonije.⁴⁴

Kulture Istoka i Zapada u Ruždijevim delima tesno su povezane sa temama migracija i preobražaja, pitanjem identiteta, kako migranata tako i savremenog čoveka uopšte, kao i sa osećajem pripadnosti. Najčešće se sve posmatra iz perspektive emigranata, ljudi koji su kao i sam autor prevedeni iz jedne u drugu kulturu. U tom prevodenju, tvrdi Ruždi, nešto se nužno izgubi, ali se ponešto i dobije (Ruždi 1991: 17). Pokušavajući da premoste razlike u kulturama, Ruždijevi likovi tragaju za pomirenjem suprotnosti u sebi samima, svetova kojima i pripadaju i ne, svoje prošlosti i sadašnjosti. Kultura o kojoj je ovde reč mogla bi se nazvati kulturom izmeštenosti, kako je i Said i sam Ruždi vide. To je posebna vrsta kulture, kultura migracije i života u manjini, koja istovremeno podrazumeva izmeštenost i hibridnost. I Ruždijevim likovima i njemu samom ona ponekad pruža osećaj da imaju

⁴⁴ U svom delu *Kultura i imperijalizam* Edvard Said navodi kako je za vreme kolonizacije ceo sistem obrazovanja u Indiji bio prožet idejama o nejednakosti rasa i kultura, odnosno o superiornosti bele rase, u ovom slučaju Engleza, i njihove kulture (Said 1994: 121). S druge strane, način na koji se književnost i kultura danas predstavljaju u školama, posebno u nekadašnjim kolonijama, često je nacionalistički, budući da deca uče kako treba da slave jedinstvenost svoje tradicije i kulture na uštrb drugih (Said 1994: xxix). Situacija je drugačija tamo gde je teže odrediti šta je to što je „naše“, a pod uticajem globalizacije to postaje sve teže širom sveta.

ceo svet na dlanu, a ponekad, pak, da stoje na ivici ambisa u koji svakog trenutka mogu da padnu.

Ovaj problem možda najbolje oslikava unutrašnja podvojenost Saladina Čamče iz *Satanskih stihova*, anglofila rastrzanog između Indije i Engleske, onoga što bi želeo da bude i onoga što jeste. U Engleskoj doživljava preobražaj u đavola i uviđa da i ostali imigranti prolaze kroz slične metamorfoze pod uticajem stavova koje okolina prema njima zauzima. Ruždi time ukazuje na neke od negativnih vidova odnosa između dve kulture i problem demonizacije imigranata koji moraju da se izbore sa predrasudama i pogrešnim predstavama o njima kako bi povratili ljudski oblik. Moraju da se uspešno prilagode i da u sebi pomire suprotnosti između sveta iz kog dolaze i onog u kom se nalaze. Saladin dugo ne može da prihvati svoje poreklo, Indiju, njen jezik i kulturu, a njegov sukob sa svojim prošlim Ja simbolično je predstavljen i kroz odbacivanje svog pravog imena i loš odnos sa ocem. Pred očevu smrt njih dvojica se mire, Saladin se postepeno vraća korenima, miri se sa svojim identitetom, zbog čega doživljava obrnutu metamorfozu, te od đavola ponovo postaje čovek. Ponovno uzimanje starog imena označava početak novog razdoblja u njegovom životu, razdoblja u kojem će svet biti čvrst i stvaran.

Roman *Satanski stihovi* bavi se problemima hibridizacije, getoizacije i mirenja starog i novog, sa kojima se suočavaju imigranti u Britaniji. Po autorovim rečima, on slavi hibridnost, nečistotu, mešanje i preobražaje koji nastaju usled novih i neočekivanih kombinacija ljudi, kultura, ideja, politika, filmova, pesama (Ruždi 1991: 394). Još jedno delo koje slavi hibridnost jeste roman *Harun i more priča*, bajka o dečaku Harunu koji polazi na put kako bi spasao Okean priča i ocu, nadaleko poznatom pripovedaču, povratio pripovedački dar. Ovo delo je istovremeno i politička alegorija o cenzuri, slobodi govora, politici, multikulturalnosti i zagađenju, kao i priča o pripovedanju.

Svet u kome Harun živi postoji uporedo, a povremeno se prepliće sa paralelnim svetom meseca Kahani, na kome se nalazi Okean priča. Jedan deo Kahanija, grad brbljivaca u kome se sloboda govora koristi do krajnosti, predstavlja multikulturalnu utopiju o slobodnom društvu (Teverson 2001: 4) u kom sloboda govora i misli stvaraju jaču zajednicu. Ideja o samoj kulturi kao hibridu u ovom delu javlja se u vidu Okeana priča u kome se prepliću sve priče ikada napisane sa onima koje tek nastaju, u vidu raznobojnih vodenih tokova koji se susreću, menjaju i pretaču jedni u druge. Zagađenost Okeana priča odražava zagađenost duhovne sfere savremene stvarnosti, kao i same ideje o multikulturalnosti, za koju su krivi svi oni koji kulturu na bilo koji način ograničavaju. Kulturna razmena, tvrdi Ruždi, može da bude nadasve plodonosna, jer mešanjem kultura i tradicija nastaju novine koje su potrebne da bi se dalje obogaćivala kulturna zaostavština.

Ideja o multikulturalnoj zajednici kao utopiji javlja se i u *Deci ponoći*, jednom od Ruždijevih najsloženijih romana, čiji su protagonisti hiljadu i jedno dete rođeno oko ponoći na dan kada je Indija postala nezavisna. Zbog časa u kom su rođeni, časa u kom je sve moguće, svako od njih obdareno je natprirodnim moćima. Nepouzdana pripovedač njihove životne priče, Salem Sinaj, poseduje moć telepatije pomoću koje svako veče okuplja decu ponoći. Ta takozvana Konferencija dece ponoći, pripadnika svih etničkih, verskih i jezičkih različitosti Indije, koji se savršeno razumeju jer ne koriste reči nego čistiji jezik misli, predstavlja san o ujedinjenoj Indiji, zemlji bez sukoba i podela, utopijskoj državi komplementarnih suprotnosti kojoj, kao i svakoj utopiji, mora da dođe kraj. Kao pandan stvarnom svetu u kome

ova deca žive, Indija iz snova pripada imaginarnom svetu telepatije. Onog trenutka kada odrasli počnu u uši dece da sipaju otrov svojih predrasuda, mržnje i šovinizma, san o ujedinjenoj Indiji se raspršuje.

Uprkos ovakvoj viziji, Ruždijev stav nije pesimističan. Čini se da pisac ne želi da kaže da je ideja o skladnom životu pripadnika različitih kultura nužno osuđena na propast, već da nije lako održiva. Održiva je ukoliko tolerancija i prihvatanje razlika pretežu u odnosu na predrasude i pogrešne predstave o „onima drugima“. Sukoba i podela oduvek je bilo i besmisleno bi bilo očekivati da će u nekom trenutku nestati. Kraj ovog romana, međutim, ukazuje na činjenicu da, bez obzira na to, svaka nova generacija donosi svoje snove, i upravo se u toj neprestanoj smeni generacija i njihovih snova krije nota optimizma.

Dok se u *Deci ponoći* bavi multikulturalnošću Indije, u *Tlu pod njenim nogama* Ruždi se ponovo okreće pitanjima Istoka i Zapada, povlačenju paralela između njihovih kultura, i problemima migracije. Glavni protagonisti ovog romana su emigranti koji iz Indije odlaze u Englesku, a zatim Ameriku kako bi se ostvarili. Ormus, muzički genije, stranac u sopstvenoj porodici, zemlji, pa i na planeti, čovek kome su dom muzika i ljubav, i Vina, njegova žena i muza, polu-Indijka polu-Amerikanka za koju je dom uvek ono mesto na kom se trenutno ne nalazi, osvajaju muzičku scenu Zapada, te dobijaju status savremenih bogova. Rai, pripovedač njihove neobične priče, smrtnik među bogovima, čovek je za kog Indija predstavlja roditeljski dom i matericu iz koje mora da izađe kako bi se rodio. Stoga odlazi u Ameriku, njegovu zemlju iz snova, zemlju mnogih mogućnosti, i postaje nezavisan. Svo troje su pripadnici generacija koje pod uticajem globalizacije sve više streme ka Zapadu. U kulturi Istoka se sve manje pronalaze, a kulturu Zapada prihvataju kao svoju, možda najviše zbog toga što je ona sve više kultura emigranata.

Istok i Zapad u ovom romanu nisu samo okruženja u kojima se odvijaju životi protagonista. Prisutni su i u vidu mnogobrojnih kulturoloških, književnih i mitoloških paralela između ove dve kulture. Ormus i Vina pandan su brojnim ikonama muzičkog sveta, a priča o njihovoj muzici i ljubavi odjek je mitova o Orfeju i Euridiki i Kami i Rati. Ormus je i Apolon i Ahura Mazda, vrhovno božanstvo i tvorac u religiji Zoroastera, a Vina je nimfa iz hinduističke mitologije, i drevni muzički instrument. Ljubav između Vine i Raija podseća na onu između nimfe Urvasi i smrtnika Pururuvasa, Ormusova braća, blizanci Kir i Vir, nalik su Poluksu i Kastoru, Raijevi roditelji su još jedna verzija Orfeja i Euridike, a čitav roman je očigledna aluzija na Džojsovog *Uliksa*. Mnogobrojnim paralelama ovde nije kraj, a sve ukazuju na neverovatnu isprepletenost dveju kultura. Hobi kojim se bave Ormusov otac, veliki anglofil, i njegov prijatelj Englez, a sastoji se od pronalaženja paralela između mitologija Istoka i Zapada, simbolično predstavlja piščev pokušaj da ukaže na brojne sličnosti između naizgled veoma različitih kultura, ne samo u ovom romanu, nego i u svojoj celokupnoj prozi.

Poput Raija, Malik Solanka, glavni junak romana *Bes*, odlazi u Ameriku. Iako je u pitanju još jedan u nizu Ruždijevih emigranata, središte Solankine priče nisu problemi života u emigraciji. U Ameriku odlazi kako bi izbrisao svoju prošlost i krenuo ispočetka, a sukob u njemu nije između dve kulture i dva sveta, nego između njegovog prošlog i sadašnjeg Ja. U Njujorku, metropoli u kojoj je svaka ekscentričnost uobičajena, on želi da nestane u moru anonimnih ljudi. Pokušavajući da se oslobodi besa koji oseća, njegovog ličnog besa i besa savremenog života, Solanka se suočava i sa svetom oko sebe. Amerika, zemlja imigranata u koju svako

dođe da bi se izgubio i ponovo našao, stecište je velikog broja najraznovrsnijih kultura, a ujedno i svet u kome se ta hibridna kultura pretvorila u nešto što Solanka može da posmatra samo sa ironijom. Kao profesor u penziji i ogorčeni tvorac lutke koja je izmakla kontroli i od pametnice postala barbika, glavni junak se često osvrće na nedostatke kulture kojom vladaju kultovi novca i slave. Amerikom dominira kultura ekscesa, samoostvarenja, medijskih ličnosti poput Opre Vinfri i Džerija Springera, uspeha kao jedinog pravog pokazatelja nečije vrednosti, i amerikanizacije. Njegovi komentari na kulturu u Americi zapravo su kritika savremenog sveta u kome je kultura postala samo još jedna grana industrije, industrija slavni ličnosti. Stanje kulture koje Ruždi opisuje u ovom romanu verno odražava užurbano moderno doba u kome Furije vladaju ljudima, seksom, politikom, u kući, na ulici i u medijima, jer je sam život postao bes.

Kulturom kao hibridom tradicija Istoka i Zapada možda se najotvorenije bavi Ruždijeva zbirka priča *Istok, Zapad*. Ona je nastala u piščevoj nameri da uporedi, približi i pomiri dve civilizacije i kulture, baveći se prvo nekim od ključnih pitanja Istoka, zatim Zapada, i na kraju života u emigraciji. Priče se, između ostalog, bave temama emigracije, kontrole rađanja, verskog fanatizma, idolizacije, morala, nostalgije i potrage za vlastitim identitetom. Među njima ima onih koje su specifično vezane za život u Indiji ili na Zapadu, kao i onih univerzalnih.

Tri priče iz dela *Istok* tiču se života u siromašnoj zemlji gde su ljudi primorani da u oblaku prašine stoje ispred Britanskog konzulata i trpe poniženja od strane engleskih činovnika, gde brakove ugovaraju roditelji, kontrola rađanja podrazumeva sterilizaciju, a verski fanatizam narušava moral i mir porodičnog doma. U ovim pričama Ruždi predstavlja jednu tradicionalnu, patrijarhalnu kulturu u kojoj žene odlaze u inostranstvo budućim muževima koje ne poznaju, a brižni očevi preko noći mogu da se preobrate u nasilne verske fanatike čija apsurdno stroga i dvolična pravila ugrožavaju ne samo slobodu nego i živote članova porodice. Osim osvrta na naličje kulture Istoka, ove priče nude uvid i u odnos nekadašnje Imperije i njenih kolonija. Englesku, po rečima jednog od likova, veliku naciju punu najhladnije ribe na svetu, ovde predstavljaju osorni činovnici koji ravnodušno sporo završavaju doručak dok napolju ljudi satima čekaju da oni otvore vrata. Njihov nadobudni stav odražavaju i besmislena, pa i bezobrazna pitanja kojima ponižavaju one koji uspeju da uđu. Indija je, pak, zemlja siromašnih nezalica koje uporno odbijaju da shvate. Opisivanjem ove tipične situacije Ruždi uspeva da verodostojno dočara superiorni stav kulture kolonizatora o kome govori Edvard Said.

Drugi deo zbirke bavi se nekim od najvažnijih kulturoloških i istorijskih obeležja civilizacije Zapada, a u poslednjoj od tri priče iz ovog dela i stanjem kulture i sistema vrednosti na Zapadu i u savremenom svetu uopšte. U parodiji jednog od najpoznatijih dela zapadnjačke književnosti, *Hamleta*, Ruždi pažnju ne usmerava ka mladom kraljeviću i njegovim problemima, već ka zabavnom pripovedaču koji gotovo u potpunosti menja originalni zaplet i s puno humora i ironije parodira ne samo čuvenu tragediju nego i stil pisanja popularan u Šekspirovo vreme. U istom maniru pisac nudi alternativnu verziju dešavanja koja su vodila ka jednom od najvažnijih događaja u istoriji, otkriću Amerike. Odnos između Kolumba i kraljice Izabele nije ni nalik njegovim romantičnim verzijama. Izabela je okrutni, svemoćni tiranin sa neutoljivom žeđi za osvajanjem, a Kolumbo čovek spreman da pretrpi brojna poniženja u želji da ostvari svoj san. Ona predstavlja Imperiju, a on njenog slugu. Njegova potraga za novcem i njena potreba za moći nalaze odjeka u vizijama

savremenog sveta u futurističkoj priči o aukciji cipelica od rubina iz *Čarobnjaka iz Oza*. Opisujući aukciju i licitante Ruždi ukazuje na to da živimo u surovim, beskompromisnim vremenima, u kojima je apsolutno sve na prodaju: čuveni istorijski spomenici, žene i muževi, državne tajne, ljudske duše, pa čak i vlastita deca. Ljudi su danas bolesni, opterećeni, lako uvredljivi i besni, a žive u svetu u kom vladaju kultovi filmskih zvezda, tela, novca i moći. Uz dosta humora, oštroj ironiji izloženo je sve, pa čak i tolerancija, a prisustvo imaginarnih bića sa slika, iz filmova i knjiga, posledica prodiranja fikcije u stvarnost, svedoči o moralnom propadanju post-milenijumske kulture. U haosu savremenog sveta čovek se toliko izgubio da mu se nije samo poremetio sistem vrednosti, nego taj sistem gotovo da ne postoji. Činjenica da je sve na prodaju ukazuje na to da je, osim novca, sve bezvredno.

Ruždijev Istok je svet u kome nailazimo na tragove Zapada u pesmama iz filmova, a generacije zapadnjačkih pripovedača istog su porekla kao i oni sa Istoka. Jedan dublji vid mešanja ova dva sveta javlja se u poslednjem delu zbirke, čiji su protagonisti indijski imigranti u Engleskoj. Priče o različitim generacijama imigranata nude uvid u probleme prilagođavanja drugoj kulturi, pomirenja dva sveta i pronalaženja svog mesta u njima. U jednoj od njih, priči o revolucionarima školovanim i obučavanim na Zapadu, pisac se ponovo bavi i odnosom između Indije i bivšeg kolonizatora. Engleski muzeji su, navodi jedan od likova, puni indijskog blaga, na kome je Imperija izgradila svoje bogatstvo i gradove, a Indija je zemlja sluga bez kojih ništa ne može da se izvede. Sukob i spoj kultura Istoka i Zapada, prisutan u svim pričama u ovoj zbirci, predstavlja suštinu poslednje priče, koja govori o pomirenju svetova, osećaju pripadnosti i pronalaženju ličnog i nacionalnog identiteta. Dok problemi savladavanja engleskog jezika i nostalgija odražavaju poteškoće koje starije generacije imaju u prilagođavanju, pripovedač, pripadnik najmlađe generacije, jedan je od onih koji su se uspešno prilagodili i dobili državljanstvo. Pa ipak, u potrazi za identitetom on shvata da je i sam rastrzan između Istoka i Zapada. Jedna od njegovih poslednjih izjava, „Odbijam da biram.“, odjek je stava svih izgnanika koji ne žele da budu isključeni ni iz jedne kulture kojoj pripadaju.

Uprkos činjenicama da ni jedna kultura nije nepropusna, da su kulture oduvek pozajmljivale i zavisile jedne od drugih, i da se pod uticajem globalizacije mešaju više nego ikad, ljudi nastavljaju da podižu zidove između njih. pisci poput Ruždija, koji pišu u doba izmenjenih ideja o tome šta je centar, a šta margina, u kome su potkulture postale središte interesovanja, posebno zbog svojih višestrukih korena i života u emigraciji uviđaju da kulturna razmena predstavlja veliko bogatstvo i pokušavaju svojim delom te zidove da sruše, ili barem premoste. U *Imaginarnim domovinama* Ruždi navodi kako je za čoveka jedna od najvećih i najopasnijih zamki usvajanje mentaliteta geta. Da zaboravimo da postoji svet izvan zajednice kojoj pripadamo, da se zatvorimo u okvire usko definisanih kulturnih granica značilo bi da se svojevredno osudimo na jedan vid unutrašnjeg izgnanstva (Ruždi 1991: 19).

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OTKRIVANJE AMERIKE U MESEČEVOJ PALATI POLA OSTERA

Apstrakt: Rad predstavlja analizu građenja identiteta glavnog junaka romana Mesečeva palata savremenog američkog pisca Pola Ostera. Dok traga za sopstvenim identitetom Osterov junak otkriva i sve one elemente američke istorije i tradicije koji su formativno uticali na njegove pretke. Hronotop granice koji je, pored motiva meseca, objedinjujući faktor strukture dela, upućuje na vezu unutrašnjeg i spoljašnjeg, ličnog i opšteg koja se ostvaruje u traganjima junaka za genealogijom, kako onom neposrednom tako i onom koju tvore tradicija i kultura. Mitska ruta od istoka prema zapadu kontinenta obavezni je deo i uslov samospoznaje za sve tri generacije u ovom romanu. U sklopu teze o granici, njene dimenzije se produbljuju i dobijaju kvalitet predikcije. Analizom su takođe utvrđeni i analizovani metafiktivni i intertekstualni aspekti dela.

Ključne reči: identitet, Amerika, granica, Tarnerova teza, hronotop, mesec, istorija.

Dominantna tema u opusu američkog pisca Pola Ostera svakako je ona koja se tiče potrage za identitetom. Fragmentarnost i raslojenost subjekta u postmodernom društvu i kulturi Oster preispituje u svojim delima na različite načine: kroz modifikovanje žanra detektivskog romana u *Njujorškoj trilogiji*, dovođenjem u pitanje svih onih elemenata koji su u njemu nesporni kao što su postojanje zločina i identitet detektiva; kroz preispitivanje prirode pisanja i pozicije pisca u njegovom dvostrukom bitisanju, u životu i u tekstu (*Otkrivanje samoće, Proročka noć, Putovanja u skriptorijum*); kroz razradu teme odnosa između očeva i sinova, bilo doslovnih ili metaforičnih, čiji bi identiteti trebalo međusobno da se podržavaju i potvrđuju, kao što je slučaj u romanima *Muzika slučaja, Otkrivanje samoće i Gospodin Vertigo*. U svom obimnijem ranom romanu, *Mesečevoj palati*, Oster nam, kroz pripovest glavnog junaka, ispričanu u prvom licu, otkriva kako sociopolitičke okolnosti jednog tla, njegova istorija i tradicija mogu presudno da utiču i na one elemente identiteta subjekta koji su duboko lični i individualni. Dakle, u *Mesečevoj palati*, identitet nije dat samo kao jezička konstrukcija unutar književnog dela, već i kao proizvod istorijskih faktora. Kako primećuje Aliko Varvogli u svojoj studiji *The World That Is The Book*, u ovom romanu pisac se prvi put bavi pitanjima američke istorije i mitologije, i prvi put u njemu preispituje američke predele, kako one urbane, tako i ogromna nenaseljena prostranstva prirode⁴⁵ koji imaju formativni uticaj na više generacija u porodici glavnog junaka.

Već prvom rečenicom, „Bilo je to onoga leta kada je čovek prvi put hodao po Mesecu“ (MP, 1), ustanovljena je hronološka organizacija radnje pomoću istorijskih događaja. Pored toga, ova rečenica skreće pažnju i na opšti osećaj optimizma ere koja svoja nadanja nikada nije ispunila. Ona nas neminovno podseća i na mit o američkom snu, o prelasku poslednje granice, one sa svemirom, i na korene tog mita koji čine značajan element karakterologije Amerikanaca. Glavni junak njom započinje svoju pripovest ne iz želje da govori o toj epohi, o događajima u kojima i nije posebno aktivno učestvovao, već da usred huke rata, protesta, pobuna i hapšenja, ispriča priču o granici koju je morala da pređe njegova svest, njegova

⁴⁵ Aliko Varvogli *The World That is the Book* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001) p. 124.

savest, da bi on dobio šansu za početak nove faze u životu. Ili, po rečima francuskog kritičara Šaseja, Oster svog glavnog junaka, Marka Stenlija Foga, gradi po uzoru na pikarskog junaka, ali „njegovi doživljaji i stradanja ukazuju na rađanje umetnika koji pokušava da pronađe svoj vlastiti glas i mesto u svetu“.⁴⁶

Brigu o M. S. Fogu posle majčine smrti preuzima njegov ujak Viktor Fog, muzičar, sanjar, bibliofil, tumač reči i znakova, koji pokušava da pomogne dečaku da stekne svest o svojoj ličnosti s obzirom na nepostojanje bližih srodnika (oca nikada nije upoznao). Jedino što Marko ima je ime, i Viktor svoju teoriju gradi na tom jedino raspoloživom segmentu identiteta: „Ujak Viktor je voleo da smišlja detaljne, besmislene teorije o raznim stvarima, i mogao je do u beskraj da raspreda o veličanstvenoj budućnosti koja se skriva u mom imenu. Marko Stenli Fog.

Marko je, naravno, bilo od Marko Polo, po prvom Evropljaninu koji je stigao do Kine; Stenli je bio američki novinar koji je našao doktora Livingstona ,u srcu najmračnije Afrike'; a Fog je bilo od Fileas Fog, po čoveku koji je prorurio oko Zemljine kugle za manje od tri meseca“. (MP, 16) Kada i ujak umre, a s njim i njegove utešne teorije, Marko ostaje sam, u Njujorku, gde studira na Kolumbiji, i ne videvši drugi izlaz odabira nešto što vidi kao adekvatan izraz svog stanja: „Sa svim žarom i idealizmom mladog čoveka, koji je previše razmišljao i pročitao previše knjiga, odlučio sam da ono što ja treba da uradim jeste da ne radim ništa: moje delanje sastojaće se od militantnog odbijanja da bilo šta preduzmem. Bio je to nihilizam podignut na nivo estetske postavke. Svoj život ću pretvoriti u umetnost žrtvujući sebe tako suptilnim paradoksima da ću, sa svakim dahom, učiti kako da uživam u sopstvenom prokletstvu.“ (MP, 28)

Ovo pomalo naivno, dedalusovski uporno nastojanje poništenja sebe odvija se u okruženju kraja šezdesetih i početka sedamdesetih godina dvadesetog veka, u vremenu obojenom ratničkim bojama i bojama dece cveća, istorijskom trenutku koji je dopuštao krajnosti i čiji je duh poneo i junaka ovog romana ali na jednu sasvim neočekivanu stranu.

Aktivno nedelanje na tome da izmeni svoju situaciju Foga dovodi do ivice fizičkog nestanka, prazan prostor koji nastaje u njegovom stanu kada rasproda sve knjige obrnuto je proporcionalan vremenu koje mu preostaje u starom načinu postojanja. I upravo u duhu „rascvetanih“ poznih šezdesetih/ranih sedamdesetih, Foga od fizičke propasti spasavaju prijateljstvo i ljubav. To je, međutim, tek početak puta na kome treba da popuni šupljinu koju opasuje njegovo ime, puta na kome će sresti i dobro upoznati svog oca i svog dedu, ali neće biti svestan da su to oni sve dok obojica ne budu mrtvi.

Mitsku rutu od istoka ka zapadu koju su, svaki u svojoj epohi i na svoj način, prešli i otac i deda, preći će i on jer je upravo to deo koji mu je nedostajao u paketu konačnih iskustava da bi stekao novu šansu i započeo novu fazu. I tu nalazimo vezu sa mesecom koji je, počevši od naslova, sveprisutan u ovom romanu jer, zapravo, ono što Oster potvrđuje simbolikom meseca jeste stalno prisustvo, fiksiranost, ali i neprekidna promena, postojanje koje prelazi iz faze u fazu. Prelazak jedne granice vuče za sobom, svesno ili ne, potragu za drugom, novom.

⁴⁶ Jean-François Chassay, „*Moon Palace: la palimpseste historique*“, u *L'œuvre de Paul Auster*, ed. A. Duperray, pp. 218-219.

Mesečeva palata je roman o najrazličitijim otkrićima i Oster se trudi da tu šarolikost prikaže tako što će, služeći se, s jedne strane, metodom historiografske metafikcije, dovesti u bliske kontakte istorijske ličnosti i likove iz dela: slikare iz njujorške škole Hadson river, Tomasa Morana, Tomasa Kola, slikara Ralfa Blejkloka, sa Markovim dedom, Džulijanom Barberom (koji se, posle ‚ponovnog‘ rođenja, iz pustinje Jute vraća s novim identitetom kao Tomas Efing); opisuje Efingov susret s Nikolom Teslom čiji su eksperimenti američkoj javnosti pružali osećaj prekoračenja svih poznatih granica, ali i Efingov lični doživljaj Tesle, koji suštinski menja njegov pogled na život: „Jednom su nam se pogledi sreli, dobro se toga sećam,... i osetio sam kako gleda pravo kroz mene, kao da me nema. Bio je to neverovatan trenutak... Osetio sam ukus smrtnosti u ustima, i u tom trenutku sam shvatio da neću živeti večno... Imao sam sedamnaest godina i iznenada sam shvatio da je moj život samo moj, da pripada samo meni i nikom drugom“. S druge strane, otkrića koja se odnose na porodično stablo protagoniste, povezana su sa kretanjem, fizičkim prelaženjem geografskih teritorija, sa pokretom. Fog mora da dođe do određenih tačaka severnoameričkog kontinenta ne samo da bi popunio beline u svojoj krštenici, već i da bi stekao subjektivni osećaj istorije koja je pripadala njegovim precima.

Bernd Hercogenrat u svom iščitavanju Oстера u lakanovskom ključu zapaža kako su Osterovi subjekti zapravo plutajući, lebdeći znakovi koji se neprestano kreću svetom koji je i sam posledica znaka⁴⁷. Kretanje bi se u tom smislu moglo shvatiti kao prostorni ekvivalent činu pisanja, a to je upravo ideja koju i pisac upošljava dajući svom junaku inicijale MS, što je skraćenica za rukopis. I ne zadržava se na tome, nego predočava čitaocima u kom smeru želi da razmišljaju: „Knjiga koju ti ispisuješ još uvek nije završena. Još uvek je u rukopisu. Šta bi bilo prikladnije od toga?“ (MP, 17) Zapravo, pitanje veze između subjektivnog iskustva i objektivne realnosti ima veliki značaj u ovom delu upravo zato što je najveći broj istorijskih činjenica koje se u njemu pominju povezan sa iskustvom glavnog junaka. Istorija se tako doživljava subjektivno, ona odražava njegova unutrašnja stanja i strahove. Dobar primer Osterovog postupka kada je ovaj metod u pitanju jeste simbol meseca. Istorijski događaj pomenut u prvoj rečenici romana koji obeležava epohu je sletanje Apola 11 na Mesec, što je smatrano, između ostalog, i velikom pobedom Amerike u eri hladnog rata.

Taj događaj doveden je u vezu s neonskim znakom na kineskom restoranu Mesečeva palata koji Marko vidi s prozora, i koji funkcioniše kao objedinjujući simbol u kome se stapaju lično i univerzalno. „Možda se reč *mesec* za mene promenila onog trenutka kada sam video kako ljudi tumaraju po njegovoj površini. Možda me je zaprepastila podudarnost zato što sam u Boazu, u državi Ajdaho, upoznao čoveka koji se zove Nil Armstrong, a zatim gledao čoveka s istim imenom kako leti po vašioni... Ni u šta ne mogu biti siguran, ali činjenica je da su reči *Mesečeva palata* počele da me progone svojom proročanskom tajanstvenošću i lepotom... Razmišljao sam: projekat Apolo; Apolon, bog muzike; ujak Viktor i Mesečari koji putuju na zapad. Razmišljao sam: zapad; rat protiv Indijanaca; rat u Vijetnamu koji se nekada zvao Indokina. Razmišljao sam: oružje, bombe, eksplozije; nuklearni oblaci u pustinjama Jute i Nevade; a onda bih se zapitao - zašto američki zapad toliko liči na Mesečevu površinu?“ (MP, 39)

⁴⁷ Bernd Herzogenrath, *An Art of Desire - Reading Paul Auster*, (Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999) p. 215

Oslanjajući se na stavove Hejdena Vajta, A. Varvogli⁴⁸ s pravom primećuje kako istoriju treba shvatiti kao mrežu činjenica koje svoje značenje, svoj smisao dobijaju tek u odnosu jednih prema drugima. Bazična istina za kojom Fog traga nije ona univerzalna, istina istorijskih činjenica: „Istinska svrha umetnosti ne sastoji se u tome da stvara lepe predmete, shvatio je. Bio je to metod razumevanja, način da se prodre u svet i da se u njemu pronade vlastito mesto“ (MP, 56) U ovom smislu, pojam umetnika dovodi se u vezu s pojmom istraživača. I umetnik/pisac i istraživač moraju da se bave ne ekstralingvističkom već posredovanom stvarnošću, onakvom kakva se ispoljava u jeziku i predstavljanju. „Mesečeva palata je traganje za samospoznajom ali i težnja za dešifrovanjem američkih predela i razumevanjem američke istorije.“⁴⁹ Otkrivanje podrazumeva prelaženje poznatih granica, i zahvaljujući načinu na koji pisac shvata i upotrebljava ovaj pojam, on poprima kvalitet hronotopa.

Hronotop granice u *Mesečevoj palati* zadovoljava ključne kriterijume hronotopičnosti na osnovu kojih Mihail Bahtin, njegov tvorac, određuje taj pojam. U njemu se ogleda vremenska i prostorna nedeljivost, obeležja vremena nalaze se u prostoru, a prostor se meri i koncipira pomoću vremena. Moglo bi se čak reći da je granica ključni hronotop američke istorije po svojim motivacionim, organizacionim i kohezionim svojstvima. Svest o značaju granice (frontier) za američku istoriju prvi je formulisao Frederik Džekson Tarner 1893. godine u svom govoru održanom u Američkom istorijskom društvu povodom proslave četiri veka od Kolumbovog otkrića Amerike⁵⁰. U toj tezi, koja je poznata i kao „teza o granici“ ili „Tarnerova teza“, njen autor iznosi stav o tome kako je nova sredina dovela do naglog razvoja društvenih i političkih osobina koje su stvorile tzv. „pravog“ Amerikanca: prvi doseljenici koji su u 17. veku stigli do istočne obale, ponašali su se kao Evropljani, a susreli su se sa nečim potpuno drugačijim od svog dotadašnjeg iskustva, najpre sa ogromnim prostranstvima visokokvalitetne, obradive a neiskorišćene zemlje. Naredne generacije zalaze sve dublje u kopno, odbacuju sve nepotrebno evropsko, sve manje su tolerantni prema hijerarhiji, i sve demokratičniji, neguju individualizam, zavise od *ad hoc* organizacije života.

Što dalje zajednice prodiru na zapad, to su više američke. Granica postaje osnovna oblikujuća sila u američkoj istoriji, i to shvatanje vuče koren iz prve polovine 19. veka kada je formulisana skup konceptata poznat kao 'Manifest Destiny', kojim se, zapravo, pravda ekspanzionistička politika, jer su Amerikanci videli sebe kao sudbinski predodređene za osvajanje teritorije od Atlantika do Pacifika. Tu percepciju efektno objašnjava S. Ruždi u svom eseju 'In God We Trust': „...teza o granici' - ideja da je zemlji rođenoj s potrebom da granice pomera ka zapadu neophodno da neprestano nalazi nove granice, još od kad je stigla do Pacifika - već dugo vremena predstavlja korisnu optičku spravu za posmatranje američke istorije. Trka za osvajanje svemira samo je jedna oblast koju ova teza osvetljava.

U poslednje dve decenije, Amerikanci su se, tragajući za novim granicama, okrenuli prema sebi“.⁵¹

⁴⁸ A. Varvogli, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁵⁰ Frederic Jackson Turner, The Significance of Frontier in American History
<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER/chapter1.html>

⁵¹ Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991* (London: Granta, 1991), p. 390.

U američkoj kulturi, u književnosti, pojam granice dovodi se u vezu s prvim doseljenicima, Divljim zapadom, kopačima zlata, Indijancima. Ta granica više ne postoji, ali postoji ideja o granici kao zoni koja spaja ideju prepreke s idejom prelaska. Tradicionalno gledano, granica je predstavljala šansu, budućnost, smatrana je boljom od naseljenih oblasti koje su predstavljale prošlost. Sve ove aspekte Oster upotrebljava u romanu i stvara hronotop granice. Kroz pripovest o tri generacije ove porodice pokidanih veza, saznajemo šta je predstavljalo granicu za svaku od njih, i koje su to bile granice do kojih se stiglo u istorijskim periodima u kojima su živele. Fogov svet čini mešavina starih i novih granica, i da bi uspeo da pređe svoju i otkrije ono što je na drugoj strani, mora najpre da spozna granice do kojih su stigli njegov otac i deda. (Već samim Markovim imenom, kao što je pomenuto, ustanovljen je prototip istraživača/pionira.)

Osnovu životne priče Tomasa Efinga, Fogovog dede, čini iskustvo u Juti. Ta pripovest je najkonvencionalnija, liči na priču o granici iz legendi o Divljem zapadu, te stoga njegova ispovest najviše podseća na žanr vesterna. Solomon Barber, Markov otac, predaje američku istoriju na raznim koledžima po srednjem zapadu, a zapad je ujedno i tema njegovih naučnih studija. Marko Stenli Fog kreće na zapad, u potragu za slikama svoga dede (za koga ne zna da mu je deda), u društvu Sola Barbera (za koga ne zna da mu je otac), da bi poslednju etapu od nekoliko stotina kilometara, od Lejk Pauela do obale Pacifika, prešao pešice. Iskustvo koje stiče na tom putu, spoznaja o vlastitom mestu u svetu, pomaže mu da ispuni pominjanu šupljinu koju na okupu drži samo njegovo ime.

Za Marka Stenlija Foga ništa manje nisu važne ni one granice koje će savladati među blokovima zgrada na Menhetnu. Niski kameni zid koji opasuje Central park, jedna je od prepreka koju prelazi u završnoj fazi svog odbijanja da dela. Smeštajući Foga na ostrvo onoga što u srcu metropole najviše liči na nesputanu prirodu, Oster ispisuje omaž jednom od svojih književnih predaka, Henriju Dejvidu Torou. „Park je bio prag, granica, ono po čemu sam razlikovao spoljašnjost od unutrašnjosti. Ako su me ulice prisiljavale na to da vidim sebe onako kako me drugi vide, park mi je pružao priliku da se vratim svom unutrašnjem životu, da se prepustim isključivo onome što se dešava u meni samom. Otkrio sam da se bez krova nad glavom može preživeti, ali da se ne može živeti bez ravnoteže između spoljašnjeg i unutrašnjeg.“ (MP, 60)

Suočen sa neminovnom propašću, Fog pokušava da sagleda sve dobre strane života u parku, ali kao i svaki urbani čovek prošlog veka, ne uspeva da, na duže staze, izađe na kraj s prirodom. Suštinski raskid veze između čoveka i prirode, spoljašnjeg i unutrašnjeg, misli i osećanja, i u krajnjoj liniji, jezika i stvarnosti, dogodio se u nekom trenutku prošlosti kada je osvajanje fizičkih granica postalo bitnije od onih metafizičkih. Oster nam činjenicu o necelovitosti predočava putem opisa slike Ralfa Blejkloka, koja nosi naziv „Mesečina“. Nije slučajno što se scena kada se Fog, po Efingovom zadatku i uz njegove detaljne instrukcije nađe pred platnom u Bruklinskom muzeju, nalazi na centralnom mestu u knjizi, na njenoj sredini. Slika predstavlja, po rečima glavnog junaka, „američku idilu“: Indijanci okupljeni oko logorske vatre, s velikim okruglim mesecom na zelenkastom nebu, i šumom u pozadini. „Nebo isto kao zemlja, noć koja liči na dan, patuljasta ljudska obličja usred veličine predela - nejasne senke, puki ideogrami života... Uprkos tome što su predstavljeni tako sićušnim, Indijanci nisu delovali ni prestrašeno ni napeto. Udobno su sedeli u svom okruženju, zadovoljni sobom i svetom... i sve mi se više činilo da ta smirenost dominira slikom“. (MP, 128) Već u trenutku kada je naslikana, ta idila više

nije postojala, već su se desili svi najteži pokolji Indijanaca, i harmonija je zauvek narušena.

Oster vrlo oprezno i postupno dozvoljava svom junaku da osvaja deo po deo svog identiteta. Analiza „Mesečine“ je upravo jedna od tačaka koja daju legitimitet Fogovoj potrazi i svemu do čega će doći na svom putu. Pošto posle dosta muke pomisli da je uspeo da prodre u suštinu slikareve zamisli, on postaje otvoren za iskustva koja će njegovom životu dati novi smisao. Dakle, tu istorija o kojoj govori platno, i umetničko delo istorijski udaljeno do posmatrača, svojim dinamizmom prodiru u savremenost i ostvaruju efekat koji mu omogućava dublji uvid u realnost.

Sličan efekat postiže i roman *Mesečeva palata* koji, kao celina, pokreće mnoga pitanja. Koliko su ustaljene predstave o Americi na razmeđi vekova izmenjene u odnosu na neka ranija vremena i u kom trenutku se ispred nekih pojmova američke civilizacije promenio predznak? Recimo, pojam *melting pot* (kotao za pretapanje) inače karakterističan za mnoge zemlje s velikim prilivom emigranata koje treba uklopiti u redovne tokove života, u svom krajnjem vidu može da označava gubitak pojedinačnih odlika - sve se pretapa da ne bi štrčalo; *a land of opportunity* u kojoj se mogućnost ili šansa određuje samo na osnovu mesta koje se napušta (Pavel Šam, beg od progona, Kiti Vu i, određenoj meri i Oster kao američki pisac jevrejskog porekla); *home of the brave* hrabrost prouzrokovana nekim prizemnim interesom (Efig odlazi u pustinju da bi pobegao od lošeg porodičnog života, osvajanje Zapada pravdano višim ciljevima koji to nisu bili). Ove sintagme, pokazuje Oster, koje se tradicionalno vezuju za doživljaj Amerike, lako mogu da se pretvore u svoju suprotnost.

Osterova Amerika u *Mesečevoj palati* je hronotop kojim pisac, poštujući pre svega priču, a kroz istoriografsko-metafiktivni kod, započinje preispitivanje ustaljenih sociokulturnih obrazaca (čime će se baviti i u drugim delima). Istovremeno, interesuje ga i proces stvaranja mitova koji su u slučaju Amerike više nego drugde povezani s istorijom. Time što ne poseže za velikim teleološkim pripovestima i po tome što dovodi u pitanje autorstvo čak i kada su njegovi tekstovi u pitanju, Oster preispituje ne samo status prošlosti koju nasleđuje, već i mogućnost vlastitog doprinosa, sopstvenu interakciju sa svetom koji ga okružuje.

Ako je geografsko otkriće američkog kontinenta konstanta u jednačini identiteta, onda je prisvajanje i tumačenje istorijskih znakova nepoznata koju svaki od likova rešava za sebe, sa uvek drugačijim vrednostima. Ako belina prazne strane može da natera pisca da prekorači i najneverovatnije granice, kakvu li je tek inspiraciju budila „belina“ novog sveta?

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Nataliya Popova

FAIRY TALES AS REFLECTION OF THE RELIGIOUS REPRESENTATIONS OF GERMAN AND YAKUT PEOPLE

Abstract: Using the genetic approach, the present article seeks to establish the similarities and differences between mental representations of two ancient cultures, Yakut and German, as they are reflected in folkloric texts. Two fairy tales have been selected, “Goose Woman” from Germany, and “Old Woman Beiberikeen With Five Cows” from Yakutia. In spite of the differences in culture and language, these two fairy tales are similar in terms of plot, character, and some of their symbols. The article analyses the religious-magic structure of the wedding ritual.

Key words: German fairy tale, Yakut fairy tale, wedding ritual, religious-magic structure, culturological analysis

Today, the cultural phenomenon of the fairy tale is the prerogative of not only folklorists and philologists, but also psychologists and culturologists.

The implicit aspect of fairy tales has been attracting the attention of Russian and foreign researchers for a long time (Bolte-Polivka, Meletinsky, Lyuti, Pomerantseva, Propp, Röhrich). Despite the interest of many scholars in fairy tales, there is still no uniform definition of the term “fairy tale” itself. In most cases a fairy tale is understood as a “poetic fantasy,” an “unreal or imaginary story,” or “a myth” (Bolte-Polivka, Buslaev, Levi-Strauss, Lyuti, Meletinsky). According to Kravtsov and Sokolov, in Old Russia various oral stories were called “fairy stories” or “cock-and-bull stories,” while “fairy tales” were documents, different pieces of evidence, the testimony based on real facts (Kravtsov, 1991).

According to Propp (2004) (whose theory we follow in our research), a fairy tale reflects and represents the events of a primitive society, its historical reality. As ritual is the basis for a fairy tale, the main character of a tale is not a fictitious hero but a real participant in this ritual. So, following Propp, by the term “fairy tale” we understand a tale in which the main character is magically born and, with the help of magic or a magician, overcomes all obstacles and harm caused by an antagonist, finally reaching his main goal - to get married.

From a professional point of view, a fairy tale as a means of intercultural communication presupposes knowledge of the entire ethno-cultural environment of the subject under study, as well as its contacts and conflicts with its ethno-cultural surroundings, in other words with a different, alien culture. An understanding of a different cultural environment occurs through the prism of one’s own cultural reality. However, it is not always easy to understand this; think, for example, of almost any present-day ritual, the religious meaning of which was once clear to every participant in it twenty years ago.

It is the fairy tale that has managed to preserve symbolic actions, the magical meaning of which has unfortunately been lost today in many respects; consequently, the modern reader perceives them as invented adventures of an imaginary hero.

To support this I can say that none of my students (a group of 16, 14 of whom are native speakers of Yakut) were aware that a wedding ritual is the basis of the Yakut

fairy tale “Old Woman Beiberikeen With Five Cows” (Sivtsev Suoroon Omollon, ed., 1990). It is likely that the researchers of the Yakut language and literature will not be pleased with this fact, but they and all other researchers of fairy tales would be glad to know that this Yakut fairy tale coincides in the plot, main characters and some symbols with the German fairy tale “Goose Woman” (Grimms, 1992).

Both fairy tales describe the stages of the wedding ritual and furthermore present the religious and magic structure of the wedding ceremony. However, it should be noted that neither the religious-magic structure of the wedding ritual nor the stages of the wedding ritual itself are described equally in the Yakut and German fairy tales (Appendix 1, Appendix 2). So, for example, whereas in the Yakut fairy tale the first stages of the wedding process are described to the smallest detail, including descriptions of the matchmakers, the dowry, its amount and terms of payment, the German fairy tale has a very short description. The reader is informed in just two sentences that the queen’s daughter was promised to the son of a king from a far-off kingdom, and when she reaches the proper age she will marry him, and that her mother has prepared a dowry which corresponds to her status as future queen, including expensive utensils, painting, and jewelry.

In the German fairy tale, we find out about the heroine’s wedding as an established fact: “...The young king married his bride and they started to rule their kingdom in peace and tranquility.”

In the Yakut fairy tale there is no description of the heroine’s wedding at her parent’s home. The emphasis here is on the special clothing of the Yakut bride and her horse, while the description of the wedding ceremony in the groom’s house is presented in an atmosphere of joy and pleasure, reminding us of the present-day “ysyakh”⁵².

It is worth pointing out that the wedding drama of both brides - Yakut and German - irrespective of their ethnic identity, develops on their way to the homes of their grooms.

The Germans had a legend that during the period between an engagement and a wedding, the groom and especially the bride were threatened by danger. That is why the bride even at that time had to put on a shawl, could not leave her home late in the evenings, and had to have protective herbs with her at all times. One day prior to the wedding, she had to take a purifying bath.

The German fairy-tale researcher Röhrich (1974) considers the sprinkling of the bride with water to be a ritual of purification. In the Dictionary of Superstitions of the German People (Müller-Kaspar, ed., 1999), actions undertaken with water are also considered to be purifying. Hence we can interpret the queen’s quenching of thirst from a stream as a ritual of purification of the bride before her wedding.

⁵² Ysyakh is a calendar festival celebrated on the summer solstice, beginning on June 21-22, considered as the New Year. The Sakha or Yakut people retain the ancient tradition of cattle-breeders: they divide the year into two halves - Winter (our fall and winter) and Summer (our spring and summer). The Yakut people celebrated this day as a festival of renewal, nature and fertility. Ysyakh was connected with good and bright beginnings and, of course, hopes for the future.

According to Zaharova (2004), the purifying rituals in the Yakut epics are connected with the contamination of the heart and soul of a person who has had contact with representatives of the underworld. After the act of purification, the person's soul has to return to its initial condition, bringing back balance and harmony to the physical body, too.

The elements of such rituals of purification are well preserved in the Yakut fairy tale under consideration. The groom (interestingly, not the bride), whose soul was contaminated because of his relations with the *abaasy-wench*⁵³, had to go through severe stages of purification lasting sixty days.

Both fairy tales describe the preservation stage of the wedding ceremony which is characterized by rituals of protection and fraud. According to Sleptsov (1989), the Yakut bride was taken to the groom's home with her face covered. Rich brides covered their faces with sable skins, while poor brides covered theirs with pieces of brood-mare skin. When the Yakut bride, on the way to her groom's house in the fairy tale, approached a fork in the road, she forgot which way her future husband had told her to take. She chose the path which led not to the east, where three sable skins were hanging, but to the west, where there was a bear skin. As a result, she lost her face "curtain" or covering that protected her from the evil spirits of *abaasy*.

In olden times German brides also covered their faces. At first this was done with a shawl, later replaced with a white veil. To lift the covering meant for the bride to be open to the influence of evil spirits.

All this allows us to interpret the shawl, which the German bride received from her mother, as corresponding to the present-day bridal veil, the aim of which is to protect the bride from evil forces. When the German bride imprudently lost her shawl, she opened herself up to the influence of malicious forces from the lady's maid.

Sleptsov, a researcher of the Yakut customs and traditions, describes the custom according to which a young girl was asked to sit on the bride's bed while the bride was on her way to the groom's house, and remain there until the people accompanying the bride had returned. According to Sleptsov, this can be interpreted as a "fraudulent" ritual of the Yakut people. In Sleptsov's opinion, this ritual is implicitly described in our Yakut fairy tale - the groom marries the false bride, the *abaasy-wench*.

A false bride is also present in the German fairy tale "Goose Woman," in the form of the lady's maid. In traditional German wedding ceremonies, when all the guests - led by the groom - were on their way to the bride's house, they were met by an old woman dressed in dirty rags. The false bride was unmasked, and all the people present mocked her. The real bride could be found either in the next room or in a neighbor's house, tied to a chair with multi-colored ribbons. She could get her "freedom" only thanks to her groom's "financial investments". Röhrich points out that in Egerland, instead of the bride there was a disguised farm hand or a maidservant. The connotational function of the false brides in the Yakut and

⁵³ *abaasy* - evil, dark spirits

German traditions coincides: a false bride should draw danger away from the real bride.

The heroine of the German “Goose Woman” arrives at her groom’s kingdom but there she is not recognized. In Propp’s view, the essence of this plot development is that the bride is now a new, different, reborn person. For one family clan she is dead, and for the other she is reborn (this is symbolized in the change of name). The changing of clothes by the German and Yakut brides is another example of their presence in one world and subsequent rebirth to another status - that of a wife. This archaism still exists in contemporary weddings: for three days the bride changes her clothing.

Among the motivating rituals in the Yakut fairy tale aimed at the birth of children and prosperity, there are two rituals involving devotion and incentive. In the German fairy tale there is, in my view, a connecting ritual involved in the Goose Woman’s confession to the oven. According to the Dictionary of Superstitions of the German People, an oven represents the heart of the house, and the offer to tell the oven everything comes from the king, the groom’s father.

The image of the false brides in the two fairy tales is interesting. In the German tale, the false bride - the lady’s maid - is characterized as an arrogant and insidious woman. Nothing is said about her appearance, in contrast to the appearance of the false bride - abaasy-wench - in the Yakut tale, who is dressed in clothing made of iron. In the Yakut tales, everything made of iron belongs to the world of the dead. On the other hand, iron is an indication that the genesis of negative characters has deep roots in the iron age, when iron was making its first appearance in the life of the ancient Yakuts, whose attitude to metal was at first negative and connected with many superstitions (Zaharova).

In the archaic plot of the Yakut tale, we can find social and household motives related to the life of the ancient Yakuts - the very first stages, when Yakut clans started accepting as brides women from other tribes, which were sometimes even hostile.

Seroshevky (1985) wrote that “Yakuts take as their wives women from far-off tribes”. He also pointed out that moderately well-off Yakuts tried to marry girls from the neighboring districts, and poor Yakuts established their ties with families from the same regions, as long as these families belonged to the clan of a different patriarch.

In the Yakut fairy tale “Old Woman Beiberikeen With Five Cows”, the false bride - abaasy-wench - is from a far-off tribe. She doesn’t follow the wedding rituals, customs and traditions of the groom’s clan, thus failing to show proper respect. It is also significant that she tethers her horse to the tethering post of the house servants. That is why people of the clan do not accept the bride. Being already the wife of Khaardgyt Bergen, she is not able to look after cattle, or cook food with milk - further indications that she is from a tribe which is unfamiliar with cattle breeding.

The negative attitude to the false bride is made clear during the traditional ceremonial meeting, when her entire behavior is openly condemned. She is taken away by a new clan and then killed. All this shows that at the beginning these types of marriages were condemned as unacceptable by the clan. The ancient Yakuts

were evidently often at war and exposed to predatory raids from hostile neighboring tribes from the West. However, this did not prevent them from becoming relatives (Zaharova, 2004).

When the fraud perpetrated by the abasyy-wench becomes clear, and at last the real bride appears, who was destined for the groom by the gods from the related aiyy tribe, the whole situation at the wedding ceremony changes dramatically. In the Yakut fiary tale this is described in detail: how well the real bride knows the wedding ritual, customs and traditions and how she shows respect; and how, as a result, everybody from the “aiyy” tribe likes her very much.

Thus, weddings are celebrated by everyone in the world, but the ceremony itself has its own meaning, image and ritual in every particular culture. The German fairy tale “Goose Woman” and the Yakut fairy tale “Old Woman Beiberikeen With Five Cows” show that ritual life is universal. It is connected primarily with the most important events in a person’s life, such as the wedding, on the one hand, and on the other, with the peculiarities of ritual itself.

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Appendix 1

Wedding stages

<i>German wedding</i>	“Goose Woman”	<i>Yakut wedding</i>	“Old Woman Beiberikeen With Five Cows”
<i>Matchmaking</i>	When their beautiful daughter grew up she was engaged to a prince from a far-off principality	<i>Matchmaking</i>	The father sent nine horsemen to visit the Old Woman Beiberikeen. They rode their horses at a gallop to meet her.
<i>Engagement</i>		<i>Engagement</i>	- Old Woman Beiberikeen! Will you give us this girl to get married to our Master Haughty Kharakh Khannaa. - I will - she said. They asked the girl. - Will you marry him? - I will - the girl said.
<i>Agreement</i>	Old mother has prepared all utensils and jewelry - everything which is included in the dowry.	<i>Agreement</i>	- As dowry, - the Old Woman said - bring cattle and horses to fill up my vast land.
<i>Stag-party/ Hen party or Bachelor’s party/ Bridal shower</i>	n/a	-----	
<i>Wedding</i>	No direct description. ... a young king married his real bride and they started ruling their kingdom in peace and happiness.	<i>Wedding in the bride’s house</i>	No direct description. The girl was smartly dressed. A dappled talking horse was brought in and tethered... The son-in-law took his bride who was standing next to her mother by the lash she was holding and together they left the house. He put his bride on the house and they rode together to his house.

	--	-----	<i>Wedding in the groom's house</i>	When ysyakh began a wedding was arranged. For seven days and nights people were eating, drinking, playing games and enjoying entertainment. There were singers and dancers, fairy-tale tellers and fighters, people who hopped and jumped and all those who could get up and walk.
	--	-----	<i>Young wife visits parent's home</i>	No description

Appendix 2

Wedding rituals

Wedding rituals		“Old Woman Beiberikeen With Five Cows”	“Goose Woman”
Preserving	driving away	n/a	n/a
	protecting	Three sable skins curtain	Mother's shawl / scarf with tree drops of blood
	fraudulent	Abaasy-wench as a false bride	Lady's maid as a false bride
	avoiding	n/a	n/a
Purifying		Purification of the groom's body by water and wind for 30 days after his relationship with the false bride	Quenching one's thirst from stream water
Motivating / Incentive	separating	Changing / exchanging clothes with the false bride	The same as above
	connecting	n/a	n/a
	devoting	Lighting a fire using three larch tree-tops	
	fertility and prosperity	Bedding with green grass	

OSVRT NA BARTOVO STRUKTURALISTIČKO POIMANJE KNJIŽEVNE KRITIKE

Apstrakt: Cilj ovog rada je da pokuša da rasvijetli neke Bartove teorijske poglede na način njihovog, bar što se kritike tiče, sistematičnog i konsekventnog sagledavanja. Ovakvim sagledavanjem nam se, u isto vrijeme, nameću i pitanja koja ta misao pokreće a traženjem odgovora na njih kod samog Barta pokušaće se postići koherentnost te misli. Na taj način, ovaj rad predstavlja samo nastavak ranijih i podsticaj za dalje polemičke misli i stavove koji se javljaju na temu strukturalističkog shvatanja književne kritike.

Ključne riječi: strukturalizam, književna kritika, višeznačnost, tumačenje, anamorfoza, pisanje, „valjanost“ kritike, istinitost, subjektivnost.

U ovom radu najprije bih krenula od pitanja koje sobom povlači ostala pitanja, a to je Bartovo shvatanje zadatka književne kritike i, sa njim u vezi, shvatanjâ smisla književnog djela.

Bart je zastupnik tzv. «institucionalizovanog pluralizma» koji proizilazi iz «višeznačnosti» i vječite «otvorenosti» književnog djela. Međutim, sam pojam višeznačnosti kod Barta je višeznačan, i u različitim kontekstima, a i istovremeno, javlja se na više nivoa:

- višeznačnost kao mogućnost jednog djela da bude tumačeno na više načina i razmatrano iz različitih uglova istovremeno ili sukcesivno, što, dakle, podrazumijeva pluralizam interpretacija. Bart priznaje da je i sam “često pomišljao na miroljubivu koegzistenciju kritičkih jezika, ili, ako hoćete, na “parametričku” kritiku, koja bi podešavala svoj jezik prema delu koje joj je dato, svakako ne iz ubjeđenja da bi skup ovih jezika na kraju jednom zauvek iscrpao istinu dela, već u nadi da bi iz ovih raznovrsnih jezika potekla jedna opšta forma, sama suvislost koju naše doba daje stvarima, i koju kritička delatnost na dijalektički način istovremeno teži da odgonetne i zasnuje”.
- višeznačnost kao pluralizam smislova koje nudi književno djelo samo sobom, budući da je ono istovremeno strukturirano ali i strukturirajuće, što, dakle, podrazumijeva njegovu strukturalnu slojevitost smisla.
- višeznačnost kao legitimnost svakog pojedinačnog čitaočevog shvatanja smisla, bilo da se radi o više različitih ili manje-više komplementarnih shvatanja jednog istog čitaoca (podrazumijeva se prilikom više čitanja u različitim životnim situacijama, dobima i okolnostima), ili, pak, da se radi o različitim shvatanjima smisla svakog čitaoca ponaosob. Ovdje treba dodati da je, kako to i Bart naglašava, čitaočevo shvatanje, za razliku od kritičarevog, neiskazano, i samim tim neopredijeljeno, vječito formirajuće i upitno.
- višeznačnost tumačenja samog kritičara, njegovog «govora o govoru» koje, postavši samim činom pisanja smisljeno, ili novoosmišljeno, preosmišljeno književno djelo, donosi sobom pluralitet smisla i neminovno uzrokuje i pluralitet tumačenja istog, odnosno pluralitet njegovog shvatanja i recepcije.

Čini mi se da bi se ovdje s pravom mogli zapitati da li se ovaj lanac značenjskih, odnosno smisaonih uzročno-posljedičnih veza uopšte negdje završava i da li mu je to cilj?

Iz prethodnog bi se moglo pretpostaviti da bi smisao, ako bi se on ikada dosegao, što kod Barta nije slučaj, bio jednak konačnom.

Mi ćemo se ovdje takođe zapitati šta bi, sa takvog stanovišta pluralizma, bio zadatak kritike? Kod Barta nailazimo na više mišljenja po ovom pitanju koja ću pokušati ovdje da predstavim (nekim gradacijskim sukcesivnim redosljedom):

Najprije ćemo se pozabaviti shvatanjem kritike kao tumačenja.

U tom kontekstu Bart određuje kritiku kao «duboko (ili bolje reći profilno) čitanje», koje u djelu otkriva izvjesnu suvislost i u tom smislu doista predstavlja dešifrovanje i tumačenje. Međutim, Bart dodaje da «ono što kritika otkriva ne može biti označeno», kao jedan jedinstveni smisao djela već «*smisao* koji ona s pravom daje djelu u krajnjoj liniji predstavlja samo jedno novo cvetanje simbola djela».

Kritičar ne može da objasni delo, to će reći da mu odredi jedan jedini, objektivan i za uvijek dat smisao; on može samo da ga razumije, da ga protumači, da na jedan koherentan način dešifruje mnogoznačne znakove u njemu. Da bi pronašao te ključne tačke na koje će se oslanjati u traganjima za mogućim značenjima djela, kritičar se neće zadržati na eksplicitnom, očiglednom, koje krije u sebi opasnost da bude površinsko, već će mu pažnju privlačiti skrivena značenja i nesvesna intencionalnost djela isto onoliko, pa i mnogo više, nego jasno izražene namere. Tim povodom Bart kaže da je «jalovo svoditi delo na čistu doslovnost, jer onda automatski o njemu nema više šta da se kaže, a znamo da se funkcija dela ne može sastojati u tome da se zatvore usta onima koji ga čitaju; ali gotovo da je isto toliko izlišno tražiti u delu ono što bi ono moglo reći a što ne kazuje i pretpostavljati da ono sadrži neki skriveni ključ, kome opet ne bismo imali šta da dodamo...».

Vidimo da ovdje Bart zastupa kritiku kao tumačenje koje se ipak, da upotrijebimo taj izraz, «drži» djela, koje je u «sjenci» djela, podrazumijevajući time tumačenje djela iz njega samog. U skladu sa tim, ako je djelo sačinjeno od simboličkog jezika i samo simbolično, ima, dakle, višestruki smisao, tada i kritika kao tumačenje simbola mora tumačiti simbolično tj. istim sredstvom djela a ne, kako Bart navodi, govorom «koji je sam doslovan, bez dubine, bez tajne, čiji je zadatak da zaustavi beskrajnu metaforu dela, da bi u tom zaustavljanju došao do njegove *istine*». I zaključuje: «Trebalo da simbol nađe simbol, treba da jedan jezik potpuno govori drugim jezikom: tako se, u krajnjoj liniji, poštuje i doslovni smisao djela. ... U kritici je tačan govor moguć samo ako se odgovornost «tumača» prema delu izjednači sa odgovornošću kritičara prema vlastitom govoru».

Bart se, dalje, poziva na tradicionalnu funkciju kritičara kao komentatora, ali je on to sada u punom smislu. S jedne strane, on pomaže da djelo bude «primljeno» od strane čitaoca, a s druge strane, on je «operator» koji «nanovo raspoređuje elemente djela, kako bi delu dao izvjesnu suvislost».

Shvatanje kritike kao anamorfoze

Bart je u «ispovijesti» povodom svoje kritike Rasina priznao da «rastojanje» između kritičkog jezika i njegovog predmeta «ne može biti beskrajno»; kao i to da je «kritika slobodna, ali njenu slobodu u krajnjoj liniji nadgledaju izvesne granice

predmeta koje ona bira. Tako, radeći na Rasinu, ja sam najpre razmišljao o jednoj supstancijalnoj psihoanalizi, ali ta bi kritika, bar ona koju sam ja imao u vidu, naišla na suviše veliki otpor, te sam se ja okrenuo jednoj psihoanalizi istovremeno u većoj meri klasičnoj (jer pridaje veliki značaj Ocu) i u većoj mjeri strukturalnoj (jer Rasinovo pozorište čini «igrom» čisto relacionalnih figura)».

Empirijski, dakle, primjenom izabrane metode u osvjetljavanju djela kritičar može da, po izboru, ukloni, zaobiđe ili da se suoči sa teškoćama na koje nailazi. Ako ne postoji jedan jedini smisao djela, to naravno, nipošto ne znači da ne postoji njegovo jedinstvo: ono je u njegovoj totalnosti i kritičar nju ne smije gubiti iz vida.

Bart izriče i konstataciju koja takođe problematizuje njegov stav prema kritici a to je da je «između kritike i dela isti odnos kao između smisla i forme... kritičar može da stvori izvestan smisao, izvodeći ga iz forme koja predstavlja delo... reč je o nekoj vrsti anamorfoze... s tim što se podrazumeva da je «sama anamorfoza nadgledani preobražaj».

Ovdje se, zapravo, misli da je to rastavljanje i ponovno sastavljanje elemenata djela, što čini anamorfozu, potčinjeno određenim zakonima, da se ono uvijek mora vršiti s uvidom u cjelinu, i u istom smislu. «To su tri zakona kritike» jer «kritičar ne može da kaže *bilo šta*».

Kritiku tako odlikuje napor da se u traganju za značenjima bezuslovno rukovodi saznanjem o odnosima međuzavisnosti između svih dijelova jedne celine, shvaćene ne kao skup organizovanih, ali u izvesnoj meri ipak samostalnih i izdvojljivih pojava, već kao duboko jedinstven totalitet, čvrsto strukturisan.

Shodno tome, Bart ističe da «anamorfozom koju kritičar utiskuje u delo upravljaju formalna pravila smisla: smisao se ne stvara bilo kako: kritičara ne potvrđuje smisao djela već smisao onoga što o njemu kazuje». (ovdje bih stavila poseban akcenat na izraz „stvara“ koji je Bart upotrijebio).

Da li je „subjektivnost“ kritičara ta koja određuje smjer, kojim kritičar, kad ga je jednom izabrao, mora ići u građenju svog smisla putem anamorfoze? Drugim riječima, da li kritičar može, po sopstvenom nahodjenju, da izgradi svoj smisaono suvisli sistem koji će biti relevantan dok god bude poštovao formalna pravila smisla o kojima je bilo riječi?

Kod Barta nailazimo na odgovor da «jedna sistematizovana, to jest kultivisana (zavisna od kulture) subjektivnost - podvrgnuta velikom broju pravila i samih poteklih iz simbolâ dela - ima možda više izgleda da se približi književnom objektu od neizgrađene objektivnosti, slepe za samu sebe, koja se zaklanja iza doslovnog smisla kao iza prirode. Ali, istinu govoreći, nije reč o tome: kritika nije nauka... Drugim rečima, objekt sa kojim se kritičar suočava nije delo već njegov vlastiti jezik...»

Dakle, Bart staje «iza» subjektivnosti kritike kao neizbježne posljedice kritičkog ispitivanja djela od strane „drugog“, koji nije pisac posmatranog djela ali jeste pisac sopstvene kritike o njemu. Jedno djelo počinje da „živi“ tek kada ono biva (pro)čitano, pa je o njegovoj sadržini i smislu nemoguće dati bilo kakav „objektivan“ stav kao o nečemu što postoji prije i nezavisno od nas kao čitaoca. Kritičar, koji svoj posao započinje kao čitalac, jeste taj čija je prisutnost apsolutno neophodna, u svim vremenima, da bi djelo progovorilo i da bi se ispunilo smislom. Ono što ga neizostavno čini subjektivnim u tumačenju, i pored njegove, u mnogo

većem stepenu nego kod „običnog“ čitaoca, usmjerenim obrazovanjem i iskustvom ostvarene „distance“ prema djelu jeste sama činjenica da i on neizbježno u djelo mora unijeti svoju istoriju, svoju slobodu, svoj jezik, svoj način mišljenja.

«Rasin je dostupan mnogim jezicima: psihoanalitičkom, egzistencijalnom, tragičkom, psihološkom (mogu se iznaći i biće iznađeni i drugi); nijedan nije nedužan. Ali priznati ovu nemogućnost *da se kaže istina* o Rasinu upravo znači konačno priznati posebni status književnosti» čija se funkcija sastoji upravo u tome da *institucionalizuje subjektivnost*. «Da bi sledio to kretanje kritičar mora i sam da postane paradoksalan, da objavi tu neizbežnu nagodbu koja ga obavezuje da o Rasinu govori na jedan a ne na drugi način: i on pripada književnosti. Ovdje je prvo objektivno pravilo: objaviti sistem čitanja jer neutralnog sistema nema».

Pod vidom tvrđenja, pod vidom odgovora na pitanja, djelo uvek samo postavlja pitanja, jer Bart smatra da i onda kada se pisac trudi da dâ odgovor, za nas su njegovi odgovori zanimljivi samo kao pitanja. Obrnuto, pod vidom pitanja, kritičar je taj koji pokušava da da odgovor na pitanja koja pred njaga postavlja djelo, i njegovi odgovori su u svojoj potpunosti vazda uslovni i privremeni. Jedino se tako može shvatiti, misli Bart, da Rasinovo delo svojim pitanjima izaziva sve nove i nove odgovore koje sam Rasin ni njegova epoha nikada ne bi mogli dati.

Izdvojila bih i Bartovo shvatanje **kritike kao pisanja**.

Bart određuje odstojanje kritike prema djelu kao ironiju koja se može uporediti i sa odstojanjem pisca prema junacima svoga djela. «Ironija je onda ono što je neposredno dato kritičaru; ne da vidi istinu, već da bude istina...». On kaže da je „delo uvek u situaciji proricanja. Zaista, uključujući svoju situaciju u čitanje nekog djela, ja mogu smanjiti njegovu dvosmislenost (i to se obično i događa); ali ta situacija, promenljiva, komponuje delo, ona ga ne pronalazi“.

Ovo izjednačavanje kritike sa ironijom opovrgava, rekli bismo, «objektivnost» tumačenja a potvrđuje slobodu, subjektivnost i autonomiju koju kritičar ima nad djelom. Taj odnos slobode i nevezanosti je i neophodan da bi se nešto moglo ironisati jer podrazumijeva uzimanje odstojanja u odnosu na predmet, koje uzima i romanopisac (kao stvaralac) nad svojim imaginarnim likovima. Isto onako kao što pisac određuje likove djela a ne oni njega, što implicira i odnos subordinacije jednog nad drugim, tako i kritičarev stav nije određen djelom već ga on daje, pripisuje djelu.

«Preći sa čitanja na kritiku znači promeniti želju, ne želiti više delo već vlastiti jezik».

Dakle, «kritičar ni po čemu ne može da zameni čitaoca. Uzalud će se od njega tražiti da svoj glas - ma koliko taj glas bio dostojan poštovanja - pozajmljuje čitanju drugih ljudi, da bude samo čitalac na koga su drugi čitaoci, zbog njegovog znanja ili rasudne moći, preneli pravo da izražava njihova osećanja, jednom reči, da zastupa pravo kolektiva na delo. Uzalud će se on time ponositi. Zašto? Zato što kritičar, čak i ako se odredi kao čitalac koji piše, susreće na svom putu jednog opasnog posrednika: pisanje».

Pisanje kritike je samo ostvarenje kritičareve želje da piše i da se približi, ili izjednači sa piscem. «Koliko je pisaca pisalo samo zato što su čitali? Koliko kritičara je čitalo samo da bi pisali».

I sam svjestan ambivalentnosti koju strukturalizam podrazumijeva u bavljenju književnošću putem, odnosno preko same književnosti, Bart pledira za strukturalizam, ne kao nauku, već kao pisanje te zaključuje da «logičan nastavak strukturalizma može biti samo u njegovom približavanju književnosti - ali ne više kao «objektu» analize, već književnosti kao upražnjavanju pisanja - u ukidanju razlikovanja, poteklog iz logike, prema kome je djelo jezik-objekt a nauka metajezik,... «Dakle, strukturalistu preostaje da se preobrati u pisca».

Po Bartu, buduća nauka o književnosti, ako hoće da bude „nauka“, dakle objektivna, ona to može biti samo ako njen predmet proučavanja ne bude sadržina već uslovi sadržine, odnosno forma. Njen predmet neće više biti puni smislovi djela, već naprotiv, prazan smisao koji je u stanju da ih sve sadrži.

Ako slijedimo Bartovo shvatanje kritike kao stvaralačkog procesa, kao čin pisanja paralelan književnom djelu koje mu je trebalo poslužiti kao predložak, osnova, ili, pak, podsticaj za nastajanje, postavlja se pitanje o stepenu autonomnosti kritike.

Bart ističe da je kritika, zapravo, pisanje u punom smislu te riječi, i ostvarenje želje kritičara da i sam «proizvodi» smisao, a ne samo da «kritikuje» a time i da se oslanja na neki drugi smisao. To, u krajnjoj liniji, podrazumijevaju sva tri prethodno navedena stava o kritici.

Ako se ovdje nadovežemo na onaj stav o pluralizmu jednako legitimnih kritika, i ako pretpostavimo da bi svaka od njih podrazumijevala smisaono suvisli sistem, mogli bi se zapitati da li su njihovi smislovi u korelaciji ili zavisnosti, i kakvoj, od smislova književnog djela?

Djelimičan odgovor na ovu upitanost koja se nameće, možemo naći u Bartovom preciznijem određenju prirode kritike. Ona treba da zadovolji tri uslova: da, jednom izabrana, bude dosljedna, homogena, koherentna i sveobuhvatna tj. da u cjelosti «pokriva» djelo, tako da bude njime «zasićena», kao i da istim bude «pokrivena», odnosno potkrijepljena. Bartovo institucionalizovanje pluralizma kritika i tumačenja podrazumijeva da jedno delo neminovno može i mora da bude najrazličitije protumačeno, što u krajnjoj liniji treba da znači da je pročitano uz pomoć različitih sistema dešifrovanja. No nijedno tumačenje ne može biti istinito, jer bi to značilo da je jedino moguće i trajno. To znači da najviše čemu može težiti kritičko tumačenje jeste da bude valjano, što se postiže time što bi bilo koherentno, što bi sve fenomene posmatralo u strukturi totaliteta i što bi imalo za cilj da očuva i učini vidljivim duboko unutrašnje jedinstvo djela. Gdje onda povući granicu između «valjane» kritike i one koja to nije, da bi se opredijelili samo za onu prvu kao jedino relevantnu?

Bart ostavlja otvoreno pitanje kako izmiriti protivrječnosti između međusobno oprečnih, a valjanih tumačenja. Bartova „valjanost“ ne podrazumijeva ali i ne isključuje „istinitost“. Valjanost je, zapravo, preduslov svake pretenzije kritičara na istinitost. Da bi jedna kritika bila valjana ona ne mora biti i istinita, ali stoji obrnuto - da bi jedna kritika bila istinita ona mora biti valjana. Pojam »valjanosti« vezan za pravilno funkcionisanje forme, ne isključuje pojam »istinitosti«, vezan za sadržinu.; naprotiv, valjanost forme omogućuje istinitost sadržine utoliko ukoliko ona za nas u svakom času izražava samo jednu od mogućih istina koje krije u sebi, kako dobro primjećuje Slobodan Vitanović.

Serž Dubrovski zemjera Bartu što zastupa jednu »institucionalnu teoriju jezika«, po kojoj je književni jezik »samo sistem znakova, čije biće nije u nekoj poruci, već jedino u njegovoj formalnoj strukturi, i čija vrednost, prema tome, ne leži u nekoj njegovoj vezi sa konkretnim, već samo u njegovom dobrom unutrašnjem funkcionisanju«. Tako izlazi, kako primjećuje Dubrovski, da se odnosi označavanja konstituišu u okviru jezika, kao odnosi koji su 'valjani' utoliko ukoliko su koherentni, a ne kao odnosi koji su 'istiniti' utoliko što bi upućivali na jednu stvarnost izvan govora«.

Bart, međutim, priznaje da kritika mora biti «angažovana» u smislu da «delo ne može da ustane protiv smisla koji mu dajem...ali ono, takođe, ne može ni da potvrdi taj smisao, ... ono ocrtava raspon smisla ali ne i njegove puteve, zasniva ambivalentnost a ne smisao». Tako da je »vakuum smisla« o kome Bart govori, samo čista apstrakcija, samo preduslov njegove neprekidno obnavljane punoće. Bartova studija o Rasinu to izvršno pokazuje.

Za Slobodana Vitanovića kod Barta „ne može biti govora o nepremostivom jazu između forme, uzete kao prazan sistem za sebe, i sveta koji je sadržan u njoj. Odnos između jezika i sveta neosporno postoji i za Barta, on je neraskidiv, ali je samo, po njegovom mišljenju, promenljiv. U razlikovanju forme od sadržine, on očiglednu prevagu u umetnosti daje formi, ali ne zato da bi porekao sadržinu, već zato da bi je tim putem otkrio«.

Tragom Bartove ideje da se «izlaganje koje se na vlastitu odgovornost odlučuje da odredi posebni smisao djela može nazvati *književnom kritikom*» i stava da «kritika nije nauka» jer «nauka ispituje smislove, kritika ih proizvodi», ponovo dolazimo do pitanja - da li je književna kritika (kritičar) tumač (enje) ili stvaralac (pisanje)?

Bart, u kritici, kao i Rob-Grije u romanu, svako na svoj način i usvojoj oblasti, stoje iza teze po kojoj pre dela nema ničega, nema izvjesnosti, nema poruke: smisao nikada ne prethodi djelu, on samo može iz njega da proizađe. Pisanje nije iskazivanje nečeg što je jasno pre nego što je bilo uobičajeno u umjetnički izraz; pisanje je traganje za jasnim u sferi nejasnog. Ako strukturalističkom izlaganju ne preostaje ništa drugo do da «postane potpuno homogeno svom objektu» tj. da postane i samo književnost, ovo izlaganje bih završila i pitanjem - Da li se tumačenje i književnost, odnosno pisanje, shvaćeni kao kritika, u tom slučaju poistovjećuju ili međusobno isključuju, ili se tu, zapravo, radi o različitim vrstama kritike? Ili se, ako bismo bili do kraja dosljedni, ovdje može govoriti o različitim vrstama književnosti?

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IV

PREVOĐENJE / TRANSLATION

INTERKULTURALNOST U FRAZELOGIJI SRPSKOG I MAĐARSKOG JEZIKA

Abstract: Ovaj rad se bavi sličnostima i razlikama u frazeološkim jedinicama srpskog i mađarskog jezika, tačnije da li se mogu i u kojoj meri naći ekvivalenti nekih izraza u pomenuta dva jezika. Naime, često se dešava da se u Vojvodini upotrebljavaju prevodi nekih srpskih fraza, kojih u mađarskom jeziku nema, pa tako u Republici Mađarskoj nemaju tu komunikativnu vrednost kao na našem podneblju. Dešava se da su frazeološke jedinice doslovno iste, ali da u pomenutim jezicima imaju različita značenja.

Ključne reči: kontrastivna frazeologija, frazeološke jedinice, srpski jezik, mađarski jezik

Pitanje frazeologije je samo po sebi veoma kompleksno i u okviru jednog određenog jezika, a kamoli u slučajevima kada se jezici, odnosno kulture susreću, prepliću i utiču jedna na drugu. Razlike postoje već i u pogledu toga šta se u nekim jezicima smatra frazeološkom jedinicom pa sve do načina i kriterijuma za njihovo razvrstavanje. Fraze su prisutne u svakom jeziku i mi smo, kao govornici manje ili više svesni njihove upotrebe. U svakom jeziku postoje često upotrebljavani izrazi, ali i oni koji nisu toliko frekventni. Dešava se da se, i pored toga što postoje u frazeološkoj literaturi, oni ne koriste u savremenom jeziku, ili bar ne u svim teritorijalnim varijetetima jezika. Ova problematika se u većoj meri ispoljava kada takve jedinice u govoru ili pisanom tekstu treba prevesti.

Teško je tačno i definisati šta se može smatrati frazeološkom jedinicom. Po Josipu Matešiću "Frazemi su jedinice jezika značenjskog karaktera koje se kao cjelina reproduciraju u govornom aktu, raspoložuci pri tome najmanje dvjema punoznačnim (autosemantičkim) riječima, od kojih barem jedna upućuje na semantičku pretvorbu, jedinice koje, zbog sposobnosti uklapanja u kontekst, poput svake druge riječi, mogu vršiti sintaktičku funkciju u rečenici."¹ On ne nabraja šta sve može biti frazem. U mađarskom jeziku u frazeologiju spadaju uobičajeni izrazi (društvene fraze, formule u narodnim pričama, često upotrebljavani, stalni spojevi reči, tačnije izrazi, metafore), poslovice, izreke, i krilatice.

Većina frazema ne potiče iz jezika u kome se upotrebljavaju, već su - kao i ostale tuđice, drugi elementi - preuzeti iz nekog stranog jezika, iz neke druge kulture, iz tradicije raznih naroda. Analiziranje, odnosno upoređivanje frazeoloških jedinica dvaju jezika uvek predstavlja uzbudljiv i interesantan zadatak, pogotovo ako ti jezici, s jedne strane pripadaju geneološki i tipološki raličitim grupama, a s druge strane ako se govornici tih jezika nalaze u viševekovnom istorijskom i kulturnom kontaktu. Jezik vojvođanskih Mađara je u specifičnom položaju jer, pored toga što je toliko različit od svih jezika koji ga okružuju, to je jezik nacionalne manjine koji trpi veće uticaje nego što je to slučaj kod drugih jezika. Svi mi znamo da je leksički nivo najpodložniji uticajima, a sastavni deo leksike čine i frazemi.

Problematika ekvivalencije frazeoloških jedinica me je prvenstveno zaokupljala samo kao običnog bilingvalnog govornika, a kasnije i kao lingvistu, pogotovo od kako sam se počela baviti kritikom prevoda i leksikografijom. Radeći na dvojezičnom

¹ Frazeološki rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika, IRO "Školska knjiga", Zagreb, 1982. VI)

rečniku, susrela sam se sa brojnim poteškoćama i pojavama kojih do tada nisam bila svesna. Pri odabiru ekvivalentnih oblika frazeoloških jedinica koleginica Mirjana Burzan i ja se oslanjamo na jednojezične frazeološke rečnike, koji sadrže značenja srpskih, odnosno mađarskih fraza.²

Na osnovu primera sa kojima sam se susretala, fraze možemo podeliti po više osnova. Prva podela bi bila na osnovu toga da li frazeološke jedinice sa određenim značenjem uopšte postoje u oba jezika koji se upoređuju. Ako postoje, da li su one istog karaktera ili ne. Ukoliko ne postoje frazeološke jedinice sa istim značenjem, prevodni ekvivalent može biti opisni ili neko drugo rešenje koje proizilazi iz jezičkog sistema ili karakteristika jezika u kontaktu. Tako na primer, poređenju sa pridevskim značenjem u srpskom jeziku u mađarskom najčešće odgovara složena reč u funkciji prideva, što proizilazi iz sintetičkog karaktera ovog jezika:

- *beo kao sneg* - *hófehér* (olyan fehér mint a hó)
- *brz kao strela* - *nyílsebes* (olyan sebes mint a nyíl)
- *brz kao munja* - *villámgyors* (gyors mint a villám)
- *prost kao pasulj* - *pofonegyszerű* (egyszerű, mint a pofon)
- *zdrav kao dren* - *makkegészséges* (olyan egészséges, mint a makk)
- *bled kao mrtvac* - *halálsápadt*

Dakle, imenica sa kojom se svojstvo upoređuje ovde stoji kao prvi član složenice, a pridev je zapravo drugi sastavni deo složenog prideva. I druge konstrukcije (kao što su npr. prisvojne), pa i čitave rečenice se mogu svesti na složenicu u mađarskom:

- *labudova pesma* - *hattyúdál*
- *imati kokošji mozak* - *tyúkeszű*
- *biti pri zdravoj pameti* - *épeszű*
- *borba na život i smrt* - *élethalálharc* (élet = život, halál = smrt, harc = borba)
- *luk i voda* - *pofonkönnyű*

Ukoliko adekvatna fraza postoji u oba jezika, mogla bi se analizirati po raznim kriterijumima. Jedan od takvih pristupa bi mogao biti poreklo fraze, znači da li je nastala u određenom jeziku u kom se analiza vrši, u konkretnoj situaciji, ili je preuzeta iz nekog drugog jezika. Fraze, naime, najčešće nastaju na osnovu konkretnog događaja, mogu se dovesti u vezu sa određenim istorijskim događajima ili ličnostima, zatim se one svedu na konstrukcije reči sa funkcijom podsećanja na određene situacije, dok na kraju ostaje samo značenje iz kojeg se teško može rekonstruisati etimologija. Kada se nastajanje dovodi u vezu sa istorijskim događajem ili ličnošću iz grčke, rimske mitologije ili istorije nekog stranog naroda, one se mogu naći u gotovo svim jezicima i to sa istim značenjem: *tantalove muke/tantaluszi kínok*, *Ahилоva peta/Achilles sarka*, *Pirova pobeda/pirrhusi győzelem*, *solomonsko rešenje/salamoni döntés*, *gordijev čvor/gordiuszi csomó*, *sedam sušnih godina/hét szűk esztendő* itd. Takve su i nama svima znane krilatice: *biti ili ne biti/lenni vagy nem lenni*, *kocka je bačena/a kocka el van vetve* itd. Za fraze nastale na osnovu istorijskih zbivanja jednog određenog naroda najčešće nema odgovarajućih ekvivalenata u drugim jezicima (primeri na srpskom: *Provesti se kao Janko na Kosovu*, *sve je kome ravno do Kosova*, *jak kao Kraljević Marko...* za

² Vidi literaturu!

mađarski: *több is veszett Mohácsnál* (doslovno: „i više od toga je izgubljeno kod Mohača“, misli se na bitku kod Mohača³ a značenje je: „ne vredi se žalostiti, mogu nas zadesiti i veći problemi“), *nem enged a negyvennyolcból* (politička konotacija postaje sve slabija, danas znači „ne popuštati, držati se svojih opredeljenja i odluka“), pa se one ili opisno prevode ili se traži frazem odgovarajuće semantike.

Postoje i izrazi koji se vezuju za određene geografske oblasti (*Él mint Marci Hevesen* - živeti kao bubreg u loju), ili pak za anegdotske događaje (*mást beszél, mint Bodóné, mikor a bor árát kéri* - doslovno: „skreće temu razgovora, kao gospođa Bodo kada su joj hteli naplatiti vino“, ili *Ő sem jobb a Deákné vásznánál* - doslovno: nije bolji/bolja od platna gospođe Deák u značenju: nije ni on zlato, odnosno bolji od drugih).

Ukoliko su fraze ujedno i igre reči, ta se dodatna vrednost na žalost ne može adekvatno prevesti, međutim, često se može naći fraza koja semantički odgovara:

- *bez alata nema zanata* - *a jó munkához jó szerszám kell*
- *ko leti hladuje, zimi gladuje* - *ki nyáron nem gyűjt, télen keveset fűt*
- *napraviti od komarca magarca* - *szűnyogból/bolhából elefántot csinál*
- *biti kratke pameti, bistar kao boza* - *okos mint a tavalyi kos*

I u srpskom postoji varijanta sa slonom umesto magarcem, a u mađarskom umesto komarca može da stoji i buva.

Futakra mén a tej kaže se šaljivo na mađarskom kada mleko pokipi (glagol *pokipeti* se na mađarskom kaže *fut - kifut a tej*, međutim, u Vojvodini postoji jedno mesto koje u svojoj osnovi ima ovaj sklop fonema, a to je Futog, mađarski: Futak. Za pokipelo mleko se znači doslovno kaže „otišlo mleko u Futog“.

Dešava se da postoji veoma sličan leksički sklop za identično, ili vrlo slično značenje, mada etimologija može biti sasvim različita. Za „ono što nema vlasnika, ono o čemu niko ne vodi računa“ (Matešić) u Srbiji se kaže da je *alajbegova slama*. Nisam ustanovila ko bi mogao biti Alaj-beg, ali u istom značenju se u mađarskom upotrebljava fraza *Csáki szalmája* (ova fraza se po etimolozima može dovesti u vezu sa dve osobe, to su Csák Máté i Csáky László).

Veliki broj primera se odnosi na slučajeve kada je leksički sklop sasvim drugačiji ali se značenje poklapa:

- *ostaviti na cedilu nekoga* - *cserbenhagy vkit* (dovesti u nezgodan položaj i ostaviti, izneveriti nekog, doslovno: ostaviti nekoga u rastvoru za štavljenje kože)
- *nasamariti nekoga* - *áprilist járat vkivel* (zbiјati aprilsku šalu), *lóvá tesz vkit* (praviti od nekoga konja)
- *platiti ceh* - *megissza vminek a levét* (popiti zaostali sok)
- *ko čeka, dočeka* - *tűrelem rózsát terem* (doslovno: strpljenje rađa ruže)
- *i mi konja za trku imamo* - *az én kardom sem bodzafa* (doslovno: ni moj mač nije zovino drvo)
- *noga lička a cipela bečka* - *illik rá mint szamárra a bársonynerreg* (pristaje mu, ao magarcu somotsko sedlo)

³ Sličan istorijski toponim kao Kosovo, pošto se kod Mohača odigrala jedna od sudbonosnih bitaka protiv Turaka.

1eke fraze, iako im je leksički sklop identičan, ne predstavljaju prevode iz jednog jezika u drugi, već su nastali na osnovu najstarijih verovanja ili sujeverja. Tako, postoji verovanje da položaj zvezda prilikom rođenja utiče na sudbinu ljudi, pa su paralelno u jezicima nastale fraze kao što su:

- *Roditi se pod srećnom zvezdom* - *Szerencsés csillag alatt született*

Isto tako, široko je bilo rasprostranjeno prastaro verovanje da je sve ono što se čini nekim levim delom tela, ili je prosto u vezi sa levom polovinom ljudskog organizma loše, uzrokuje nekakvu nesreću, donosi zlu kob. Sve se to može pripisati činjenici da nam je leva ruka obično slabija i manje spretna od desne. Primitivno poimanje o nespretnosti leve ruke sluti nekakvo natprirodno zlo, pošto ne nalazi opravdanje za takvu pojavu (da je naime razvijeniji levi deo mozga koji pokreće mišiće sa desne strane našeg tela). Ta se tajanstvena zla karakteristika zatim prenela i na noge i tako su nastale fraze *ustati na levu nogu*, odnosno *bal labbal kelt fel*, što znači „biti zle volje, loše raspoloženi (obično bez razloga). U mađarskom jeziku ima dosta leksikalizovanih konstrukcija, gde je prvi deo složenice upravo reč *bal* u značenju zlokobno, loše: *ballépés* (loš potez), *balsiker* (neuspeh), *balsors* (zla kob), *balszerencse* (loša sreća).

Da se često ne radi o pukom preuzimanju fraza, etimolozi ustanovljavaju na osnovu toga da li u tradiciji, običajima naroda, ili neke jezičke zajednice postoje materijalni ili duhovni uslovi za unutrašnje nastajanje fraza. Dešava se da predstavnici raznih naroda imaju neke identične običaje i verovanja, da im se gledišta i opažanja o nekim stvarima poklapaju pa izvode slične zaključke na osnovu sličnih životnih situacija. Izučava se da li postoje folklorne i jezičke osnove za nastajanje i za širenje nekih frazeoloških jedinica u datom jeziku, da li su one rasprostranjene po čitavoj teritoriji jezičke zajednice ili su prisutne samo u pojedinim dijalektima. Da li se konkretna frazema uklapa u stiliske karakteristike jezika, da li ima više sličnih fraza sa istim odrednicama, da li je eventualno tokom godina usledila i leksikalizacija fraza (kao što je to slučaj recimo sa frazom *kosarat kap* - „dobiti korpu“ u mađarskom jeziku, gde osim što u običajima postoji materijalna osnova za nastajanje, imamo i glagol sa značenjem „dati korpu“ koja je izvedena od imenice *korpa/kosár: kikosaraz*). To sve dokazuje da se (iako fraza postoji u većini evropskih jezika, pa tako i u srpskom) ne radi o pustom preuzimanju, već o paralelnom, autonomnom nastajanju istih i sličnih fraza.

Na mađarskom, kada je neko lukav, prepreden, kaže se vrlo slično kao u srpskom: *minden hájjal meg van kenve* (samo što je umesto sa mašču, takva osoba u mađarskom premazana salom, lojem). Leksički sklop je skoro identičan, semantika takođe, ipak se može reći da se ne radi o preuzimanje fraze, jer za njeno nastajanje postoje uslovi i u mađarskoj kulturnoj istoriji i narodnom verovanju, prema kom se nekim životinjskim mastima pripisuje čarobno svojstvo. Fraze su znači nastale nezavisno u oba jezika.

Čest je slučaj (ujedno i najsrećnije rešenje) kada fraze u oba jezika imaju osim istog značenja i identičan leksički sklop. One najčešće poseduju i identičnu slikovitost, što je isto veoma važno. Evo nekoliko primera:

- *Vući nekoga za nos* - *orránál fogva vezet vkit*
- *Od drveća ne videti šumu* - *nem látja a fától az erdőt*
- *Pao mu je kamen sa srca* - *nagy kő esett le a szívéből*
- *Terati vodu na čiju vodenicu* - *a saját malmára hajtja a vizet*

- *držati dizgine u svojim rukama* - *kezében tartja a gyeplőt;*
- *jedna lasta ne čini proleće* - *egy fecske nem csinál nyarat*
- *go/siromah kao crkveni miš* - *szegény mint a templom egere*

Leksički sklop može biti i delimično identičan, pri čemu je najčešće jedan od elemenata isti:

- *otkriti Ameriku* - *felfedezi a spanyolviaszt* (vosak za pečatiranje)
- *star kao Biblija* - *vén, mint Matuzsálem*
- *uhvatiti boga za bradu* - *megfogja az Isten lábát* (za nogu)
- *obećavati brda i doline* - *fűt-fát ígér* (travu i drveće)
- *bez glave i repa* - *se füle, se farka* (bez ušiju, i repa)
- *tiha voda breg roni* - *lassú víz partot mos* (u mađarskom spora voda „pere“ obalu)
- *ostaviti svoje kosti* - *otthagyja a fogát*

u mađarskom primeru kada neko umire, gine na bojnom polju, ostavlja svoje zube, a ne kosti.

Druga krajnost je kada ne nalazimo adekvatnu frazeološku jedinicu u jeziku cilju, u tom slučaju se daje samo opisni prevod. I za to naravno postoji dosta primera:

- *ići kome niz dlaku* - *hízeleg vkinek*
- *ići kome uz dlaku* - *dacol vkivel;*
- *dok bi dlanom o dlan udario* - *egy pillanat alatt*

Najređi, pa samim tim i najinteresantniji primeri su kada je leksički sklop isti, ali im se semantika delimično ili sasvim razlikuje. Fraza *dogorevati komu do nokata* u srpskom ima značenje: „postajati nesnosno/neizdrživo, dojaditi, dozlogrditi, ne moći više trpeti/podnositi“. Mađarska fraza *a körmére ég (a munka)* vodi etimologiju od činjenice, da su u srednjem veku monasi prilikom prepisivanja knjiga sveće pričvršćivali na svoj nokat da bi bolje videli. Ukoliko posao nisu završili na vreme, sveća bi im zaista dogorevala i često im stvarala čak i opekotine. Danas ova fraza u mađarskom znači da nešto (najčešće neki posao koji je ostavljen za poslednji trenutak) postaje vrlo hitan, da se zapostavljeni posao mora hitno završiti.

Udarati u bubanj u mađarskom *dobra ver vmit* znači prodati, unovčiti, a samo negirana fraza *nem ver nagy dobra* znači „ne razglasiti, rastrubiti nešto“ što je značenje i srpske fraze.

Dakle, dešava se da sličan leksički sklop zavara govornike, loše se protumači semantika, te se frazeološke jedinice, iako znače sasvim nešto drugo, upotrebljavaju kao da imaju isto značenje. Fraza *kad je bal, nek je bal* upotrebljava se da se izrazi “kad se troši, neka se istinski troši“. U nekim dvojezičnim rečnicima kao prevodni ekvivalent stoji mađarski izraz *Ha már lúd, legyen kövér* (doslovno: Kad je već gusan, neka bude dobro utovljen), međutim ova fraza znači, da „ako već neko nešto čini ili kaže, neka to bude smisleno, celovito, ne treba stati na pola puta, neka stvar bude zaista onakva kakvom smo je zamislili“.

Živeti kao bubreg u loju znači živeti u izobilju, dok mađarski izraz *él, mint hal a vízben* samo delimično pokriva to značenje, tačnije izražava da neko živi komotno, bez briga. Umesto ove, kao ekvivalent srpskom primeru mogla bi da stoji fraza *tejben-vajban fürdik*.

Vrlo slično, ali ne i istovetno značenje imaju izrazi *biti između čekića i nakovnja* odnosno *két malomkő között örlődik*. U srpskom ona znači: „biti u velikoj neprilici,

teškoj situaciji, opasnosti sa dvije strane“, a u mađarskom: „biti u neprijatnoj situaciji jer treba udovoljiti dvema obavezama koje se ne mogu uskladiti“

Staviti kome katanac na usta se kod srpskog naroda upotrebljava u značenju ne dopustiti kome da govori, prisiliti nekoga na ćutanje a u mađarskom *lakatot tesz vki szájára* znači ne dati nekome da nešto saopšti, ili da ispriča neku tajnu o nečemu.

Dati kome hleba u ruke u srpskom znači osposobiti nekog za život, da se izdržava sopstvenim radom (prvenstveno se misli na „iškolovati nekog“), a isti leksički sklop u mađarskom *kenyeret ad vkinek* znači zaposliti nekog, dati mu posao.

U dvojezičnim sredinama, kao rezultat uticaja jezika društvene sredine na jezik manjih zajednica, često se susrećemo sa kalkovima, doslovnim prevodima, pa tako i u slučaju frazeoloških jedinica. Ako govornik ne nalazi adekvatan izraz u svom jeziku, jednostavno pribegava prevodu. Ovo je veoma čest slučaj kod vojvođanskih Mađara. Tako se kao ekvivalent konstrukciji *biti na konju* kod nas javlja *lovon van*. Ova fraza ne postoji u mađarskim zbirkama, već samo *nyeregben érzi magát* (doslovno: oseća se kao da je u sedlu). Osim toga, u ovom slučaju ni semantika nije sasvim ista, jer u srpskom znači „posle teškoća naći se u povoljnim prilikama, osećati se siguran“, a na mađarskom „biti siguran u svoj uspeh, da će postići cilj“.

Kao bukvalan prevod *ne biti od juče* javlja se *nem tegnapi gyerek*, što takođe ne postoji u mađarskim frazeološkim zbirkama. Postoji samo *nem mai gyerek* ali i to znači nešto drugo nego u srpskom. Srpsko značenje je „ne biti neiskusna, imati životnog iskustva“⁴, a mađarsko da nije više mlada osoba u pitanju.

Biti pun buva znači biti spretan, dovtljiv. Kod vojvođanskih Mađara možemo čuti doslovan prevod: *tele van bolhával*, ali pošto ove izreke nema u frazeološkom rečniku, znači da se on ne koristi u Mađarskoj, pa ga tako ne možemo dovesti u vezu sa značenjem koje postoji u srpskom. Umesto ovog kalka, ekvivalent bi mogao biti: *eleven, fürge mint a gyík/ nyúl/ mokus* (doslovno: živahan kao gušter / zec / veverica).

U mađarskom ne postoji ni fraza *prodavati dim - füstöt árul* je doslovan prevod. Ova konstrukcija inače i u srpskom ima dva značenja: 1. varati, obmanjivati, 2. beskorisno se čime baviti, baviti se sumnjivim poslom (isto što i *prodavati maglu*). *Soliti kome pamet* znači davati dosadne, nepoželjne, često pogrešne savete. U mađarskoj literaturi nema slične fraze, ali se doslovan prevod u Vojvodini često može čuti: *sózza az eszét* ili *agyát*. Isto tako u značenju prekomernog hvaljenja nekoga ili nečega kao kalk frazi *dizati koga, što u oblake* kod nas se koristi konstrukcija *a fellegekbe emel vkit*.

Ponekad se neki izraz u srpskom može koristiti samo za neživu stvar, a ne i za živo biće, pa to isključuje upotrebu ekvivalenta, koji bi mogao doći u obzir. *Poljubiti pa ostaviti* se odnosi samo na nešto (najčešće za jelo koje se nekome ne dopada), pa se samim tim fraza *faképnél hagy* ne može upotrebiti, jer se ova dovodi u vezu sa osobom koju neko iznenada napušta, takoreći bez pozdrava. Umesto toga će se dati samo opisni prevod: *ha nem tetszik, hagyd ott (ételt)*.

Može da zavara i značenje izraza *menjati (promeniti) ploču*, jer je vrlo sličnog leksičkog sklopa kao *okrenuti ploču*, a ipak znači nešto drugo. Prva fraza se

⁴ Za to se u mađarskom upotrebljava *nem tegnap bújt ki a tojásból* (objašnjenje fraze: iskusan je, ne može se lako prevariti)

upotrebljava kada želimo da izrazimo kako se neko počeo drugačije ponašati u odnosu na ranije, da se promenio, a druga znači da neko manje temu razgovora. Mađari u Vojvodini ne prave razliku između njih i prevode ih u značenju ove druge.

Evo još nekoliko primera za kalkovane fraze⁵:

- *dobar kao dobar dan* - *jó mint a jónap* (umesto toga treba da stoji: *jó, mint egy falat kenyér* „kao zalogaj hleba”)
- *vaditi kestenje iz vatre* - *kikaparja a gesztenyét a tűzből*
- *poći naopako/nizbrdo* - *megindult a lejtőn, rosszul indult vmi* (pravilno: *rosszra fordult vmi*)
- *skupljati poene* - *pontokat gyűjt* (ekvivalent: *behízeleg a feletteseinek*)
- *biti/postati pojam* - *fogalomnak számít* (umesto toga: *nagy tekintélynek számít*)
- *progutala koga pomrčina* - *elnyelte a sötétség (nyoma veszett)*
- *naša posla* - *ez nálunk így szokott lenni (felelőtlen tett)*
- *imati posla s kim* - *dolga van vkivel (meggyűlik a baja vkivel);*
- *prekoračiti prag* - *átlépi a küszöböt (túllépi a határt)*

Dešava se da se pogrešno tumači fraza u jeziku izvoru, pa mu se na osnovu toga nalazi neadekvatno rešenju u jeziku cilju. *Pasji dani* zapravo znači “vreo dan”, a ne veoma loš dan, pa tako umesto *fekete nap*, kako stoji u nekim rečnicima treba da bude samo: *kánikula*.

Frazi *davati šakom i kapom* ne odgovara konstrukcija koja znači upadljivo se troškariti, iliti rasipati novac kako stoji u mađarskom (*szórja a pénzt*), jer ona u srpskom znači „davati obilno i nesebično, rado“ (prema tome, treba da stoji: *bőven adakozik*).

Praviti se lud ne znači i praviti se glup, da neko nešto ne razume, već da neko ne obraća pažnju na nešto ili nekoga, pa zbog toga umesto *butának, együgyűnek tetteti magát* u mađarskom treba da stoji *rá sem hederít, ügyet sem vet rá*.

Biti kao majka ne znači ličiti na majku (*az anyjára ütött*), kako se pogrešno tumači, već da je neko prema drugoj osobi dobar, velikodušan (treba da stoji: *nemes lelkű*).

Mađarski prevod izraza *biti u pozadini (háttérben van)* znači biti u zapečku, zanemaren, a ne da se neko nalazi daleko od glavnih događaja, ili da se ne meša u nešto (mađarski prevodni ekvivalent bi trebalo da bude: *távol tartja magát vmitől, nem avatkozik bele*).

Izbiti/isplivati na površinu po Matešićevom rečniku znači „postati suvremen, važan, aktuelan, istaći se“. Mađari u Vojvodini, međutim, ovoj frazi pripisuju značenje „da se nešto razotkriva, da nešto izlazi na videlo“. Moguće je da je i u srpskom nekada imalo i to značenje, na tu pomisao nas navodi kontekst u kom se ova fraza koristi kod nekih vojvođanskih Srba.

Dešava se da je osnov za poređenje u srpskom i mađarskom jeziku drugačiji, pa se moramo truditi da nam prevod bude u duhu jezika na koji se prevodi:

*razumeti se u što kao magarac u kalendar ili kantar
annyit ért hozzá, mint tyúk az ábécéhez.*

⁵ Moramo, ipak, napomenuti da se navedeni primeri sreću samo u razgovornom jeziku.

U mađarskom jeziku neko može biti *gladan* samo *kao vuk*, a ne i *kao pas*, dok u srpskom može da se poredi sa obe životinje. Znači, greška bi bila reći *éhes, mint a kutya*, umesto *farkas*.

Postoji i primer da za jedno značenje, za neke vrlo česte situacije nalazimo više fraza u oba jezika, pa prevodilac može da bira koja mu najviše odgovara u kontekstu: za situaciju kada se neko jako napije (*be van rúgava mint az ágyú, részeg mint a csap/ágyú/föld/disznó*), kada neko vrlo čvrsto spava (*alszik mint a bunda ágyú*) itd.

I na kraju da pomenemo šaljive izraze, koje koriste pretežno Srbi u Vojvodini, a koji zapravo predstavljaju hibridne tvorevine jer sadrže i mađarske i srpske reči sa identičnom semantikom, pa su zbog toga neprevodivi. Ukoliko bismo ipak to radili, takve fraze bi izgubile svoju atmosferu, slikovitost, specifičnost i postale nesuvisle, pošto bi sadržavale samo pleonazme.

- *fele voda - fele víz* (*fele* - polovina od nečega, *víz* - voda)
- *meni minded* (*mindegy* - sve jedno)
- *pazi na viđaz* (*vigyázz* - pazi) itd.

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PREVOĐENJE KAO MEĐUKULTURNO POSREDOVANJE - ILUSTROVANO NA PRIMJERU GORSKOG VIJENCA

Apstrakt: Rad prevodioca predstavlja duhovnu transmisiju između raznih vremena, naroda, kultura i jezika. Međutim, postoje djela koja su teško razumljiva, stoga gotovo i nezamisliva izvan svoga kulturno-socijalnog humusa, organski u njoj prisutnog posredstvom jednog jezika. Strancu je dublje pronicanje u takva djela dvostruko otežano, jer: nije samo riječ o jeziku koji je često neprevodiv, riječ je o jednom stranom svijetu, jednom posebnom, jedinstvenom, iščezlom istorijskom razdoblju, oživljenom duhom i moćnim jezikom genijalnog pjesnika. Ko želi da razumije Crnu Goru i njene borbe, njene osobnosti i njeno požrtvovanje u borbi protiv Turaka, on mora najprije pročitati *Gorski vijenac*. Jedno takvo djelo može da kaže više nego mnoga istorijska djela i da istovremeno ima veliki značaj u sticanju međunarodne kulturne afirmacije.

Ključne riječi: Gorski vijenac, njemački prevodi Gorskog vijenca, međukulturno posredovanje

Uvod

Svaki narod ima svoje literarno blago koje brižljivo njeguje i koje istovremeno želi da predstavi stranoj javnosti, a to predstavljanje povezano je sa mukotrpnim radom prevođenja. I. Sekulić je pisala: "Najlepša, a možda i jedina koegzistencija naroda je u umetnostima: a najdragocenijim trudom postignuta koegzistencija leži u prevedenim knjigama."⁶ *Gorski vijenac* se ubraja u djela koja je izuzetno teško prevoditi. Razni prevodioci različito su tumačili i prevodili pojedine stihove ovog kapitalnog djela. S. Tomović piše: "Tumačenja literature pretpostavljaju radost novog stvaranja u okvirima stvorenog, u izuzetnim slučajevima ona mogu da dosegnu vrijednost primarno stvorenog."⁷ To što je rečeno o tumačenju literature može da važi i za prevođenje. Prevođenje je umjetnost, a dobar prevod novo umjetničko djelo. Rad prevodioca pri tome predstavlja duhovnu transmisiju između raznih vremena, naroda, kultura i jezika.

I Problematika prevođenja Gorskog Vijenca

Jedared je posađen taj gorski grmen, i teško je odnegovati mu blizance po belom svetu. (Isidora Sekulić)

Problematika prevođenja *Gorskog vijenca* aktuelna je tema otkada postoje i prvi djelimični prevodi *Gorskog vijenca*. Već je Škotlandanin E. A. Pejtn, koji je u proljeće 1847. preveo prvih 28 stihova *Gorskog vijenca* na engleski jezik, primijetio: "Bukvalan prevod poput ovoga, kao i prevrnuti kaput, može izazvati osmjeh;..."⁸ *Gorski vijenac* smatra se djelom koje je gotovo "neprevodivo", poput drugih remek djela svjetske književnosti u stihu, kao što su Geteov *Faust*, Šekspirove ili Rasinove drame, Puškinov *Evgenije Onjegin*, Danteova *Božanstvena komedija* i druga. Ta

⁶ citirano prema: R. Popović, *Isidorina brojanica*, Beograd, 1996., str. 250.

⁷ S. Tomović, *Komentar Gorskog vijenca*, Nikšić, 1986., str. 37.

⁸ cit. prema: B. Đukanović, "Prevođenje *Gorskog vijenca* na engleski jezik", referat na naučnom skupu: Prevođenje *Gorskog vijenca* na strane jezike, održanom u CANU, u Podgorici 28. 5. 1998., str. 3.

djela su teško prevodiva jer su velika po čistoti svoga etosa, po jačini opštečovječanskog u sebi. U njima se ogleda nacija iz koje su ponikla, ona su tumači narodnog karaktera.⁹ O *Gorskom vijencu* može se tvrditi ono što je G. della Volpe rekao o Danteovoj poeziji: da je ona nerazumljiva, pa prema tome nezamisliva izvan svoga kulturno-socijalnog humusa, organski u njoj prisutnog posredstvom jednog jezika.¹⁰

Svaki veliki pisac je izazov za druge, ali prevođenjem stihova može se uspješno baviti samo onaj ko je i sam pjesnik. "Prevođenje traži pregaoce, žrtve"¹¹, tvrdila je I. Sekulić. I Gete je rekao: «*Um eine große Persönlichkeit zu empfinden und zu ehren, muß man auch wiederum selber etwas sein. (Da bi čovjek mogao da osjeća neku veliku ličnost i da je cijeni, i on sam mora da bude «neko»*)

U maju 1998. godine je CANU u Podgorici organizovala naučni skup: "Prevođenje *Gorskog vijenca* na strane jezike". Naučnici su potvrdili tezu o "neprevodivosti" *Gorskog vijenca*; prevodioci se mogu samo manje ili više približiti originalu. Iako je to djelo prevedeno na preko dvadeset jezika, na neke i po tri-četiri puta, ovdje se radi ipak o "prevođenju neprevodivog", ističu naučnici.

I. Sekulić je nadahnuto pisala o jeziku *Gorskog vijenca* i o problematici prevođenja. Jedan svoj rad je naslovila: "*Gorski vijenac* možda prepevati ga, nikako prevesti."¹² Ona ne vjeruje da je u krajnjoj liniji moguće prevesti ovo djelo. O prevodiocima tvrdi: "Mestimično će u tekstu možda biti pobjednici, ali na mnogo više mesta poraženi."¹³ Šmaus, autor trećeg njemačkog prevoda *Gorskog vijenca*, iznosi probleme sa kojima se suočava svaki prevodilac. To su problemi koji proizlaze iz sadržaja djela, problemi vezani za formu djela, struktura stiha, osobenosti Njegoševog jezika.¹⁴

1. Problemi koji proizlaze iz sadržaja djela

Šmaus je 1935. godine u Jugoslovensko-nemačkom društvu održao predavanje "*Njegoš kao čovek i pesnik*". On navodi da je strancu dublje pronicanje u *Gorski vijenac* dvostruko otežano, jer: nije samo riječ o jeziku koji je često neprevodiv, riječ je o jednom stranom svijetu, jednom posebnom, jedinstvenom, iščezlom istorijskom razdoblju, oživljenom duhom i moćnim jezikom genijalnog pjesnika. Za shvatanje tog svijeta važni su ne samo pjesnikova ličnost i njegov jezik, nego i nacionalna prošlost, misaono, etičko i emotivno nasljeđe mnogih generacija pohranjeno u pjesnikovoj duši. Taj svijet se lakše i neposrednije otkriva onima koji žive u okviru iste tradicije.¹⁵ Kada je 1963. završio prevođenje *Gorskog vijenca*, Šmaus je rekao da teškoće koje iskrsavaju pri prevođenju "potiču delom iz same sadržine, jer su društveni oblici, način života i mišljenja koja se slikaju u *Gorskom vijencu* današnjem čoveku u mnogome postali tuđi ili bar teže dostupni."¹⁶ Ovaj prvi

⁹ M. Đorđević, "Gorski vijenac u novom nemačkom prevodu", *LMS*, knj. 353., sv. 5-6., 1940, str. 432.

¹⁰ G. d. Volpe, *Kritika ukusa*, Beograd, 1975. str. 67.,

¹¹ cit. prema: R. Popović, *Isidorina brojanica*, Beograd, 1996., str. 250.

¹² I. Sekulić, *Iz domaćih književnosti I*, Beograd, 1985., str. 204-215.

¹³ *ibid.*, str. 209-210.

¹⁴ A. Šmaus, "O prevođenju *Gorskog vijenca*", *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, knj. XXIX, sv. 3-4, Beograd, 1963, str. 293-298.

¹⁵ M. Krivokapić, op. cit. str. 285.

¹⁶ A. Šmaus, op. cit. str. 293.

problem međutim predstavlja najmanju prepreku prevodiocu, mnogo veće probleme predstavljaju forma djela, struktura stiha i Njegošev jezik.

2. Problemi vezani za formu djela

Forma djela predstavlja drugu prepreku pri prevodenju. *Gorski vijenac* je pisan u stihu, epskim desetercem, koji je po mjeri srpskog jezika, ali njegovo prenošenje na druge jezike pričinjava poteškoće. Prevodioci su ovaj problem različito rješavali. Poznati ruski pjesnik i prevodilac V. Brjusov smatra da se prilikom prevodenja djela u stihu treba odlučiti za što adekvatnije prenošenje jednog ili dvaju dominantnih konstitutivnih faktora djela, dok se ostali mogu prenebrežnuti ili manje strogo reprodukovati. Većina prevodilaca se, kao i prevodioci *Gorskog vijenca* na njemački, odlučuje za epski deseterac i dijalog.¹⁷ *Gorski vijenac* se sastoji od monologa i dijaloga koje neposredno iskazuju primarni govornici. "Time je Njegoš sebi stvorio mogućnost da veći broj lica jače diferencira i individualizira pomoću njihovog govora. U običnim dijalogima prostih Crnogoraca on se približava svakodnevnom govornom jeziku, dok na primjer u jezik vladike Danila i igumana Stefana upliće posebna leksička i stilska sredstva."¹⁸ Od prevodioca zavisi u kojoj mjeri će u svom prevodu iskoristiti ovu mogućnost individualizacije govora.

U praksi, prevodioci su *Gorski vijenac*, što se forme tiče, prevodili najpopularnijim stihom svoje zemlje, npr. jedanaestercem - Đ. Nikolić i U. Urbani - prevodioci *Gorskog vijenca* na italijanski jezik, smatrajući da će upravo tako bolje približiti djelo italijanskim čitaocima. (Petar Kasandrić, autor četvrtog prevoda na italijanski zadržao je međutim deseterac originala.) 2003. godine izašao je prevod na japanski jezik. Prevodioci Tanaku i Jamazaki odlučili su se za formu Haiku poezije, koja je po tradiciji i melodičnosti najslbličnija autentičnim Njegoševim stihovima. Pri tome je za prevod korišten japanski jezik onog vremena u kome je djelo stvarano u originalu.

Većina prevodioca je srpski deseterac prevodila desetercem - Kirste, Jovanović, Šmaus, Koneski itd. Neki prevodioci su odustajali od deseterca, zbog nemogućnosti da se on dosljedno sprovede u stranom jeziku, (npr. Vajls i engleski prevod.) Ima i slučajeva da je prevod urađen u prozi, (npr. I. Frančeski, koji je 1847. preveo prvih 88 stihova na italijanski jezik.)

3. Struktura stiha

Gorski vijenac je pisan epskim desetercem, ali je "Njegošev deseterac od finije pređe ispleten nego je obični deseterac narodne poezije"¹⁹ smatra E. Štampar. Slično misli i Đilas: "Njegoševim desetercem niko dotad nije umio da pjeva. Takvim stihom niko više neće moći da zapjeva."²⁰ U jedinstvenost Njegoševog jezika i deseterca uvjeren je i I. Sekulić: "Jezik toga pesnika, deseterac toga pesnika, ne dadu se prevesti! Tanko uho Vladičino sklonilo je narodni deseterac, i stvorilo svoj."²¹

¹⁷ D. Živković/T. Bekić, "Šmausov prevod *Gorskog vijenca*", *Umjetnost riječi*, IX, 1965, 2-3, str. 182.

¹⁸ A. Šmaus, op. cit. str. 297.

¹⁹ E. Štampar, "Hrvatska kritika o Njegoševu *Gorskom vijencu*", *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, sv. 1-2, Beograd, 1965, str. 24.

²⁰ M. Đilas, *Njegoš pjesnik, vladar, vladika*, Beograd-Ljubljana, 1988., str. 411.

²¹ I. Sekulić, op. cit. str. 208.

Njegošev deseterac, kao i deseterac junačkih pjesama, ima cezuru poslije četvrtog sloga koja predstavlja manju sintaksičku jedinicu. Pri prevođenju takvog deseterca mogu se javiti teškoće koje su u vezi sa prozodijskom strukturom jezika na koji se prevodi. A. Šmaus je o problemu strukture stiha napisao: „Njegova specifična melodija uslovljena muzikalnim akcentom, osobita ritmička gipkost i melodijska varijabilnost se najčešće gube u prevodu na jezike sa izrazitim ekspiratornim akcentom. Da bi deseterac u njima imao potrebnu čvrstinu, mora se pridržavati određene stope, u obzir dolazi uglavnom samo trohej. Njime se služe, na primer, i prevodioci na ruski i bugarski jezik.”²² Pošto je red riječi npr. u ruskom i bugarskom jeziku relativno slobodan i kako akcenat nije vezan za određeni slog, prevodioci na te jezike lako rješavaju problem trohejskog metra. Ni njemačkom jeziku trohejski deseterac nije stran još od vremena Herdera, Getea, J. Grima, Talvjeve i V. Gerharda. Trohejski deseterac će koristiti i sva tri prevodioca *Gorskog vijenca* na njemački. Nedostatak ovog metra je što u već epskim djelima izaziva utisak padanja, usporavanja, monotonije. Šmaus predlaže da se nedovoljna dinamičnost, tendencija padanja, riješi rasporedom rečeničnih naglasaka, da se njihovim variranjem poveća ritmička živost.²³ Problem može predstavljati i cezura poslije četvrtog sloga, međutim, ovaj problem nije jednako izražen u svim jezicima - lakše je prevodiocima na slovenske jezike dok prevodioci na njemački ne mogu uvijek ispoštovati ovaj zahtjev. Pri prevođenju je potrebno poštovati još jednu činjenicu, a to je da jedan stih predstavlja jednu veću sintaksičku jedinicu, po pravilu rečenicu. "Ova osobina mi se čini toliko bitnom za strukturu epskog deseterca, ona ga čak uz žrtvovanje cezure, a u prevodu naročito još i zbog nedostajanja rime, obeležava tako nedvosmisleno kao metrički zaokrugljenu celinu, da se nje, po mome mišljenju, i u prevodu treba pridržavati.”²⁴

4. Osobnosti Njegoševog jezika

Njegošev specifični jezik doprinosi umnogome ljepoti, jedinstvenosti i neponovljivosti ovog djela, ali je istovremeno veliko iskušenje za prevodioca. "Čudno deluje na čitaoce jezik *Gorskog vijenca*. Nešto kao jezik starine, mudrosti, istorijske tajanstvenosti ---Obične istine zvuče u Njegoševu jeziku kao orakul, kao neprikosnovenost --- Jezik je možda finiji od muzike. U muzici je pola tona najmanja razlika, u jeziku je dovoljan jedan akcenat, da recimo, indiferentnost promeni u setu".²⁵ Ovako je I. Sekulić pisala o jeziku *Gorskog vijenca*. Na drugom mjestu ona kaže: "*Gorski vijenac* nije venac, nego je grmen veliki", a za sam jezik *Gorskog vijenca* ona kaže: "kujundžijski rad čiste mudrosti i poezije".²⁶ I M. Leskovic je uočio koliko je teško prevesti "Njegošev jezik". "Teškoće svih prevodilaca počinju, naravno, u bezizlaznom sudaru sa opasnim i divnim jezikom Njegoševim; o to stenje i grebenje sve se mrvli i razdraba."²⁷

Prevodiocima *Gorskog vijenca* prebacuje se nedovoljan osjećaj za srpski jezik. "Ne čuju, ne vide, ne pipaju, ne pogađaju prevodioci srpski jezik Balkana, koji je sav od muka i od šale sa smrću!--Nemaju pojma prevodioci da iza p r e m i s l i t i i p r o m i s l i t i stoje dva razna Crnogorca, dva plemena, dva iskustva Vladičina. Ne mogu

²² A. Šmaus, op. cit. str. 295.

²³ ibid., str. 295.

²⁴ ibid., str. 296.

²⁵ I. Sekulić, op. cit., str. 204.

²⁶ ibid., str. 207.

²⁷ M. Leskovic, "O prevodima Njegoševa *Gorskoga vijenca*", LMS, sv. 6., 1947., str. 34.

naslutiti prevodioci da između *p r o s l a v i t i* i *o s l a v i t i* krsnu slavu zijaju razlike, da to nisu dve nijanse lokalnog govora ili shvatanja, nego su dve razne sudbine, dve razne scene u istoriji i u umetnosti."²⁸

Njegoš se stvaralački odnosio prema jeziku, kao i svi veliki pjesnici. Kad mu je nedostajala neka riječ, on ju je pozajmljivao iz crkvenoslovenskog ili ruskog, ali je i svojim narodnim riječima često davao karakter visoko intelektualizovanih riječi.²⁹ Pozajmice iz crkvenoslovenskog i rusizme koriste u svojim monolozima i dijalozima uglavnom vladika Danilo i iguman Stefan. Pjesniku je ta leksika bila neophodna za izražavanje njihovih filozofskih meditacija i za obilježavanje hrišćansko-pravoslavne kulture.³⁰ Ovakve riječi daju djelu izvjesnu melodičnost i proširuju njegove jezičke domete, osim toga "upotrebu slovenizama nametao je često ritam trohejskog deseterca, koji pjesnik nije mogao ostvariti ekvivalentnim srpskim rečima."³¹

U *Gorskom vijencu* brojni su i turcizmi čije se prisustvo objašnjava realnim okolnostima i društvenim prilikama, tj. poturčeni Crnogorci usvojili su novu vjersku leksiku, nazive zanimanja, činova, staleža, djelova odjeće, pokućstva, jela i etikecije u obraćanju i ponašanju.

Zanimljivo je da prevođenje crkvenoslovenskih riječi može stvarati velike poteškoće, čak i kod prevođenja na jedan srodan jezik kao što je poljski, u kojem gotovo da ne postoje pozajmice iz crkvenoslovenskog jer je zvanični jezik poljske crkve (budući da je katolička) latinski. U srpskom postoji preko 200 leksema koje počinju sa *bogo-*, a u poljskom ima samo 11 leksema takvog tipa.³² Jasno je, da se na većinu stranih jezika ne mogu adekvatno prevesti ni ove crkvenoslovenske riječi, ali onda prevodioci moraju pribjegavati nekim drugim sredstvima.

Šmaus se kod prevođenja dijalektizama, rusizama i pozajmica iz crkvenoslovenskog zalaže za "smišljen izbor reči po emocionalnom tonalitetu"³³. On predlaže da prevodilac za izrazito dijalekatski izraz upotrijebi eventualno "narodskiju riječ", dok se slovenizmi po pravilu najprikladnije prevode svečanim, rjeđim, biranim izrazima. O turcizmima kaže da je njih najteže prevoditi jer za njih po pravilu nema ekvivalenata, "prevodilac se često mora zadovoljiti time da zadrži poneku orijentalnu reč koja je i na zapadu poznata, da bi time bar nagovestio istočnjačku obojenost."³⁴

Njegoš u *Gorskom vijencu* koristi takođe arhaične izraze. Prevodilac može pomišljati da te arhaične izraze prevede leksikom iz starijih jezičkih perioda i starijih književnih spomenika. A. Šmaus o ovome kaže: "Ali ako bi se, na primer, nemački prevodilac delimično poslužio rečnikom ili obrtima *Nibelunške pesme*, on bi pre postigao negativan rezultat, jer oni počivaju na drugim kulturno-istorijskim datostima nego *Gorski vijenac*...Postoji opasnost da se takav pokušaj svede na leksičko arhaiziranje i dovede do mešanja heterogenih leksičkih slojeva, kvareći

²⁸ I. Sekulić, op. cit. str. 212.

²⁹ S. Tomović, op. cit. str. 298.

³⁰ M. Babović, *Poetika Gorskog vijenca*, CANU, str. 74.

³¹ *ibid.*, str. 172.

³² G. Jovanović, "Crkvenoslovenizmi u poljskom prevodu *Gorskog vijenca* Henrika Batovskog", referat na naučnom skupu: *Prevođenje Gorskog vijenca* na strane jezike, Podgorica, 28. 5. 1998.

³³ A. Šmaus, "O prevođenju *Gorskog vijenca*", str. 294.

³⁴ *ibid.*, str. 294.

jezičku i stilsku jedinstvenost koja je svojstvena originalu."³⁵ Šmaus smatra da je arhaiziranje dopušteno samo utoliko ukoliko se prirodno i neosjetno uklapa u moderni književni jezik i da arhaiziranje treba držati u vrlo uskim granicama.³⁶

Bogatstvo Njegoševe frazeologije, eliptičnost i gnomičnost takođe otežavaju prevođenje. Pojedini stihovi svojom višeznačnošću ostavljaju mogućnost za različite interpretacije. Riječi, sintagme i rečenice ne znače ono što se prevodiocu na prvi pogled učini da znače. M. Đilas o ovom fenomenu kaže: "Ono *birani Ozrinići* ne znači ni izabrane ni ugledne - može značiti i to, nego one koje je životna borba istakla, a *plačne, grdne pomrčine* ne znače ni plačljive ni ružne, niti *oslaviti* slaviti, a *premisлити* promisliti."³⁷

Prevođenje djela otežavaju i mnogobrojne pjesničke figure, stotine aforizama u stihovima, stotine poslovice, filozofema, aluzija. Njegoš nadalje koristi mnogo vrsta rima (kontaktnu, dvočlanu rimu u stihu ili distihu, unutrašnju rimu na cezuri i klauzuli, rimu na početku stiha, sredini stiha i druge). Međutim, u prevodima se sve ove karakteristike Njegoševog jezika najčešće gube.

Kada se uzmu u obzir sve ove poteškoće i problemi prevođenja, jasno je da snaga riječi prevodioca nije i ne može biti ravna snazi Njegoševih riječi i da "sa magijom ponekad graniči i na prave podvige liči rad dobrog prevodioca."³⁸

"Ili veliki pesnik mislilac mistički da se s Vijencem oplete, ili niko na nj ruku da ne stavlja." (Isidora Sekulić)

Njegoš je napisao: "Udar nađe iskru u kamenu, bez njega bi u kam očajala." (s.2322-2323). Možda i prevodilac treba da bude *udar* koji će naći *iskru u kamenu!*

II «Pomoćna sredstva» u prevođenju

1. Uvodi, napomene, fusnote, komentari, studije

Da bi što bolje približili djelo čitaocu iz jedne druge sredine, prevodioci svoje prevode po pravilu snabdjevaju predgovorima, kraćim ili dužim uvodima i brojnim fusnotama, uputstvima kako treba čitati neka srpska slova, a neki prevodi čak sadrže i opsežne studije. Da bi čitalac lakše shvatio tekst, u fusnotama su objašnjenja u vezi sa pojedinim istorijskim ličnostima, kao i objašnjenja događaja, običaja, geografskih lokacija i sl.³⁹ Ako uporedimo tri njemačka prevoda *Gorskog vijenca*, možemo konstatovati da je u svakom narednom prevodu veći broj fusnota i duži je uvod. Iako je Kirsteov predgovor vrlo kratak, jedan neobavješteni čitalac je mogao sebi da stvori sliku o djelu i njegovom sadržaju. Mojašević ističe, "da je ovaj Predgovor značajan za nemačku pozitivnu predstavu o srpskom narodu i po onom delu kojim informiše o srpskoj srednjovjekovnoj istoriji i posebno o Crnoj Gori i Njegošu."⁴⁰

³⁵ *ibid.*, str. 293.

³⁶ *ibid.*, str. 293.

³⁷ M. Đilas, *op. cit.*, str. 414.

³⁸ I. Andrić, *Umetnik i njegovo delo*, str. 329.

³⁹ J. Kirste, *op. cit.*, str. V-VII.

⁴⁰ M. Mojašević, "Njegoš kod Njemaca", u: *Petar II Petrović Njegoš, ličnost, djelo i vrijeme*, CANU, Podgorica, 1995, str. 344.

Od 138 fusnota gotovo polovina fusnota su napomene u vezi sa određenim ličnostima, a ostale napomene se tiču geografskih lokacija i običaja. Manji dio napomena je o istorijskim događajima.

Na kraju knjige je na devet stranica, objašnjeno devet riječi -(mora, hajduci, vještice, narikače, ptica kukavica, krsna slava, gledanje u pleće, krvnina i bratski mito, badnjak). Ovako detaljno opisivanje običaja možda i nije bilo potrebno, ali je ono u funkciji približavanja sadržaja *Gorskog vijenca* čitaocu iz jedne druge sredine i sa drugom kulturnom baštinom i moralnim normama.

Drugi prevod *Gorskog vijenca* na njemački uradila je Katarina A. Jovanović, a izašao je 1939.⁴¹ Uvod je na 21 strani. Ovaj prevod ima 193 napomene (138 kod Kirstea). Trećina napomena tiče se određenih ličnosti, ostalo su napomene koje objašnjavaju geografske lokacije, običaje, igre ili, rjeđe, značenje pojedinih stihova, jer se K. Jovanović "trudila da samim prevodom ukloni nejasnosti."⁴²

Treći put je *Gorski vijenac* na njemački preveo poznati njemački slavista Alojz Šmaus. Njegov uvod predstavlja jednu od najboljih studija o *Gorskom vijencu*.⁴³ "Nema sumnje da je ovom studijom dat značajan doprinos tumačenju Njegoša, jedan prilog koji je obuhvatio i implicirao mnoge dosadašnje, i to najbolje, komentare i osvetljenja Njegoševog dela, a u isto vreme pružio jedan celovit, a nov, aspekt shvatanja tog dela"⁴⁴, ističu u svom prikazu prevoda D. Živković i T. Bekić. U Uvodu se govori o Njegoševom životu i političkom djelovanju, Njegošu kao pjesniku, o Gorskom vijencu, te o problematici prevođenja. U dodatku je Komentar na 43 strane. Šmausov prevod ima 349 napomena, više od prvog i drugog prevoda zajedno. Opsežan Uvod i brojne napomene su dokaz da je prevodilac izuzetno savjesno pristupio poslu prevođenja, što je i kritika znala cijeniti.

2. Ublažavanje stihova

Još jedno sredstvo koje je u funkciji približavanja djela čitaocima iz jedne druge kulturne sredine je ublažavanje stihova pri prevođenju. Prevodioci većinom potiču iz jedne druge kulturno-istorijske sredine, kao i čitaoci kojima su prevodi namijenjeni. Oni ublažavaju stihove u želji da djelo približe čitaocima Zapadne Evrope. K. Jovanović, koja je iz naše sredine, takođe se prebacuje da je sklona "ženskom ublažavanju". Njen prevod se upoređuje sa "grličinim prepevom orlova klika", jer su mnogi jezivi stihovi ublaženi u prevodu. D. Kostić, pišući o prevodu K. Jovanović kaže: "Međutim, neporečno urođena blagost ženskog prevodioca sklona je uvek umeravanju i ublažavanju presnažnoga, a to - u slučaju Njegoševu - znači i kvarenju."⁴⁵ Govoreći o Šmausovom prevodu prof. Ličen ističe da i Šmaus ublažava, izbjegava jezive prizore, time prevod dobija na širini, sveobuhvatnosti i nije usko vezan za prilike crnogorske ili balkanske.⁴⁶

⁴¹ K. Jovanovits, *Der Bergkranz*, Felix Meiner Verlag, Leipzig, 1939.

⁴² M. Đorđević, op. cit. str. 436.

⁴³ D. Živković/T. Bekić, op. cit. str. 189.

⁴⁴ ibid., str. 192.

⁴⁵ D. Kostić, *Vreme*, Beograd, 3. 10. 1939.

⁴⁶ M. Ličen, "Šmausov prevod *Gorskog vijenca*", referat na naučnom skupu: Prevođenje *Gorskog vijenca* na strane jezike, Podgorica, 28. 5. 1998.

Ublažavanju pribjegava dosta prevodioca, ublažavanje nije karakteristično samo za prevodioce na njemački. U nekim periodima prevodiocima se čak preporučivalo da original ispravljaju, uljepšavaju, ublažavaju.⁴⁷

3. Ciljani izbor leksike

Prevodioci ciljanim izborom leksike takođe pokašavaju da naprave most spajanja između raznih kultura. Da bi očuvali jezički kolorit prevoda oni često zadržavaju neke riječi iz originala, npr.: Kirste: *die Gusla, der Vojvode, der Pope, der Vezir, der Rajah, der Hajduk, der Aga, der Serdar, der Ban, der Kadi...*

Jovanović: *Vladika, die Gusle, der Beg, der Iguman, der Vojvode, Vila, der Pope, der Vezier, die Rajah, der Hajduk, der Aga, der Serdar, der Ban, der Kadi, der Hodscha...* Šmaus: *der Haradsch, die Rajah, die Kula, Vladika, die Gusle, der Voivode, der Pope, der Wesir, der Haiduk, der Aga, der Serdar, der Ban, der Kadi, der Knez...*

III Neadekvatna recepcija djela zbog kulturoloških razlika

Vilhelm Volner u "*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*", (1887, I, str. 363-364) ubrzo nakom izlazenja Kirsteovog prevoda daje svoj sud o prevodu. Po Volneru, Zapadnoevropejac je ravnodušan prema temi kao što je oslobođenje Crne Gore. On smatra da junaci, koje Srbin poznaje iz narodne poezije, Njemcu ne predstavljaju ništa i zaključuje da "njemačka publika ne može imati razumijevanja za ovakav spjev."⁴⁸ Kirste je već u narednom broju reagovao na recenziju, a posebno je napomenuo da bi se "bez bedema srpske hrabrosti Carigrad nalazio možda u - Lajpcigu."⁴⁹

Svetislav Vulović je dao opsežan prikaz Kirsteovog prevoda. On kaže da je njemačka literatura prva u svijetu pronijela slavu srpskih narodnih pjesama, a sada je "suđeno" da se evropski svijet upozna i sa *Gorskim vijencem*, za koji Vulović nije očekivao da će ga ikada neko pokušati cijelog prevesti.⁵⁰

U austrijskoj dnevnoj štampi, u bečkom listu "Deutsche Zeitung", (br. od 17. jula 1886.) izlazi članak Hajnriha Renera pod naslovom "Ein montenegrinischer Dichturfürst". Rener govori o Njegošu, formi i jeziku djela, o filozofiji *Gorskog vijenca*. O samom prevodu kaže da se Kirste "suviše ropski držao originala ...ali da je ipak dao jedno zaslužno djelo, jer ako ikoja slovenska književnost zaslužuje da je upozna njemačka publika, onda je to srpska...Ko hoće da razumije Crnu Goru i njene borbe, njene osobenosti i njeno požrtvovanje u borbi protiv Turaka, taj mora najprije u sebe primiti *Gorski vijenac*, i zbog toga od sveg srca pozdravljamo Kirsteov prevod. Takvo djelo može više da kaže nego stotine povjesničkih djela i bezbrojni politički članci."⁵¹

⁴⁷ J. Levy, *Umění překlada*, Praha, 1983., str. 90-91.

⁴⁸ citirano prema: S. Kostić, op. cit. str. 28.

⁴⁹ S. Kostić, "Njegošev *Gorski vijenac* na nemačkom", *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, knj. XXXI, sveska 1-2, Beograd, 1965., str. 28.

⁵⁰ S. Vulović, "Njegošev *Gorski vijenac* u nemačkom prevodu", Preštampano iz "*Samouprave*", Beograd, 1886., str. 4.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, str. 30-31.

Kirsteovi savremenici bili su zadovoljni što mogu pred kulturu Evrope stati sa jednim velikim djelom. Njegov prevod je izašao u vrijeme kada je bilo važno steći međunarodnu kulturnu afirmaciju, a jedan od načina bilo je objavljivanje prevoda naših književnih djela. Stoga je razumljivo što su prevodi "dočekivani pohvalama koje često nisu bile u skladu sa stvarnom vrednošću prevoda."⁵²

Prevodiocu K. Jovanović, autoru drugog njemačkog prevoda, prebacuje se opširnost umjesto Njegoševe konciznosti. **Moguće je de je prevodilac opširan u želji da bude jasniji u tekstu i da se izbjegne prečesto komentarisanje u tekstu koje je utoliko neophodnije, ukoliko su kulturološke razlike veće.** Njen prevod dovodi se u vezu sa francuskim prevodom Divne Veković, zavisnost se opaža u tekstu, ali ona nije opravdana, jer je njemački prevod bolji od francuskog.

Prevod skoro nikada ne može da da sve kvalitete originala, međutim Šmausov prevod je najbliži originalu. Njegov prevod je vjerovatno najbolji i zato što se on studiozno bavio izučavanjem Njegoša i njegovih djela, te uticajem drugih pisaca na Njegoševo stvaralaštvo. Poznavajući njihove stihove koji imaju svoju paralelu kod Njegoša, Šmaus ih je mogao bolje razumjeti i prevesti. Šmausov prevod je zbog vjernosti originalu, estetskih i književno teorijskih kvaliteta, stepena razumijevanja Njegoševe literarne poruke i društvenog, istorijskog i nacionalnog ambijenta *Gorskog vijenca* najprihvatljiviji za njemačkog čitaoca.

Zaključak

Činjenica da je *Gorski vijenac*, djelo koje u biti važi kao neprevodivo, preveden na preko dvadeset jezika koji kulturološki pripadaju veoma različitim svjetovima, pokazuje da je prevođenje veoma važna spona između različitih naroda i kultura. Lično smatramo, da i nesavršeni prevod, kao što je većina prevoda *Gorskog vijenca* na neki stranih jezik, mogu dati veliki doprinos upoznavanju i zbližavanju raznih kultura sa našom. Međutim, važno je da prevodi sadrže i adekvatne uvode, brojne napomene, a u idealnom slučaju i studije o Njegošu i njegovom djelu. U praksi se pokazalo da su prevodi, iz kojih je npr. izdavač svojevoljno izostavio napomene slabije prošli kod čitalačke publike.

Gorski vijenac bio je i ostaće prevodilački izazov.

Sa magijom ponekad graniči i na prav epodvige liči rad dobrog prevodioca.

(Ivo Andrić)

"Prevodioci *Gorskog vijenca* kapaće dakle i kapati dalje, udarati brazdu, sad širu sad dublju, dok se ne izbije pred jednog Vladići srodnog duha, koji će u živu snagu uspraviti duh dela Vladičina kroz neki drugi jezik." (Isidora Sekulić)

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⁵² ibid., 32.

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Културолошки апсекат преношења и адаптације личних имена
са француског на српски језик

Сажетак: У раду се указује на проблеме који се јављају при преношењу личних имена из француског у српски језик, а који су пре свега културолошки условљени, са тежиштем на адаптацији антропонима и топонима.

Кључне речи: ономастика, француски, српски, адаптација личних имена.

Циљ овог рада је да укаже на проблеме који се јављају у преношењу личних имена са француског језика на српски, али не на оне везане за различите фонетско-фонолошке системе, већ на оне друге чији разлози леже преваходно у недовољном непознавању како француских културно-историјских тековина, али добрим делом и у недовољном познавању своје сопствене историје, културе и традиције. Сви ови узроци могу се подвести под заједнички именоватељ - недостатак опште културе.

Лична имена преносе се из француског у српски језик у складу са неколико општеприхваћених правила везаних пре свега за фонетско-фонолошку и морфолошку адаптацију.

За разлику од француског вокалног система који броји 16⁵³ фонолошки диференцираних јединица, српски вокални систем састоји се од 5 фонема. Највећи проблем везан за фонетско-фонолошку адаптацију односи се управо на случајеве који проистичу из неподударности вокалских фонолошких система два језика.

1. Француски назални вокали преносе се у српски као низ **орални вокал + назални сугласник**:

Pierre Léon [leT] - Леон

Fernandel [feYnSdɛl] - Fernandel

Caen [kS] - Кан

Jean-Louis Trintignant [FSlwitYRtiQS] - Жан-Луј Трентињан

Giscard d'Estaing [FiskaYdDstR] - Жискар д`Естен / Дестен

Autun [otX] - Отен

Овакво просто транспоновање може понекад да изазове недоумицу, па чак и да доведе до забуне. Тако, на пример, у Француској постоје два топонима који се, у складу са општеприхваћеним правилима фонетско-фонолошке адаптације, преносе на исти начин у српски: *Cannes* и *Caen* - **Кан**. Онај први је, међутим, далеко познатији и налази се на Азурној обали, док је други градић у Нормандији за који, ван Француске, веома мало људи зна. У таквим случајевима, препоручљиво је дати ближу географску одредницу - Кан (Нормандија), када је реч о мање познатом месту, јер циљ преводиоца није да

⁵³ Према стандардној ортоепској норми, француски језик разликује 16 вокалских фонема, али савремени говорни језик редуковао је овај број, тако да се данас, у зависности од региона, може говорити од 10-12 јасно диференцираних француских вокалских фонема.

задовољи форму и једноставно пребази текст с једног језика на други, већ да што тачније пренесе информацију садржану у тексту оригинала.

Један број француских имена - антропонима која се завршавају назалним вокалом у мушком роду, односно оралним вокалом и назалним сугласником у женском, трпи двоструку адаптацију у српском. Уколико би се поштовала само фонетско-фонолошка адаптација, у српском језику не би било разлике између имена *Jean* и *Jeanne* или *Simon* и *Simone*. У овом случају, није на одмет извршити и морфолошку адаптацију додавањем наставка за женски род код одговарајућих имена: *Жан - Жана, Симон - Симона*, што је досадашња уобичајена пракса.

Остаје, међутим, питање зашто се каже и *Жана Моро* и *Жан Моро*, али искључиво Симон Сињоре, иако је у оба случаја реч о познатим француским глумицама.

2. Француски предњи заобљени вокали преносе се у српски као незаобљени са истим местом творбе⁵⁴:

Jean-Luc Godard [FSlykgCda:Y] - Жан-Лик Годар
Georges Duhamel [FCYF dyamdl] - Жорж Диамел
Alexandre Dumas [aldksSdY dyma] - Александар Дима
Marguerite Duras [maYgBYit dyYA:s] - Маргерит Дирас
Albert Camus [albDY kamu] - Албер Ками
Châteauneuf [GAtonZf] - Шатонеф (топоним)
Brieux [bYijV] - Брије (презиме)
Lenepveu [lBnBvV] - Ленева (презиме)
Maisonneuve (Éditions A. Maisonneuve) [mDzTnZ:v] - Мезон(н)ев (презиме)

3. Француски вокали који се разликују по степену апертуре преносе се у српски као одговарајући вокал средње апертуре:

Châteauneuf - Шатонеф (Côte d'Or, la Loire, Savoie, Vendée / Brieux [bYijV] - Брије

Albert [albD:Y] - Албер : André [SdYe] - Андре
Dôle - Дôл / Roxane - Роксан(а)

У једном, истина веома малом, броју случајева, антропоними за мушки и женски род разликују се само по степену апертуре вокала: *Paul* и *Paule*.⁵⁵ Да би се у српском могла направити разлика у роду, потребно је извршити морфолошку адаптацију имена: *Пол* и *Пола*.

4. Француско немо *e* преноси се као /e/ тамо где се изговара⁵⁶:

Lenepveu [lBnBvV] - Ленева
Lefèvre - Лефевр

Овакав тип адаптације, међутим, није и једини присутан у нашем језику. Један број личних имена, наиме, ушао је у српски преко посредника, тако да је

⁵⁴ Клајн сматра да је Фабијус боља транскрипција за фр. *Fabius* (јер представља уобичајен начин преношења имена на -ius), Фабијис, в. у Клајн 2000: 51.

⁵⁵ Дужина вокала у француском језику је фонетска, а не фонолошка појава, тј. условљена је окружењем и као таква у потпуности предвидива у појединим фонетским контекстима.

⁵⁶ У Клајн 2000:47 даје се варијанта транспонована финалног немог *e* на завршетку женских имена у -а у српском: *Françoise* - Франсоаза, *Brigitte* - Брижита, *Simone* - Симона.

фонетско-фонолошка адаптација вршена према језику-посреднику, а не према изворном језику:

Arthur Rimbaud [aYtyY YRbo] - *Артур* Рембо, уместо *Артур* Рембо

Luc Besson [lyk bDsT] - *Лук* Бесон уместо *Лук* Бесон

Ferdinand de Saussure [fDYdinS dB sosy:Y] -

Фердинанд де Сосир уместо *Фердинан* де Сосир

О облику речи које у француском имају графију *-ill*, а која се у српском адаптирала као *-љ*, могло би се дати двоструко тумачење. Општеприхваћена теза је да су ове речи ушле у српски преко руског, али се при томе заборавља да је све до краја XIX века ова графија у француском изговарана као *-љ*, док је данашњи изговор *-ј* последица померања изговора са широког палаталног подручја ка ужем преалвеопалаталном. Тако данас у *Речнику језичких недоумица* читамо да је исправно рећи *Марсељ*, а не *Марсеј*, иако је искључиво овај други изговор присутан у савременом француском. С друге стране, међутим, француска химна је ипак *Марсељеза*, а становник града је *Марсељац*, мада би, у складу са правилима савремене фонетско-фонолошке адаптације назив химне требало да гласи *Марсејеза*, према данашњем изговору назива града по којем је и добила име, а да се његов становник назива *Марсејцем*. У овим потоњим случајевима превагу је однео културно-традиционални моменат који тежи да очува постојеће стање у општеприхваћеним облицима речи везаним за поједине културно-историјске сегменте из традиције земље из које та реч потиче, а химна је свакако једно од основних обележја неке нације.

Исто је и са именом једног од најлепших паркова у Француској - *Тилерије*, иако оно у савременом језику гласи *Tuillerie* [tyjYi], дакле *Tijpi* или са чувеном тврђавом која је у нас позната под именом *Бастилја*, у фр. *Bastille* [bastij]. док се *Versailles* [vDYsaj] - *Версај* сасвим одомаћио у савременом језику, иако је некада постојао и у облику *Версаљ*.

Облик *Артур* пак представља спој два утицаја: с једне стране утицаја графије, а са друге англо-германских посредника. Уколико би се прихватио облик *Артур*, већ само име асоцирало би на националну и језичку припадност оног ко га носи, док је облик *Артур* заправо културолошки необележен иако би, по свом облику, требало да асоцира на англо-германско подручје.

Исто је и са обликом *Фердинанд* који је у српски ушао преко германског посредника. Како у оригиналној француској графији постоји финални сугласник, то је лакше било преузети овакав облик имена. Овако олако преузимање, поготово када је реч о територији Швајцарске, недовољно упућеног читаоца може да наведе на погрешан закључак, тј. да је особа о којој је реч са германског језичког подручја. Насупрот томе, облик *Фердинан* одмах би упућивао на њено романско порекло.

Облик *Лук* или *Лук* зависи најчешће од тога да ли је име преузето са француског или са енглеског говорног подручја. С обзиром на то да је енглески језик данас постао *lingua franca*, сасвим је уобичајено да се у штампи и на телевизији преносе интервјуи које су француски држављани давали на енглеском језику, а што је аутоматски довело и до адаптације француског имена према правилима која важе за преношење енглеских. Ова појава је нарочито присутна у свету кинематографије где су се скоро потпуно избрисале

границе између европског и америчког континента, са изразитом доминацијом енглеског као заједничког језика комуникације.

Чињеница је да се адаптирана имена овог типа јављају у данашње време у обе варијанте, тј. у устаљеном облику који је преузет из другог језика, али и у новом облику, односно у складу са правилима савремене адаптације. Нема оправдања за преношење имена једне исте особе у два облика (нпр. *Лук* / *Лук Бесон*).

Пракса да се страна имена наводе у оригиналном облику латиницом, посебно у ћириличном тексту, нису прихватљива бар са две тачке гледишта: мешања два различита писма и несигурности онога ко има преведени текст пред собом по питању гласовне слике графичког низа који има пред собом. Па ипак, најгора варијанта, али нажалост не тако ретка у нашим дневним новинама, јесте преношење оригиналне графије ћириличним писмом. Тако су се у писаним средствима информисања до пре неколико година прилично често (данас, на сву срећу, све ређе), могли срести облици *Гуи де Маупассант*, *Римбауд*, *Версаиллес*, и сл. Јасно је да је у већини оваквих случајева реч о грубој омашни коректора⁵⁷, а не о грешци преводиоца, али уредништва средстава јавног информисања морала би да поведу рачуна да до оваквих грешака не дође.

Поједина имена, међутим, која имају изразито културолошко-историјско обележје, захтевају посебан приступ приликом преношења текста с једног језика на други.

Навешћемо неколико примера:

А. Топоними⁵⁸

Aix-la-Chapelle [Dkslaʃapɔl] - Екс-ла-Шапел / Ахен

Florence [flɔʁs:s] - *Флоранс* / *Фиренца*

Gènes [Fɔn]- *Жен* / *Ђенова*

Ajaccio [aʃaksjo] - *Ажаксио* / - *Ајачо*⁵⁹

Metz [mɛs] - *Мес* / *Мец*

Paris [paʁi] - *Пари* / *Париз*

La Haye [laɛ] - *Ла Е* / *Хаг*

Wienne [vjɛn] - *Вјен* / *Вјена*⁶⁰ / *Беч*

Cologne [kolɔ̃] - *Колоњ* / *Келн*

Munich [mynik] - *Миник* / *Минхен*

Londres [lɔ̃dʁ] - *Лондр* / *Лондон*

Québec [kebɛk] (*Кебек*) - *Кебек* / *Квебек* (или *Квибек*, ако се адаптација према врши енглеском језику).

Историјски град Екс-ла-Шапел, други по величини у пространом царству Карла Великог, припадао је Француској почетком 19. века. Иако се данас овај град налази у Немачкој, за Французе је он увек био и остао *Aix-la-Chapelle* (Екс-ла-

⁵⁷ До ових решака најчешће долази приликом конверзије текста са латиничног писма на ћирилично.

⁵⁸ Курзивом су означени неприхватљиви облици.

⁵⁹ Изговара се према итал. [aʃatGo] Видети Клајн 2000:10.

⁶⁰ У литератури на српском језику током XIX века и могао се срести и овај облик. С обзиром на стање у савременом језику, овај облик је данас неприхватљив.

Шапел), док је у нашем поднебљу познат је под својим германским именом Ахен.

Током историје, италијански град Фиренца, у којем је некада столвала чувена породица Медичи, и Француска били су повезани посебно јаким политичко-културним везама. Две принцезе из куће Медичијевих, Катарина де Медичи и Марија де Медичи, биле су француске краљице, од којих је прва оставила изузетно дубок траг на француској политичкој, историјској и културној сцени. Италијански облик имена града *Firenza* није у употреби у савременом француском језику, нити је то икада био током дуге историје француско-италијанских односа.

Слично је и са још једним италијанским градом - Ђеновом. Преводац би требало да зна да топоним *Gênes* [FDn] означава град у Италији, те да га, сходно томе, пренесе у српски језику складу са његовим изговором у изворном језику, а не према француском облику (*Жена или *Жен).

Белгијска културно-историјска сцена сплет је двеју култура: фламанске (германске) и валонске (романске). Град који је у нас познат по свом фламанском облику *Хаг*, у француском језику има облик *La Haye*. Како је у српском одомаћен облик адаптиран према фламанском, приликом превода треба водити рачуна о томе да већина србофоних говорника схвати о којем је граду реч. Топоним *Ла Е у српском језику нема никакву конотацију.

Иако је савремени француски језик у потпуности истиснуо стари (германски) изговор имена града *Metz* [mDts] - [mDs], овај топоним се преноси у својој германској варијанти која је одомаћена у српском језику. Поред тога, очигледно је да је реч о топониму германског порекла, да не говоримо о посебном статусу који заузимају области Алзаса и Лорене у немачко-француским односима. И најзначајнији град у овој области, Стразбур у српски језик је био адаптиран и као Штразбург и као Стразбург, тј. према немачком или понемченом изговору, да би се у савременом језику ипак усталио облик Стразбур, према француској изговорној варијанти.

Ни данашњи назив главног града Француске у српском не одговара самвременим правилима адаптације француских имена, али облик *Париз* је сасвим одомаћен у језику, те је могућност грешке у овом случају сведена на минимум.

Б. Антропоними

Имена појединих историјских личности већ су прихваћена у одређеном облику у српском језику и то треба поштовати.

Jeanne d'Arc [FandaYk] - Јованка Орлеанка⁶¹

али: Jeanne Maureau [Fan mCYo] - Жана Моро

Henri IV [SYikatY] - Анри IV

али: Henri IV d'Angleterre [SYikatY dSglBtD:Y] - Хенри IV, краљ Енглеске

⁶¹ Приликом телевизијског преноса завршног дефилеа на Светском фудбалском првенству у Француској 1998. године, спикер државне телевизије је изговорио и следећу реченицу: „Напред иде стилизована статуа Жана д`Арка...» што за просечног гледаоца у тадашњој СР Југославији није имало никакву конотацију, односно могло је само да наведе на закључак да је особа, о чијој стилизованој статуи је реч, мушког пола!

Louis le Germanique [lwiłBFĐYmanik] - Лудвиг Германски
али: Louis XIV [lwiłkatCYz] - Луј XIV
Charles le Chauve [GaYl lBGo:v] - Карло Ћелави
али: Charles Aznavour [GaYl aznavu:Y] - Шарл Азнавур
Lothaire [lCtD :Y] - Лотар
Charlemagne [GaYlBmaQ] - Карло Велики
Hélène d'Anjou [ełDn dSFu] - Јелена Анжујска
Tristan et Yseult [tYistS e izV, izZlt] - Тристан и Изолда

Имена страног порекла у француском:

Guillaume le Conquérant [gijCm lB kTkeYS] - Вилијам Освајач
Michel-Ange [miGDlS:F] - Микеланђело
Pierre le Grand [pjDY lBgYS] - Петар Велики
Prince de Galles [pYRsdBgal] - Принц од Велса
Robinson Crusoe [YCbRsTkYyzCe] - Робинсон Крусо
Roméo et Juliette [YCmeo et FyljDt] - Ромео и Јулија,
али : Juliette Binoche [FyljDt binCG] - Жилијет Бинош

Културолошки аспект превода нарочито је присутан када се преносе имена из области религије. *Saint-Étienne* ће бити *Свети Стефан (Стеван)* ако је реч о свцу, али ће остати *Сент-Етјен* ако је реч о граду у Француској или о истоименом фудбалском клубу. С друге пак стране, острво *l'Île Sainte-Hélène* ће и у преводу остати *Острво Света Јелена*.

Исто тако :

***Saint-Pierre* [sRpjD:Y] - Свети Петар,**

али ако је у саставу топонима *Saint-Pierre-lès-Elbeuf* [sRpjDYlDzDlBzf]
- Сен-Пјер-лез-Елбеф,

Pierre Cardin [pjDY kaYdR] - Пјер Карден,

Pierre Chardonnet [pjDYGaYdCnD] - Пјер Шардоне, Пјер Ришар,...

***Saint-Jean* [sRFS] - Свети Јован,**

али Jean Reno [FSYBno] - Жан Рено,

Jean-Jacques Rousseau [FSFAkYuso] - Жан-Жак Русо

***Saint Georges* [sRFCYF] - Свети Ђорђе,**

али Georges Pompidou [FCYF pTpidu] - Жорж Помпиду

***Saint-Paul* [sRpCl] - Свети Павле,**

али: Paul Valéry [pCl valeYi] - Пол Валери,

(le pape) ***Jean-Paul I* [FSpCl pYBmje] - Јован Павле I⁶²**

али: Jean-Paul Belmondo [FSpCl bDlmtDo] - Жан Пол Белмондо

Saint-Paul (de la Réunion) [sRpCldblareynjT] - Сен-Пол (на Реуниону)⁶³

***Saint-Léger* [sRleFe] - Свети Леодегард**

***Archange Gabriel* [aYkSF gabYijDI] - Арханђел Гаврило**

али Gabriel Dufronc [gabYijDI dyfYT] - Габријел Дифрон

⁶² О адаптацији имена папа говори и Клајн у свом Речнику недоумица (2000:68), залажући се за прилагођени облик имена, а не изворни (најчешће италијански).

⁶³ Оригиналан назив овог француског острвског департмана је *l'Île de la Réunion*, што значи да би облик адаптиран у српски требало да гласи *Острво Реунион*. Пошто би овакав облик био фонетски необичан, прибегло се адаптацији према графичкој слици - Реунион и овакав облик се одомаћио у српском језику.

Поједина имена имају исту графичку слику у неколико језика, али различит изговор. Да би се извршила исправна адаптација са француског текста неопходно је установити о којој личности је реч, односно из које земље особа потиче.

Тако на пример, презиме *Gougenheim* [gugenDm] - гласиће на српском *Гугенем* ако је у питању чувени француски језикословац, али *Гугенхајм* ако је реч о Немцу. Сходно томе адаптираће се и остала француска имена и презимена:

Wilmet [vilMD] - Вилме, ако је реч о Французу, а не Вилмет⁶⁴.

Riegel [YiFDI] - Рижел, односно Ригел ако је реч о особи са англо-германског подручја,

Brunswick [bYXsvik, bYTsvik] - Бренсвик или Бронсвик, ако је реч о Французу, Брунсвик као немачко име

Evans [evS] - Еван, односно ако је Енглец [evans, evS:s] - Еванс

Tilly [tiji] - Тији, односно ако је енглеско лично име [tili] - Тили

Robinson (Plessis-) [YCbRsT]- Робенсон, иако је одомаћена енглеска варијанта [YCbinsCn] - Робинсон

Laetitia [letisja] - Летисја, мада је одомаћен облик Летиција, према традиционалном латинском изговору

Raymond [YemT] - Ремон, односно Рејмонд ако је реч о Енглецу.

Колико је важно познавање изворне француске културе и традиције најбоље можда показују следећи случајеви у којима постоји ризик погрешног читања изворног текста, а што повлачи за собом и погрешно преношење у језик превода:

Oex (Haite Savoie) [CD] - Ое, али Château d'Oex [GAtodD] - Шато д`Е

Pétion [petjT] - Песјон, а не *Петјон

Pétis de la Croix [petisdBlakYwa] - Петис де ла Кроа, а не *Пети де ла Кроа

Thorenc (Alpes Maritimes) [tCYS] - **Торан;**

али: Thorenc (Ardèche) [tCYR:k] - **Торенк**

Исто тако:

Clarens [klaYS] - **Кларан** топоним у Швајцарској,

али [klaYR:s] - **Кларенс** ако је реч о француском топониму у области Горњих Пиринеја.

Chârost [GaYo] - **Шаро**, област,

али ако је реч о презимену оно може бити [GaYo, GaYCst] - **Шаро** и **Шарост**.

Paris - **Париз**, главни град француске,

али Gaston Paris - Гастон **Парис**

Pons [pT:s] - **Понс**, презиме

али: Pons [pT] - **Пон**, топоним

Oust [ust] - **Уст**, топоним

али: Oust [u] - име реке, требало би **У**, али је одомаћено **Уст** по месту, а и да би се избегао необичан облик имена у српском (само један глас).

Villeneuve-de-Berg [vilnZvdBbDYg] - Вилнев- де- Берг, а не *Вилнев-де-Бер

Villeparisis [vilpaYizis] - **Вилпаризис** (погрешно је *Вилпаризи)

Viller [vilD:Y] - Вилер (погрешно је *Виле)

⁶⁴ Осим у случају када је оригинални изговор француског презимена Вилмет

У последње време, у оквиру Европског савета, покренута је иницијатива да се, када су лична имена у питању, а посебно топоними, поштује изговор језика-извора, уз одговарајућу фонетско-фонолошку адаптацију у језику на који се назив транспонује. То значи да бу убудуће српски облик за Беч могао бити Вјен, за Париз - Пари, за Марсељ - Марсеј, за Темишвар -Тимишоара, за Будимпешту - Будапест, и тако даље.

Могу ли се устаљене навике преко ноћи променити? Сигурно да овај посао неће бити нимало лак, али у циљу боље комуникације међу људима, верујемо да је оваква иницијатива дубоко оправдана.

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"CULTURE/REGISTER SPECIFIC" PROBLEMI
U PREVOĐENJU STRUČNOG TEKSTA

Apstrakt: Bez želje da se doprinese, kao što bi moglo da se pretpostavi na osnovu izbora reči u naslovu, "obogaćenju" "anglosrpskog" jezika, u radu se skreće pažnja na neke teškoće kod prevođenja kolokacija, idioma, fiksiranih izraza i stručnih termina sa engleskog na srpski jezik i predlažu strategije za njihovo prevazilaženje. Stepenei odstupanja od propozicionog značenja izraza u izvornom tekstu i prevoda mogu biti različiti u zavisnosti od stepena sličnosti ili razlike u rešenjima koja postoje u oba jezika, kao i svrhe prevoda, odnosno ciljne grupe čitalaca kojima je prevod namenjen. Na krajnjem polu različitosti nalaze se tzv. kulturni supstituti, tj. izrazi koji u svakom jeziku na potpuno drugačiji način opisuju isti koncept. Kulturni supstitut, kao legitimno sredstvo za postizanje prevodne ekvivalencije, čitaocu nudi koncept koji mu je blizak, a značenje i dejstvo koje izraz ima u izvornom tekstu mogu biti, i najčešće jesu, veoma slični ili identični.

Gljučne reči: kolokacije, idiomi, stručni termini, kulturni supstitut, prevodna ekvivalencija.

Uvod

U knjizi Mone Bejker "In Other Words" (Baker,1992:3) naišla sam na zanimljivu opasku o prevodilačkoj profesiji (koju ovde parafraziram iz nekoliko razloga): profesija prevodioca zasniva se na znanju i iskustvu i ima najduži pripravnčki staž od svih profesija. Niko ne može da bude koristan prevodilac sve do tridesete godine života, a tek kad navršši pedeset godina može da pruži najkvalitetniji prevod. Idealan životni put prevodioca izgledao bi ovako: baba i deda različitih nacionalnosti i jezika, dobro osnovno i srednje obrazovanje da bi se dobro naučio i *zavoleo* maternji jezik. Nakon srednje škole putovanja, upoznavanje različitih ljudi, sticanje životnih iskustava. Tek potom studije i to npr. ekonomije ili nečeg drugog - ne jezika! Nakon diplomiranja život i rad (nevezan za profesionalno bavljenje jezikom) u zemlji ili zemljama jezika koje govori. Ženi se/udaje za govornika nekog drugog jezika, rađa decu i tek potom upisuje postdiplomske studije iz prevođenja. Zapošljava se negde kao prevodilac i kasnije prelazi u slobodnjake. Tada već ima četrdeset godina i - može da počne da stvarno prevodi.

Tri stvari su značajne u ovom krokiju. Prvo, prevodilac mora dobro da poznaje sopstveni jezik. Drugo, pored dobrog poznavanja jezičkog sistema drugog jezika potrebno je i poznavanje opšteg kulturnog konteksta koji taj jezik "nosi". U prikazanom primeru saznanja ove vrste stiču se već u porodici, na putovanjima, susretima sa različitim ljudima i radom u zemlji u kojoj se taj jezik govori. Treće, za stručno prevođenje idealno je fakultetsko obrazovanje iz oblasti kojom će prevodilac kasnije da se bavi.

Budući da je svakako zanemarljiv broj prevodilaca koji imaju ovakvu biografiju, a da se ipak već vekovima u celini veoma uspešno prevodilaštvom u raznim oblastima bavila i bavi ogromna armija ljudi, očigledno su mogući i drugačiji razvojni putevi dobrog prevodioca. Sticanje solidnog znanja o strukturnim i kulturološkim sličnostima i razlikama između jezika davaoca i primaoca, kao i osobenostima

specifičnih registara u oba jezika u svakom slučaju je neophodan uslov za dobro prevođenje.

Ovaj rad fokusira se na one probleme u prevođenju sa engleskog na srpski jezik koji su evidentni na prvom sledećem nivou nakon nivoa reči: na nivou kolokacija, idioma, fiksiranih izraza i nekih stručnih termina iz oblasti psihologije i obrazovanja na koje je ovaj autor naišao u radu sa studentima psihologije, pedagogije i andragogije na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu. Analizom je obuhvaćeno 127 prevoda teksta *Current Trends in Learning theory* i 36 prevoda teksta *Curriculum Based Assessment* koje su uradili studenti psihologije, pedagogije i andragogije u toku 2005/06 i 2006/07 školske godine u okviru izvršavanja svojih predispitnih obaveza. Cilj istraživanja bio je da se utvrdi koje se vrste teškoća u prevođenju najčešće javljaju kako bi se u pripremnim časovima obratila veća pažnja na njih. Uočeni problemi grupisani su na sledeći način: I ekvivalencija na nivou reči, II ekvivalencija kod prevođenja kolokacija, idioma, fiksiranih izraza, stručnih termina, III gramatička ekvivalencija, IV tekstualna ekvivalencija (kohezija) i V pragmatička ekvivalencija (koherentnost). Ovom prilikom zadržavamo se samo na II grupi, odnosno na kolokacijama, idiomima i stručnim izrazima iz navedenih i nekih drugih oblasti.

Kolokacije

Frazalni skupovi ili kolokacije predstavljaju značajan deo kako opšteg jezika tako i pojmovnog aparata tj. terminologije svake stručne i naučne discipline, a jedna od osnovnih teškoća kod prevođenja leži u činjenici da se kolokacije zasnivaju na semantički arbitrarnim restrikcijama koje logički ne proizilaze iz propozicionog značenja reči koje ih sačinjavaju. Veoma je čest slučaj da sinonimne ili skoro sinonimne reči kolociraju sa potpuno različitim rečima, kao što se vidi iz nekoliko primera u engleskom jeziku:

Reč	unblemished	spotless	flawless	immaculate	impeccable
performance	-	-	+	+	+
argument	-	-	+	-	?
behaviour	-	-	-	-	+
record	+	+	-	?	?
reputation	?	+	-	?	?
order	-	-	?	+	+
credentials	-	-	-	-	+

+ = uobičajena/prihvatljiva kolokacija

- = neprihvatljiva kolokacija

? = diskutabilna/ moguće prihvatljiva u nekim idiolektima (Baker, 1992)

Sledeći nivo teškoća odnosi se na činjenicu da se kod obrazovanja kolokacija u različitim jezicima ne radi samo o pitanju preferenci jezičkih zajednica ka određenom načinu izražavanja ili uobičajenog kombinovanja, na primer imenice i glagola, već pri opisu određenog događaja, odslikava se i različito viđenje stvarnosti ili nekog događaja, što se vidi iz primera kojima mogu da se porede engleski i srpski jezik:

deliver a letter/telegramisporučiti/uručiti pismo/telegram
deliver a speech/lecture održati govor/predavanje
deliver a verdict doneti presudu
deliver a baby roditi dete, ali i: poroditi se

Dok u engleskom jeziku glagol "deliver" očigledno označava jedinstven koncept glagolske radnje kod koga je primarni aspekt na "završnom činu" radnje (učiniti što je potrebno da bi se realizovalo "kretanje" objekta ka željenom cilju), upotreba različitih glagola u različitim situacijama u srpskom jeziku upućuje na zaključak da je u srpskom akcentat stavljen na način obavljanja radnje koja "donosi isti rezultat" kao u engleskom.

S druge strane, u različitim jezicima postoje i razlike u kolokacijskom rasponu određene reči, odnosno mogućnostima kombinovanja, što zavisi na prvom mestu od stepena opštosti date reči (što je reč opštija to je veći izbor reči sa kojima može da kolocira i obrnuto: što je reč specifičnija to je njen kolokacijski raspon ograničeniji).

Tako, na primer, pri analizi studentskih prevoda naslova teksta *Current Trends in Learning Theory* uobičajenu kolokaciju koja pripada i opštem jeziku "current trends" od 127 studenata dobijeno je 29 različitih kombinacija prevoda, od kojih je 13 u potpunosti prihvaćeno, 7 odbačeno, a 3 delimično prihvaćena:

Current Trends in Learning Theory

sadašnji pravci , sadašnji trendovi, sadašnje tendencije (+, +)
aktuelni pravci, aktuelni trendovi, aktuelni tokovi, aktuelne tendencije (+,+)
savremene orijentacije, savremeni trendovi, savremeni pravci, savremene tendencije, savremena usmerenja, savremeni tokovi (+)
*današnje tendencije, današnji trendovi, današnji pravci (?)
*današnji pokreti (-)
*tekući trendovi, tekuće tendencije, tekući smerovi (?)
*važeci pravci, važeci tendencije (-)
*uobičajene tendencije (-)
*trendovi sadašnjice (-)
*trenutni načini, trenutni pravci, trenutni trendovi (-)
*trenutne težnje, trenutne tendencije (-).

Konačni "pobednik" prema "broju glasova" bio je "aktuelni trendovi" (22 studenata), zatim slede "savremeni pravci" (18 studenata) i "savremeni trendovi" (14 studenata).

Nasuprot ovome, kod prevođenja registarski usko specifičnog naslova drugog teksta (*Curriculum Based Assessment*) bilo je mnogo manje kombinacija. Ovde su 2 rešenja u potpunosti prihvaćena, jedno delimično, a sva ostala su odbačena:

Curriculum Based Assessment

- Ocenjivanje na osnovu plana i programa (+,+)
- Ocenjivanje zasnovano na planu i programu (+,+)
- Ocenjivanje na osnovu plana rada (+,-)
- *Ocenjivanje školskog uspeha (-)
- *Procenjivanje zasnovano na nastavnom planu i programu (-)
- *Procenjivanje zasnovano na planu i programu (-)

- *Procenjivanje na osnovu plana i programa (-)
- *Procenjivanje prema nastavnom planu i programu (-)
- *Procena zasnovana na planu (-)
- *Procena pomoću plana i programa (-)
- *Procena na osnovu plana i programa (-)

Uočeno je da studenti pedagogije i andragogije nisu usvojili termin "kurikulum" koji izgleda da je još u procesu "odomaćivanja", kao i da još nije svima sasvim jasno šta ovaj termin obuhvata. Što se razlike u značenju između reči "procena", "procenjivanje" i "ocenjivanje" tiče skloni smo da pretpostavimo da se ne radi toliko o nepoznavanju vlastitog jezika koliko o "zaslepljenosti" prilikom proveravanja značenja reči u rečniku, nesigurnosti studenata u pogledu sopstvenog znanja i mišljenja i neiskustva u prevodenju u smislu zanemarivanja konteksta. Napokon, skraćivanje termina "nastavni plan i program" moglo bi da se shvati kao namerno i svesno ekonomisanje za koje su studenti mogli da pretpostave da je dozvoljivo s obzirom da je uputstvo za prevodenje bilo da je prevod namenjen imaginarnoj stručnoj publici. Kod oba navedena primera naslova tekstova koje su studenti prevodili lako je uočljivo da se u većini slučajeva (ako izuzmemo potpuno pogrešne prevode) radi o stepenu prihvatljivosti ponuđenog rešenja u odnosu na značenje u izvornom tekstu.

Naime, idealno preklapanje kolokacija u dva različita jezika veoma retko postoji i prevodilac se odlučuje za rešenje koje je najbliže po značenju i koje će izazvati najmanju "štetu" u smislu promene značenja i njenog značaja u datom kontekstu, a istovremeno vodi i računa o ciljnom auditorijumu ne bi li zadovoljio Grajsove maksime relevantnosti i jasnosti u komunikaciji sa čitaocem.

Idiomi, fiksirani izrazi, stručni termini

Dok su kolokacije, uopšteno govoreći, prilično fleksibilni obrasci sa mogućim varijacijama u formi (primer: *take liberties, taking liberties*), a sastavni delovi ipak imaju sopstveno značenje - koliko god da ono zavisi od drugog elementa u kolokaciji, idiomi i fiksirani izrazi uglavnom nisu fleksibilni, odnosno dozvoljavaju vrlo malo varijacija i često, naročito u slučaju idioma, nose značenje koje ne može da se izvede iz značenja pojedinih komponenti:

<i>bury the hatchet</i>	zakopati ratnu sekiru	pomiriti se
<i>put the lid on sth</i>	staviti tačku na,	
okončati		
<i>take liberties with smb</i>	drsko se ponašati	

Prevodilac prilikom prevodenja ovakvih izraza prolazi kroz tri faze:

1. fazu prepoznavanja idioma
2. fazu pravilne interpretacije značenja
3. fazu pronalaženja najoptimalnijeg izraza u ciljnom jeziku

1. Prva teškoća na koju prevodilac nailazi jeste prepoznavanje idioma. Postoje različite vrste idioma, neki su lakše prepoznatljivi, neki teže. Lakše je prepoznati izraze koji narušavaju princip istinitosti (*raining cats and dogs, storm in a tea cup*) ili izgledaju kao da su gramatički nepravilni (*blow someone to kingdom come, by and large*). Uopšteno govoreći što je neki izraz teži za razumevanje u datom kontekstu, verovatnije je da će prevodilac shvatiti da se radi o idiomu.

2. Drugu teškoću predstavljaju idiomatski izrazi koji izgledaju transparentni i omogućuju bukvalnu interpretaciju, a kontekst ne upućuje na idiomatsko značenje. Evo jednog primera prepunog idiomatskih izraza, karakterističnih u žargonu - kamiondžija:

I'd just done my stint as *rubber duck*, see, and pulled off *the grandma lane* into the *pitstop* to *drain the radiator*.

(*Translator's Guild Newsletter* (Vol.X, Jan.1985, u Baker, 1992)

rubber duck = prvi kamion u konvoju

grandma lane = desna traka na autoputu kojom se sporije vozi

pitstop = servisna stanica na autoputu

drain the radiator = urinirati, ići u toalet

Ima slučajeva da u oba jezika postoje površinski slični idiomatski izrazi ali sa različitim značenjem ili upotrebom u različitim kontekstima, što može da dovede do pogrešne interpretacije i prevoda. Tako engleski izraz: *pull someone's leg* (zavatlavati nekog, napraviti štos) liči, uslovno rečeno, na srpski izraz: *vući noge*, ili malopre pomenuti: *take liberties with someone* koji liči na srpski izraz *dati sebi slobodu*, ali koji se u srpskom koristi u mnogo širim kontekstima i ne mora da ima toliko negativan naboj kao engleski izraz.

3. Najosetljiviji deo posla nastupa kada prevodilac treba da odabere najoptimalniji izraz u ciljnom jeziku kojim će da što tačnije prenese smisao i postigne dejstvo (emotivno, retoričko, estetsko i dr.) izraza u originalnom tekstu.

Prva teškoća koju ovde možemo zamisliti je da u ciljnom jeziku prosto ne postoji ekvivalent. Ono što prevodilac u tom slučaju može da učini jeste da opisno, dužim putem, prevede dati pojam ili da ga jednostavno ostavi u originalu. Ovo poslednje dešava se danas sa stručnim terminima u raznim oblastima koji naročito u novije vreme iz engleskog prelaze u srpski (i ne samo srpski jezik). Na primer, na TV možete svakodnevno čuti ministre kako govore o *greenfield investicijama* (što izgleda da postaje "legitiman" srpski ekonomski termin). No, i razlozi pomodnosti u ovome igraju posebnu ulogu. Na primer, u psihologiji samo u starijoj literaturi možete da nađete na *sopstvo* i *jastvo* i mnogo više se upotrebljavaju *ego* i *super ego*, a na *Hallmark TV* u reklamama na mađarskom jeziku možemo razabrati engleske reči *total protection* u reklamama za pastu za zube, mada je više nego izvesno da imaju sasvim odgovarajuće ekvivalente u svom jeziku. Ovim smo, međutim, već ušli na teren kulturologije.

Teškoću kod prevodenja mogu da predstavljaju i dobro poznati engleski fiksirani izrazi kao što su *Yours sincerely* i *Yours faithfully* ili pak *Many happy returns of the day* koji su specifični za englesku kulturu. Srpski jezik ima druge formule za ovakve situacije.

Mada se u naučnoj i stručnoj literaturi ređe upotrebljavaju kulturno-specifični idiomatski izrazi ne znači da ih nema. Upravo u tekstu *Current Trends in Learning Theory* nalazi se rečenica:

".... There are, however, those who maintain that "behaviourism *threw out the baby with the bathwater*" by defining behaviour in such a way as to exclude "higher mental processes" such as concept formation and problem solving, or thinking in general" (Prica, 1996:101)

Ova poslovice, koju "dele" Englezi i Nemci (prvi put je zabeležena u nemačkom početkom XVI veka, a u Engleskoj polovinom XIX veka) prilično transparentnog metaforičnog značenja, daje izvesnu živost celom tekstu i "probija" suvoparnost uobičajenog stručnog teksta pa bi idealno bilo da se i u prevodu to oseti.

Studenti su prilikom prevođenja pronalazili različita rešenja. Podelili smo ih u tri grupe:

1. bukvalni prevodi:

- izbacio bebu sa vodom za kupanje
- sa vodom izbacio i dete iz korita

2. opisno izražena ista ideja:

- odstranio i bitne stvari sa nebitnim
- uklonio i dobro i loše
- odbacivanjem sporednog lišava se i suštinskog
- izbacio i ono što valja sa onim što ne valja
- zajedno sa nepotrebnim odbacio i veoma dragocene stvari
- uz neke nebitne stvari odbacio i neke jako važne
- izgubio i ono što je želeo pokušavajući da se oslobodi onoga što mu nije bilo potrebno
- odbacio i samu suštinu zajedno sa nebitnim stvarima
- da pod svaku cenu odbaci neželjeno pa makar izgubili i ono što je važno

3. pomoću srpske poslovice koja izražava istu ideju:

- čupajući kukolj počupao i žito (+)
- uz kukolj bacio i žito (+)
- ne vidi šumu od drveća (+,?)

Zaključak

Korišćenje tipične frazeologije, odnosno prirodnih kolokacija, fiksiranih i polu-fiksiranih izraza koji se koriste u jeziku na koji se prevodi i pažljiv odabir idiomatskih izraza (kod kojih se uvek postavlja pitanje stila, registra i retoričkog efekta) uveliko povećavaju čitljivost prevoda, jer takav, u stvari, kulturni supstitut čitaocu nudi koncept koji mu je blizak, dok značenje i dejstvo koje izraz ima u izvornom tekstu ostaju veoma slični ili identični te se smatraju legitimnim sredstvom za postizanje prevodne ekvivalencije.

Za kraj evo nekoliko prevoda čuvene Hamletovog uzvika "*To be or not to be, that is the question!*" koji pokazuje kako se odabirom različitih izražajnih sredstava dobijaju različita dejstva:

Biti ili ne biti pitanje je sad! (najčešći savremeni prevod)

Živeti ili mreti, pitanje je pravo! (čest prevod pre Drugog svetskog rata)

Trt-mrt, život ili smrt! (Laza Kostić, 1903)

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HILFSMITTEL ÜBERSETZEN VON RECHTSTEXTEN Hilfsmittel beim Übersetzen von Rechtstexten

Abstract - Die Rechtsübersetzung gilt „als einer der schwierigsten Typen von Translation überhaupt und bedeutet für die damit befassten Übersetzer in jedem Fall eine große Herausforderung“ (Wiesmann 2004, 1). Wer Rechtstexte übersetzt, hat es nämlich nicht nur mit einem Sachgebiet in zwei verschiedenen Sprachen zu tun, sondern mit zwei Rechtsordnungen in zwei unterschiedlichen Sprachen. Als Übersetzer/in juristischer Texte steht man vor einer komplexen und anspruchsvollen Aufgabe. Um sie kompetent erfüllen zu können, muss man einerseits über fundierte Sprach-, Sach- und Kulturkenntnisse verfügen; andererseits ist man aber auch auf unterschiedliche Hilfsmittel angewiesen. Welches sind die Hilfsmittel, deren man sich beim Übersetzen von juristischen Texten bedienen kann, welche Informationen werden im Rahmen einzelner Hilfsmittel angeboten, wie (un)geeignet sind diese Informationen und wie „souverän“ kann und darf man sich als Übersetzer/in dieser bedienen?

Schlüsselwörter - Übersetzen juristischer Texte, übersetzerische Hilfsmittel, Unterschiede zwischen Rechtssystemen, Synonyme, Homonyme, Kollokationen.

1. Einleitung

„Übersetzen ohne Hilfsmittel ist undenkbar. Übersetzen heißt, die Verständigung zwischen zwei Sprachgemeinschaften und Kulturen herzustellen, und diese Kommunikation [...] erfordert in jedem Fall ein gewisses Rüstzeug“ (Nord 2002, 1). Weit verbreitet ist die Meinung, beim Übersetzen würden die Wörter der Ausgangssprache (AS) durch die Wörter der Zielsprache (ZS) ersetzt. Wer die beiden Sprachen gut beherrsche und außerdem noch ein Wörterbuch besitze, könne auch übersetzen (vgl. Hönig 1995, 11). Das ist nicht einmal beim Übersetzen gemeinsprachlicher Texte der Fall, geschweige denn bei Fachtexten. Beim Fachtextübersetzen kommt es auf die Auswahl entsprechender Terminologie und Kollokationen an, auf das Beachten gewisser Textsortenkonventionen u. a. m. Eine sehr wichtige Voraussetzung ist dabei auch das Fachwissen, wobei das Recht - im Gegensatz zu vielen anderen Fachsprachen - eine besondere Position einnimmt. Wer Rechtstexte übersetzt, hat es nämlich nicht nur mit einem Sachgebiet in zwei verschiedenen Sprachen zu tun, sondern mit zwei Rechtsordnungen in zwei unterschiedlichen Sprachen. Als Übersetzer/in juristischer Texte steht man vor einer komplexen und anspruchsvollen Aufgabe. Um sie kompetent erfüllen zu können, muss man einerseits über fundierte Sprach-, Sach- und Kulturkenntnisse verfügen; andererseits ist man aber auch auf unterschiedliche Hilfsmittel angewiesen. Welches sind die Hilfsmittel, deren man sich beim Übersetzen von juristischen Texten bedienen kann, welche Informationen werden im Rahmen einzelner Hilfsmittel angeboten, wie (un)geeignet sind diese Informationen und wie „souverän“ kann und darf man sich als Übersetzer/in dieser bedienen?

2. Was macht das Übersetzen juristischer Texte so schwierig?

Beim Übersetzen von Rechtstexten stösst man auf zahlreiche Schwierigkeiten. Die erste Barriere stellen ganz gewiss zahlreiche **Unterschiede zwischen Rechtssystemen** dar. Jede Rechtsordnung verfügt über eigene Regel, eigene Normen und folglich über einen eigenen Begriffsapparat. Diese Spezifik kommt in der jeweiligen Rechtssprache zum Ausdruck: auf ihrer formalen und inhaltlichen Ebene. Es ist daher schwierig, wenn nicht sogar unmöglich, im Recht nach äquivalenten Ausdrücken zu suchen oder gar von einer absoluten Äquivalenz zwischen Begriffen zu sprechen, z. B.: Eines der Delikte im deutschen Strafgesetzbuch ist auch der *schwere Raub*.⁶⁵ Das slowenische StGB kennt nur den *Raub* (= *rop*) und den *räuberischen Diebstahl* (= *roparska tatvina*). Beim Übersetzen ins Slowenische stellt sich hier sofort die Frage nach dem entsprechenden Ausdruck in der Zielsprache, da die slowenische juristische Terminologie über einen äquivalenten Ausdruck eben nicht verfügt. In solchen Fällen hat man folgende Möglichkeiten zur Verfügung: Entweder eine Übersetzung prägen oder den ausgangssprachlichen Ausdruck behalten und ihn umschreiben oder eben ein funktionales Äquivalent verwenden (mehr hierzu vgl. Sandrini 1996, 142 f.). Kurz: die Übersetzer haen in Bezug auf die jeweilige Situation und Funktion der Übersetzung den Text in der Zielsprache so zu kodieren, dass er für den Adressaten Sinn macht. Zu betonen ist aber dabei, dass für die Prägung neuer Termini in erster Linie Fachleute kompetent (und dann auch verantwortlich) sind. Die Übersetzer können zwar eine neue Benennung vorschlagen, müssen sich aber danach diesbezüglich von den Fachleuten beraten lassen. Ähnliche Beispiele sind beim Sprachenpaar Deutsch-Slowenisch keine Ausnahme, da die deutsche juristische Terminologie sehr breitgefächert und verzweigt ist, viel mehr als die slowenische.

Selbst wenn man in der Zielsprache einen äquivalenten Ausdruck hat, kommt es dabei auch auf den Grad der Äquivalenz an. Dies beweist folgendes Beispiel:

Abtretung (Zession) Übertragung einer Forderung durch den bisherigen Gläubiger (Zedenten) auf einen neuen (Zessionar). Sie erfolgt durch einen Vertrag ... (§ 398 BGB) (Tosberg/Tosberg 1991, 22).

Der Abtretungsvertrag des § 398 BGB ist formlos gültig. Er wird geschlossen zwischen dem bisherigen Gläubiger (Zedent) und dem Erwerber der Forderung (Zessionar); die Mitwirkung des Schuldners, oder auch nur seine Benachrichtigung, ist nicht erforderlich (Larenz 1987, 575).

Abtretung/Zession entspricht auf der formalen Ebene dem slowenischen *odstop terjatve/cessio*. Beim Vergleich der beiden Definitionen kommen aber die Unterschiede auf der inhaltlichen Ebene sofort zum Ausdruck (das Unterstrichene): Im Gegensatz zur deutschen Rechtsordnung ist gemäß der slowenischen bei der Abtretung die Benachrichtigung des Schuldners erforderlich (vgl. § 438, 1 ZOR). Nur eines zahlreicher Beweise dafür, dass in der Rechtssprache tatsächlich kaum von einer Äquivalenz die Rede sein kann. Es steht außer Zweifel, dass die Kenntnisse über solche Unterschiede zwischen der Ausgangs- und Zielrechtsordnung auch beim Übersetzen vom großen Vorteil - wenn nicht sogar unerlässlich - sind.

⁶⁵ *Schwerer Raub* kann ins Slowenische als *hujši rop* übersetzt werden.

Das nächste Hindernis beim Übersetzen von juristischen Texten - insbesondere der Gesetzestexte - stellt der hohe Grad der Abstraktheit dar.

Zum Beispiel:

Tritt der Wille, im fremden Namen zu handeln, nicht erkennbar hervor, so kommt der Mangel des Willens, im eigenen Namen zu handeln nicht in Betracht.⁶⁶

Der Absatz 2 des § 164 BGB bereitet dem Laien trotz einer relativ einfachen syntaktischen Struktur und (scheinbar) verständlichen Lexik erhebliche Verständnisschwierigkeiten, die nicht auf die „stilwidrige“ sprachliche Einkodierung zurückzuführen sind, sondern vielmehr auf die „Unkenntnis des *modus rezipiendi*“ (Warnke 1996: 212). Für die Förderung des Laienverständnisses wäre eine paraphrasierte, fallbezogene Erklärung zweifellos angebracht. Andererseits ließe sich diese Strategie in der Praxis kaum verwirklichen. Einerseits nähmen fallbezogene Erklärungen wesentlich mehr Platz in Anspruch, andererseits geht es beim Gesetz um die Kodifikation von Rechtsnormen. Soll man diese in der Rechtspraxis auf konkrete Fälle anwenden, so müssen sie - wie schon oben betont - möglichst allgemein, d.h. ausreichend abstrakt konzipiert sein. Dass solche anspruchsvollen Texte den Bürgern unzugänglich sind, steht außer Zweifel. Der Bürger ist fachlicher Laie⁶⁷ und besitzt dementsprechend weder das theoretische Fachwissen noch praktische Erfahrungen, die Verfasser von Gesetzen einfach als bekannt voraussetzen.

Auf der lexikalischen Ebene bereiten vor allem Kollokationen, Homonyme und Synonyme große Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten.

Beim Übersetzen von Rechtstexten stellen zahlreiche Termini ein schwieriges Problem dar. Nicht weniger wichtig und anspruchsvoll ist dabei die Auswahl entsprechender Verben, Adjektive und Präpositionen, die sich mit Termini verbinden: *Vorstrafen aufweisen* = *biti kaznovan zaradi istovrstnega kaznivega dejanja*, *den Mietzins mindern* = *znižati najemnino*, *für eigene/fremde Rechnung handeln* = *nastopati za/na svoj/tuj račun*, *in Kraft treten* = *stopiti v veljavo...* Solche Bildungen heißen **Kollokationen** und können selbst erfahrenen Übersetzern nicht selten Schwierigkeiten bereiten, denn „eine wortwörtliche, an den Strukturen der Ausgangssprache orientierte Übersetzung, oder eine entsprechend der Strukturen der Zielsprache unübliche Übersetzung von Kollokationen führt notgedrungen zu Fehlübersetzungen [...]“ (Caro Cedillo 2004: 32), z. B.: *einen Unterbevollmächtigten bestellen* = **naročiti namestnika* (richtig: *postaviti/imenovati namestnika*), *eine Norm verletzen* = **poškodovati normo* (richtig: *kršiti normo*), *im eigenen/fremden Namen handeln* = **ravnavati v svojem/tujem imenu* (besser: *nastopati v...*), *Rechte/Freiheiten achten/schützen* =

⁶⁶ § 164 BGB im Kontext:

1) Eine Willenserklärung, die jemand innerhalb der ihm zustehenden Vertretungsmacht im Namen des Vertretenen abgibt, wirkt unmittelbar für und gegen den Vertretenen. Es macht keinen Unterschied, ob die Erklärung ausdrücklich im Namen des Vertretenen erfolgt oder ob die Umstände ergeben, dass sie in dessen Namen erfolgen soll.

2) Tritt der Wille, im fremden Namen zu handeln, nicht erkennbar hervor, so kommt der Mangel des Willens, im eigenen Namen zu handeln nicht in Betracht.

⁶⁷ Auch die Übersetzer juristischer Texte sind fachliche Laien.

**pravice/svoboščine upoštevati/ščititi (richtig: spoštovati/varovati)...*
Fachsprachliche Kollokationen bereiten Probleme nicht nur beim Hin-, sondern auch beim Herübersetzen. Die Übersetzer müssen die Kollokationen im Ausgangstext erkennen und dann in der Muttersprache typische Kollokationen wählen, z. B.: *das Gesetz verabschieden = sprejeti zakon, zur Last legen = obtožiti/vložiti obtožbo (zoper), die Mängel beheben = odpraviti napake, in Rechte eingreifen = posegati v pravice...* Diese und folgende Kollokationen sind in der Rechtssprache sehr gängig; da sie aber fachspezifisch sind, bereiten sie beim Übersetzen nicht selten (erhebliche) Schwierigkeiten.

Obwohl **Synonymie** „ein erhebliches Hindernis für die fachliche Verständigung“ (Arntz/Picht/Meyer 2002, 126) bedeutet, wird sie absichtlich oder nicht absichtlich eingesetzt. Betrachtet man die Rechtssprache genauer, so kann man feststellen, dass Synonyme im Recht doch nicht so ganz selten vorkommen. Von der Synonymie spricht man dann, wenn innerhalb eines Faches für ein und denselben Begriff mehrere verschiedene Benennungen verwendet werden. Einer der Gründe für die Verwendung synonyme Ausdrücke ist eine nicht ausreichend vereinheitlichte Terminologie, was nicht nur bei Experten, sondern vor allem bei Übersetzern große Verwirrung zur Folge hat. Ein weiterer Grund für den Gebrauch der Synonyme ist pragmatischer Art: längere Benennungen, vor allem Mehrwortbenennungen, werden oft durch kürzere ersetzt (*Unvermögen* vs. *subjektive Unmöglichkeit*; *Unmöglichwerden* vs. *nachträgliche Unmöglichkeit*). Des Weiteren kommt es bei einigen synonymen Ausdrücken darauf an, unter welchem Blickwinkel der juristische Sachverhalt betrachtet wird. *Schuldnerverzug* und *Leistungsverzug* sind Synonyme: Entweder der *Schuldner* kann in Verzug kommen, man spricht daher vom *Schuldnerverzug*, oder der Schuldner kommt mit seiner *Leistung* in Verzug (= *Leistungsverzug*). Schließlich geht es bei synonymen Ausdrücken oft um die Benennung eines Legalbegriffs einerseits und eines rechtswissenschaftlichen Begriffs andererseits. Rechtssatz- oder Legalbegriffe werden vom Gesetzgeber geprägt und in Gesetzes- oder Vertragstexten eingesetzt. Rechtswissenschaftliche Begriffe, von der Rechtswissenschaft und Lehre eingeführt, sind vor allem in theoretischen rechtswissenschaftlichen Diskursen zu finden.

Sie können später auch in Gesetzestexte aufgenommen werden, wo sie oft entsprechend neu definiert bzw. angepasst werden müssen, z.B. *Wahlschuld* vs. *Alternativobligation*, *Gattungsschuld*, *Stückschuld* vs. *Genusschuld*, *Speziesschuld*, *Abtretung* vs. *Zession*, *Schuldrecht* vs. *Obligationenrecht*, *Scheinvertreter* vs. *falsus procurator*. Man kann man davon ausgehen, dass die Fachleute sowohl die Legalbegriffe wie auch ihre synonymen rechtswissenschaftlichen Begriffe beherrschen. Bei den Übersetzern kann dieses Wissen nicht einfach präsupponiert werden, Wörterbücher und Glossare geben oft keine oder (für den Laien) keine zuverlässige Auskunft über Synonyme, obgleich für die Übersetzer auch die Auskunft darüber, welches Synonym in welcher juristischen Textsorte vorzuziehen ist, von großer Bedeutung wäre.

Homonymie heißt „Beziehung zwischen übereinstimmenden Benennungen für unterschiedliche Begriffe“ (DIN 2342, 1992, 3, zitiert in: Arntz/Picht/Meyer 2002, 131).

Im Recht kann ein und derselbe Terminus in verschiedenen Rechtszweigen vorkommen, wobei er aber jeweils anders definiert wird - hat also eine andere Bedeutung, z. B. *Schuld* (vgl. Köbler 1997: 346):

a) im Privatrecht:

→ einerseits eine Verpflichtung (z. B. Gattungsschuld, Geldschuld) (= slowenisch: *dolg, obveznost, obligacija*),

→ andererseits überhaupt die Bewertung eines Verhaltens als vorwerfbar (Verschulden) (= slowenisch: *krivda*);

b) im Strafrecht:

→ die Vorwerfbarkeit (= slowenisch: *krivda*).

Das obige Beispiel zeigt, wie wichtig die Verweise auf Homonyme in Nachschlagewerken insbesondere beim Übersetzen sind, den deutschen Homonymen *Schuld* im Privatrecht stehen die slowenischen Termini *dolg, obveznost, obligacija* und auch *krivda* gegenüber.

3. Hilfsmittel beim Übersetzen von Rechtstexten

Das waren nur einige Probleme, mit denen die Übersetzer von juristischen Texten immer wieder konfrontiert sind. Um so wichtiger ist es daher, dass sie sich bei ihrer anspruchsvollen Aufgabe zumindest auf gute lexikographische und terminographische Hilfsmittel verlassen können.

3. 1 Hilfsmitteltypologien

Nords Hilfsmitteltypologie (Nord 2002, 158 ff.) basiert einerseits auf metalexikographischen Ansätzen zur Wörterbuchtypologie, andererseits werden dabei aber auch „die unsystematischen Hilfsmittelaufzählungen in der übersetzungswissenschaftlichen Literatur“ (Wiesmann 2004, 159) miteinbezogen. Die primären Hilfsmittel zur Translation werden nach Nord (2002) auf der ersten Ebene in drei Gruppen geteilt, u. z. in **Texte, Personen** und **Gegenstände**.

Bei Personen unterscheidet Nord Laien, Kollegen und **Experten**. Vor allem die Letzteren sind beim Übersetzen juristischer Texte von besonderer Bedeutung: einerseits soll man sie bei der Prägung neuer Termini beraten. Außerdem sollten sie eine wichtige Rolle auch bei der Ausbildung künftiger Übersetzer spielen,⁶⁸ denn das Übersetzen juristischer Texte ohne entsprechende Sachkenntnisse ist praktisch unmöglich.

Texte, die größte und weit verzweigte Gruppe, gliedern sich des Weiteren in Hilfstexte und Nachschlagewerke. Unter Hilfstexten finden sich u. a. auch **Paralleltexte**. Beim Übersetzen von Rechtstexten findet man da in erster Linie Auskunft über entsprechende zielsprachliche Terminologie und Kollokationen. In juristischen Lehrbüchern (diese stellen auch eine Art Paralleltexte dar) sind deshalb von Vorteil, weil da entsprechende theoretische Grundlagen explizit dargestellt werden, außerdem enthalten sie oft Auskunft über Synonyme.

⁶⁸ Am Institut für Übersetzungswissenschaft der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Ljubljana wirken die Experten von der Juristischen Fakultät in Ljubljana bei der Ausbildung künftiger Übersetzer aktiv mit.

Zu **Nachschlagewerken** zählen neben Atlanten, Handbüchern, Chroniken und benutzerdefinierten Verzeichnissen auch **lexikographische Werke**, die entweder als **Wörterbücher** oder **Enzyklopädien** erscheinen (mehr hierzu vgl. Nord 2002, 158 ff.).

Eine andere - nur auf lexikographische Werke beschränkte - Typologie findet sich bei Felber/Schaeder (1999, 1730). „Das Wörterbuch ist ein Subtyp des Typs Nachschlagewerk. Die Gesamtheit der Wörterbücher läßt sich unterteilen in: Sprachwörterbücher und Sachwörterbücher. Sprachwörterbücher informieren primär über Sprache, Sachwörterbücher bzw. Lexika primär über Sachen⁶⁹“ (Schaeder 1994b: 70). In Anlehnung an Wiegand (1994, 107 ff.) unterscheiden sie drei Typen von **Fachwörterbüchern**: fachliche Sprachwörterbücher, fachliche Sachwörterbücher und fachliche Allbücher. **Fachliche Sprachwörterbücher** enthalten vor allem semantische Textdaten: Übersetzungsäquivalente (falls zwei- oder mehrsprachig), Synonymangaben, Kollokationen⁷⁰ und grammatische Daten. In **fachlichen Sachwörterbüchern** gibt es primär enzyklopädische Daten:⁷¹ meist Begriffsdefinitionen (diese sind meist sehr abstrakte und komprimierte Texte mit zahlreichen Verweisen auf andere Begriffe bzw. Termini), eventuell auch Angaben zu Homonymen. Wünschenswert wären beim Übersetzen juristischer Texte Nachschlagewerke, die sowohl semantische als auch enzyklopädische Daten enthalten - fachliche Allbücher also, möglicherweise in elektronischer Form (vgl. Abbildung 1).

3. 2 Fachliches Allbuch als Hilfsmittel und seine Vorteile

Indem die isolierten Termini (vgl. Abb. 1, dort markiert durch Ellipsen und Vierecke) mittels verschiedener Relationen (markiert durch Pfeile) in Beziehung gesetzt werden, entsteht ein Begriffssystem, in dem jedem Terminus eine bestimmte Position zukommt und seine Beziehungen zu anderen Termini ersichtlich werden. Die Begriffssysteme lassen sich bis zu einem gewissen Grad, wie aus der Abbildung ersichtlich, auch graphisch darstellen. Solche visualisierten Begriffssysteme können im Gegensatz zu den erwähnten Hilfsmitteln als innovative Hilfsmittel betrachtet werden. Ihr Vorteil besteht vor allem darin, dass sie Termini immer in ihren Beziehungen zueinander darstellen. Begriffssysteme müssen zunächst für jede Rechtsordnung separat erstellt werden. Werden sie daraufhin übereinander gelegt (wie in Abb. 1, wo der deutsche und der slowenische juristische Sachverhalt kontrastiert werden), so treten Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede auf der Makroebene der kontrastierten Rechtssysteme deutlich zutage.

Ein **Begriffssystem** ist „miteinander in Beziehung stehende Elemente, die in ihrer Gesamtheit eine bestimmte Funktion haben“ Felber (1995, 50). Ein Begriffssystem ist demnach ein strukturiertes Ganzes, das einen Einblick in die jeweilige, genau determinierte Position der einzelnen Begriffe ermöglicht. Begriffssysteme bestehen aus Begriffen (Bausteinen) und Beziehungen zwischen ihnen (Relationen). Zu ihrer

⁶⁹ „Nebenbei informieren Sprachwörterbücher über Sachen und Sachwörterbücher über Sprache (etwa durch Angaben zur Aussprache, Grammatik und Herkunft)“ (ebd.).

⁷⁰ Kollokationsangaben, nicht nur in der Ausgangs-, sondern auch in der Zielsprache, kommen in sehr wenigen Wörterbüchern vor.

⁷¹ „Semantische Daten sind Daten über die Bedeutung sprachlicher Ausdrücke und enzyklopädische Daten sind Daten über nichtsprachliche Entitäten“ (Wiegand 1994, 112).

graphischen Darstellung bieten sich verschiedene Möglichkeiten an, deren Auswahl von Faktoren wie Ziel- oder Benutzergruppe, Spezifik des Fachgebiets, Aspekte der Systemgliederung bestimmt wird. Außerdem ist es wichtig, dass das abgebildete System eindeutig, verständlich und übersichtlich gestaltet ist und dass es sich ergänzen lässt (vgl. hierzu auch Arntz / Picht / Meyer, 2002, 73 f.). **Begriffsbeziehungen** sind das wichtigste konstitutive Element des Systems, sie prägen nicht nur seine Gestalt, sondern sie verleihen ihm auch den Sinn. Wichtig ist, dass ausgewählte Begriffsbeziehungen klar definiert, nicht zu umfangreich und nicht synonym sind; all dies könnte nämlich zur Unüberschaubarkeit des Begriffssystems führen.⁷²

Begriffssysteme lassen sich graphisch auf unterschiedliche Weise darstellen. Ich habe mich für eine Kombination aus semantischem Netz und Flussdiagramm entschieden. Das semantische Netz unterscheidet sich vom Flussdiagramm nicht nur in seiner Funktion - es bildet den statischen Teil des Systems ab, sondern auch dadurch, dass es anders gestaltet ist. Seine Knoten bilden Objekte (vorwiegend Termini, gelegentlich auch fachsprachliche Kollokationen), miteinander verbunden durch die Beziehungen. Im Flussdiagramm finden sich neben Angaben der Termini und Kollokationen auch Angaben der Bedingungen (graphisch markiert durch Rauten). Sie nehmen die Form der Fragesätze auf, die man mit Ja oder Nein beantwortet (vgl. Abb. 1) und die weder als Termini noch als fachsprachenspezifische Kollokationen interpretierbar sind. Um die Termini im semantischen Netz von denjenigen im Flussdiagramm auch optisch abzusetzen, verwende ich verschiedene geometrische Formen: ovale für das semantische Netz, rechteckige dagegen für das Flussdiagramm. Die Beziehungen zwischen Objekten lassen sich in semantischen Netzen zwar vereinfacht darstellen, jedoch können dabei keine dynamischen Relationen (etwa Bedingung-Folge-Beziehungen) abgebildet werden. Gerade diese lassen sich in Flussdiagrammen besser repräsentieren. Flussdiagramme haben gegenüber semantischen Netzen aber wiederum den Nachteil, dass sie nur eine begrenzte Anzahl von Begriffsbeziehungen darstellen können (Ja/Nein-Verzweigungen). Dieser Nachteil kann aber wiederum durch die semantischen Netze ausgeglichen werden, in denen eine Vielzahl von Relationen darstellbar ist und die sich zugleich auch weiter ausbauen lassen.

Die Begriffssysteme sind komplexe Systeme und als solche in der traditionellen Schriftform ohne Computereinsatz schwer darstellbar und kontrollierbar. So ist es unerlässlich, ein computerunterstütztes System zu verwenden, das außerdem zahlreiche weitere Vorteile aufweist: Standardisierung von Datenangaben, Verbindung mit anderen Informationssystemen, Erweiterbarkeit, Flexibilität der Applikation und Verwendung, Einfachheit der Verwendung und zahlreiche Möglichkeiten graphischer Abbildungen. Geht man davon aus, ein fachliches Allbuch

⁷² Bei den Untersuchungen, durchgeführt auf dem Gebiet des Rechts (im Teilbereich des Schuldrechts), haben sich folgende Begriffsbeziehungen als relevant erwiesen: **Oberbegriff von**: verbindet einen Oberbegriff mit einem oder mit mehreren nebengeordneten Unterbegriffen; **enthält**: verbindet einen Verbandsbegriff mit seinen Teilbegriffen; **Antonymie**: verbindet einen Begriff mit seinem Antonym; hierbei werden oftmals Begriffe verknüpft, die ansonsten unverbunden blieben; **Folge**: verbindet einen Begriff mit einem anderen, mit dem er in einer sequentiellen Beziehung steht; **ist**: Durch diese Begriffsbeziehung werden zwei synonyme Begriffe verbunden; **trägt, gilt für, besitzt** sind fachspezifisch und ließen sich in anderen Fachbereichen durch andere, ebenfalls fachspezifische Relationen ersetzen.

informiert gleichwertig sowohl über die Fachsprache als auch über Fachgegenstände (Wiegand 1994, 122), so lässt sich das präsentierte innovative Hilfsmittel als ein fachliches Allbuch in elektronischer Form einstufen. Es ermöglicht Einsichten in zwei Rechtsordnungen und verweist auf eventuelle Unterschiede, es enthält Verweise auf homonyme Termini, die in verschiedenen Rechtszweigen vorkommen und dort jeweils anders definiert sind. Ein wesentliches Segment stellen Kollokationen dar, die besonders wichtige Informationen beim Übersetzen und/oder Verfassen eines juristischen Textes sind. Graphische Darstellungen juristischer Sachverhalte sind aber nur dann optimal benutzbar, wenn sie entsprechend dekodiert werden, was allerdings eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Fachbereich in Anspruch nimmt. Die Begriffssysteme fungieren dabei als eine Art Makroinhaltsverzeichnis und vermitteln ein - zwar sehr rudimentäres - Fachwissen, sie ermöglichen ein schnelleres Sicheinarbeiten in das Fach sowohl dem Übersetzer wie auch den Fachleuten.

Abbildung 1: Begriffssystem

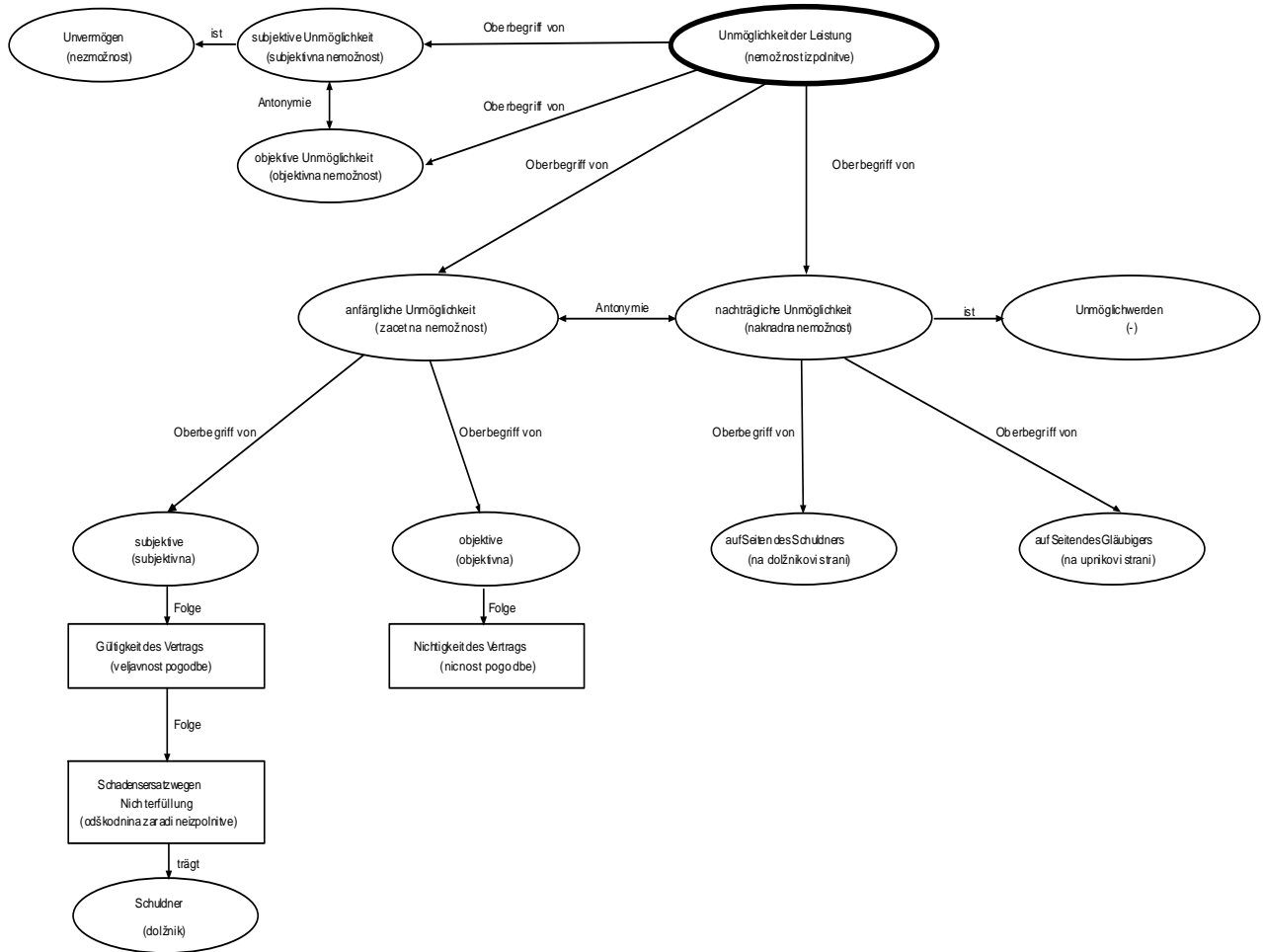


Abbildung 2: Rechts Begriffssystem, links zusätzliche Daten zum ausgewählten Terminus (semantische und enzyklopädische)

Van

 Full

Verzug
Schuldnerverzug
objektiver Schuldnerverzug

Polje	Podatek
nemško	Schuldnerverzug
slovensko	(dolžnikova zamuda)
OBJEKT_TYP	TER
GESETZESQUELL	0
DEFINITION	ist die rechtswidrige Verzögerung der Leis
BENENNUNG_ART	
KONTEXT	
FACHPHASE	pril/zeiti v (dolžnikovo) zamudo
HOMONYM	
WORTART	S
GENUS	F
NUMERUS	SG

DEFINITION: ist die rechtswidrige Verzögerung der Leistung durch den Schuldner. Er ist ein Fall der Leistungsstörung. Er fordert eine Verpflichtung, die noch nicht erfüllt ist, aber noch erfüllt werden kann, die Fälligkeit, eine Mahnung, oder deren Entbehrlichkeit sowie Vertretenmüssen. Der V. begründet vor allem einen Anspruch auf Ersatz des Verzögerungsschadens und u.U. (im gegenseitigen Vertrag immer) ein Leistungsablehnungs- bzw. Rücktrittsrecht sowie einen Anspruch auf Schadensersatz wegen Nichterfüllung. Er endet mit Erfüllung, Unmöglichkeit oder Verjährung (Köhler 1997, 439).

The diagram illustrates the legal concept of 'Schuldnerverzug (dolžnikova zamuda)'. It is defined as 'Oberbegriff' (superordinate concept) and 'Oberbegriff' (superordinate concept) of 'subjektiver Schuldnerverzug (subjektivna dolžnikova zamuda)' and 'objektiver Schuldnerverzug (objektivna dolžnikova zamuda)'. The 'objektiver Schuldnerverzug' is further categorized into 'Erfüllungsanspruch' (claim for fulfillment) and 'Rücktritt' (rescission). 'Erfüllungsanspruch' leads to 'Folge (und) zartevek izpolnitve obveznos.' (consequence and fulfillment of obligations), which then leads to 'Folge (und) zartevek izpolnitve obveznos. (odstop)' (consequence and fulfillment of obligations (cessation)). 'Rücktritt' leads to 'Folge (und) zartevek izpolnitve obveznos. (odstop)' (consequence and fulfillment of obligations (cessation)). 'Folge (und) zartevek izpolnitve obveznos. (odstop)' leads to 'Folge (und) zartevek izpolnitve obveznos. (odstop)' (consequence and fulfillment of obligations (cessation)). 'Folge (und) zartevek izpolnitve obveznos. (odstop)' leads to 'Folge (und) zartevek izpolnitve obveznos. (odstop)' (consequence and fulfillment of obligations (cessation)).

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THE PITFALLS OF LEGAL TRANSLATION

Abstract: In many aspects, legal translation seems to be an adequate domain for applying the principles of the functionalist approaches to translation. Yet, in intercultural legal transactions, such as e.g. international contracts, where only one legal system is defined as the communication framework (i.e. the governing law), the functionalist principle of cultural embeddedness may prove questionable as it may only be applied with respect to some linguistic features of the text, rather than its cultural (legal) aspect. A specific problem can be found in legal transactions conducted in a *lingua franca*, as they lack a direct correlation between the language(s) and the underlying legal system(s). This paper proposes a strategy addressed to the specific requirements of legal translation.

Key words: Legal translation, skopos, cultural embeddedness, lingua franca

Translation in Legal Settings

This paper addresses some specific problems arising in the area of international legal communication. In the international legal community, experts from different countries establish relationships and conduct legal operations. To be able to overcome language and cultural barriers they need to agree on the language to be used in their communication which can be either the language of one of the participants in the communication or a third neutral language alien to the communicating parties, but adopted by them as a common means of communication - a *lingua franca*. These intercultural contacts imply a certain extent of implicit or explicit translating and interpreting. Considering the specific character of legal translation, which according to the requirements of the legal environment generally follows a clearly defined purpose, the functionalist approaches to translation, especially the *skopos* theory by H. Vermeer and K. Reiß (1984), seem to provide an adequate theoretical basis for this area of translation. In this respect, the sphere of legal translation would certainly benefit from a consistent application of the guidelines of the *skopos* theory, such as the importance of a clearly stated purpose of the translation, which Vermeer terms *skopos* (Greek for aim or purpose), which in turn defines the translation techniques and strategies to be used for producing a functionally appropriate translation. Moreover, a precise and complete translation brief/commission could contribute considerably to raising the translation quality and functionality by indicating the intended target-text function, the receiver(s), the prospective time, place and motive of production and reception of the text, etc. (Nord 1997: 137).

Furthermore, if according to Vermeer we view translation as an intercultural transfer, where both the source and the target language are embedded in their corresponding cultures, this approach requires the translator to be an intercultural expert, capable of following Nord's guideline that "translating means comparing cultures" (1997: 34), i.e. interpreting source culture phenomena in the light of one's own knowledge of both the source and target culture for target culture receivers. If we consider the legal system an essential part of the culture, which is confirmed by Vermeer's definition of culture, i.e.. "*the entire setting of norms and conventions an individual as a member of his society must know in order to be "like everybody" - or to be able to be different from everybody.*" (1987: 28), which

evokes several generally adopted definitions of law and legal systems, we see that a legal translator needs to be an interdisciplinary expert with thorough knowledge of the legal systems involved in translation.

However, consequently linking the language to culture intended as legal system may prove to be questionable, as it may cause disturbances in the communication process which stem from the specific nature of the legal language and the requirements applying to legal translation. In some situations, such as translating within a multilingual legal system or in legal transactions, such as international contracts, where the parties agree upon the clause on the governing law, only one legal system is adopted as the communication framework. In such cases, the principle of cultural embeddedness may only be applied with respect to some linguistic aspects of the text, whereas on a wider scale, i.e. as far as the cultural foundation of the text (i.e. the legal system) is concerned, the source and the target text will have the same cultural reference. A specific problem is represented by legal transactions conducted in a *lingua franca*, as in this case there is no direct correlation between the language(s) and the underlying culture(s) intended as legal system(s).

The Socio-Linguistic Dimensions of Legal Translation

Legal language is characterized by its normative, performative and technical nature (Cao 2007: 13 - 15). Legal language does not merely convey knowledge and information but it directs, affects and modifies people's behaviour (e.g. through statutes, court decisions, contracts) and as such contributes to creating and expressing the norms in force in different societies.

Closely connected with the normative nature of language is its performative character. No other sphere of language use better renders the idea first proposed by J.L. Austin (1962) in his speech acts theory that by speaking, i.e. using language, we achieve effects and generate consequences in the surrounding world. The legal language used to pronounce judgements in courts, impose obligations and confer rights, grant permission, express prohibition, etc. provides indisputable evidence of its performative power.

As a language for special purposes the legal language is used in legal contexts by drawing from the legal lexicon and applying the norms of the specific register with its lexical, syntactical, textual and pragmatic features.

Law as a system of rules is bound to language for expressing and enforcing them and is, in a way, limited by it. Accordingly, legal language has to provide targeted linguistic instruments by means of which the specific requirements of legal communication can be met. Some of these linguistic features are common to most legal languages, whereas others are language- and culture-specific and thus have a decisive impact on legal translation.

Being a technical language, every legal language has a specific vocabulary, which is marked by its complexity and particularity, as it is bound to a specific legal system. In contrast to other sciences and disciplines there is no universal legal language, describing and expressing universal concepts, such as e.g. in mathematics or medicine. Cao (2007: 23) argues that every legal language reflects the history, evolution and culture of the corresponding legal system. Each society has its own legal concepts, legal norms and ways of applying its laws. According to Sarcevic

(1997: 13) each national law represents an independent system with its own terminological apparatus, the underlying conceptual basis, rules of classification, sources of law, methodological approaches and socioeconomic principles.

De Groot points out that the crucial issue to be taken into consideration when translating legal concepts is the fact that “*The language of the law is very much a system-bound language, i.e. a language related to a specific legal system. Translators of legal terminology are obliged therefore to practice comparative law.*” (1998: 21 ff.).

Every state (sometimes even regions within a state) has developed independent legal terminologies, whereas a multilingual international legal terminology is only being created gradually within international (such as the UN International Law) or supranational legal systems (such as the European Union, where it is being introduced in single areas of the EU as they undergo harmonisation).

Zweigert and Kötz (1992) group legal systems on the basis of their historical development, the distinctive mode of legal thinking, the distinctive legal institutions, the sources of law and their treatment, as well as the ideology. They thus distinguish eight major legal families: the Romanistic, Germanic, Nordic, Common Law, Socialist, Far Eastern Law, Islamic and Hindu Laws (1992: 68-72). The two most influential legal families nowadays are the Common Law and the Civil Law (i.e. the Romano-Germanic) families, to which 80% of the countries of the world belong. The Common Law family includes England and Wales, the USA, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, some of the former colonies of England in Africa and Asia such as Nigeria, Kenya, Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong, while the Civil Law countries include France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Latin American countries, Turkey, some Arabic states, North African countries, Japan and South Korea. Some legal systems are hybrids created through the mixed influence of the Common Law and the Civil Law, e.g. Israel, South Africa, the Province of Quebec in Canada, Louisiana in the US, Scotland, the Philippines and Greece. According to Cao the law of the EU is also to be classified as a mixed jurisdiction (2007: 25).

When translating between different legal systems or families, the relatedness of legal systems, rather than the relatedness of the languages involved in translation, will determine the level of translatability of legal concepts. According to de Groot (1992: 293 - 297) the possible situations are:

1. If the legal systems and the languages concerned are closely related, e.g. between Spain and France, or between Slovenia and Croatia, translating will be relatively easy.
2. If the legal systems are closely related, but the languages are not, e.g. translating between Dutch laws in the Netherlands and French laws, this task will not involve extreme difficulties.
3. If the legal systems are different but the languages are related, the difficulty will be considerable, especially as this relatedness of languages implies the risk of *faux amis*, e.g. translating German legal texts into Dutch or vice versa.
4. The most difficult task is translating between unrelated legal systems, as well as languages, e.g. translating Common Law texts from English into Slovene.

Weisflog (1987) speaks of the 'system gap' existing between legal systems, which in turn results in the gap dividing legal languages. The wider the system gap, the higher the degree of translational difficulty.

Apart from the (un)relatedness of the legal systems involved in translation, other aspects of the source and target languages will have to be considered, such as the specific syntax, pragmatics and style of the individual legal languages. Legal language is generally characterized by its formal and impersonal style, as well as by the complexity and lengths of sentences and structures, which reflect the complexity of the subject matters rendered. Bhatia (1997) argues that the extensive use of conditions, qualifications and exceptions for expressing complex contingencies creates barriers to effective understanding for ordinary readers and thus makes the translator's task all the more difficult.

In addition to the universal features described above, each legal language has its own syntactical characteristics. German legal texts, for instance, are characterized by an extensive use of the passive voice and impersonal verb forms, multiple attributive adjectives, etc., whereas legal English uses complex structures, multiple negations, prepositional phrases and passive voice as well (cf. Cao 2007: 21).

Due to its performative nature, legal language in general uses structures which enable the performing of specific speech acts - establishing obligations, conferring rights, granting permission, expressing prohibition, etc. Documents such as statutes, contracts, wills are speech acts *per definitonem* and one of their distinguishing linguistic features is the use of performative markers, such as the use of the modals 'shall' and 'may' in English and performative verbs such as 'declare', 'adjudge', 'pronounce', 'undertake', 'bind oneself', assume '(the obligation/liability)', 'grant', 'confer', etc., and their corresponding translations in other languages (cf. Cao 2007: 21-22).

Being marked by a predominantly impersonal style, legal language is defined by the use of declarative sentences expressing rights and obligations. More specifically, the style of the individual languages reflects the corresponding legal culture and logic. De Cruz (1999: 91) states, for example, that the style of German legal texts reflects the systematic and logical development of German law using an abstract conceptual language, based on highly-abstract, system-oriented, deductive thinking, which is not intended to be comprehensible to the layperson, but is meant to be read by experts who can appreciate "its precision and rigour of thought" (Zweigert and Kötz 1992: 150). With regard to the style of legislative drafting Tetley (2000: 703) defines the style of Civil Law codes and statutes as concise, while he describes the style of the Common Law statutes as precise. The legal English used in Common Law texts is based on inductive thinking and on an empirical approach to legal problems, which is intended to restrict interpretation possibilities to the minimum. For instance, the style of English/American contracts is characterized by wordy, lengthy sentences and the use of word strings with similar meanings, such as "agreements, understandings, representations, discussions, proposals, literature, and the like."

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Therefore, when translating between legal systems, the system gaps, as well as the specifics of the legal languages on the lexical, syntactical, pragmatic and stylistic level have to be taken into account. In this respect, however, I believe that de Groot's categorization of translational situations should be expanded by adding another possible scenario, i.e. translating between legal systems which are

relatively related (e.g. German and Slovene, both belonging to the Civil Law family), but using a *lingua franca* bound to a legal system, which is in fact not relevant to the communication act and may even be fundamentally unrelated to the legal systems of the communicating parties, as is often the case with English used as *lingua franca*. This situation involves specific problems and requires a selective application of the principle of cultural embeddedness. In such cases, specific syntactical, pragmatic and stylistic features of the *lingua franca* may be envisaged, whereas on the lexical level there is a risk of introducing concepts from the legal system underlying the *lingua franca* (in the case of English the Anglo-American, i.e. the Common Law legal system), which are alien to the communicating parties and their legal systems and may as such prejudice communication. The problems deriving from the discrepancy between the Common and Continental Law are also felt within the European Union where English as the most widely adopted *lingua franca* (cf. Kjaer 1999: 72) is used to describe specific concepts of the European Law or of national legal systems pertaining to the continental legal family within the EU by using terms tainted by the meaning attributed to them within the Anglo-American legal system.

A Seven-Stages Strategy for Translating Legal Texts

With respect to the specific requirements of legal translating and based on my own experience as court translator I have designed an approach to translating legal texts, which addresses the different aspects and potential problems of these translations and consists of seven stages.

Stage 1 - Identify the *skopos*/function of the translation

In legal translation, a whole range of *skopoi* is possible. For instance, the translation of the source text may serve as a basis for a new document to be used in a different (target) legal system, in which case it will have to be adapted to, i.e. embedded into the target legal system. Another possible and quite common situation is that the translation will represent one of two or more language versions of a document having equal value in a multilingual or international legal setting. The translation of a legal source text may also be made for didactic purposes, i.e. for target culture readers who do not speak the source language to enable them to study the characteristics of the source legal system and language.

Stage 2 - Establish the number of legal systems involved in the translation

When translation occurs within the framework of a multilingual national legal system (Switzerland, Italy, Slovenia - into/from minority languages), within an international or supranational legal system such as the UN or the EU) or within international legal transactions where one legal system is explicitly defined and adopted by the parties as the governing law, there is only one legal system involved, i.e. underlying both the source and the target text.

When texts are translated from a source language pertaining to a monolingual source legal system into a target language, i.e. legal system (e.g. Slovene - Croatian), two legal systems will be involved.

Stage 3 - Establish the degree of relatedness of the legal systems involved

Identify the legal families to which the legal systems involved in translation belong and establish their degree of relatedness. Consider that the translatability of legal

concepts directly depends on the relatedness of the legal systems and not of the languages involved in translation. In case of unrelated legal systems you might have to cope with the lack of equivalence between legal concepts, whereas in the case of related languages beware of the risk of using false friends.

Stage 4 - Translate legal concepts

When translating legal concepts between legal languages and cultures first study the meaning of the source language term within the source legal system, then search for an equivalent in the target legal language by using any available translation tools: dictionaries, glossaries, terminology banks, corpora of related texts or parallel documents (similar to the source language text) in the target language. Sometimes equivalents can be found in the history of a legal language, which was the case with company law terminology in the socialist era in Slovenia. When concepts related to company law, which at that time did not exist in the Slovene legal system, had to be translated, the terminology was drawn from the Slovene legal lexicon used in the period during the wars.

If no equivalents can be found due to the unrelatedness of legal systems one of the following three solutions suggested by de Groot (1998: 25) should be applied: using the source-language term in its original or transcribed version, using a paraphrase or creating a neologism (possibly of Latin/Greek origin), i.e. using a term in the target-language that does not form part of the existing target-language terminology, if necessary with an explanatory footnote. In this connection, it should be taken into account that when translating into a lingua franca, the terms used might be tainted by the meaning attributed to them in the legal system underlying the legal *lingua franca*, which might have no connection to the legal systems actually involved in translation.

Stage 5 - Define the terminology for a specific legal operation

In order to avoid the risk of introducing non-equivalent terms, “terminologize” the words/phrases to be used in a legal operation. In the case of an agreement or contract, for instance, the meaning of the principle terms to be used in communication can be precisely determined by using the following wording:
“For the purpose of this Agreement, the following words and phrases mean the following: INVENTION RIGHTS means: (1) the discoveries, know-how, information and inventions created by the Inventor(s)”

Stage 6 - Apply the culturally specific linguistic features of target language legal texts

In every legal culture there are specific text norms and conventions applying to legal texts on different linguistic levels. The target text should conform to them on the syntactical, pragmatic and stylistic level. For instance, to express an obligation in English legal texts “shall” is extensively used. When translating an English text into German this structure should be substituted by other equivalent ones, which are typical of the German legal language (“haben + zu + infinitive”, the modal verb “müssen”, lexical verbs such as “sich verpflichten”, etc.) .

Stage 7 - Provide for the legal security of the target text

Considering the performative nature of legal language, i.e. the fact that utterances in legal texts have a decisive impact on reality, the legal translator has to be aware

of the risks implied in legal translation and assume the burden of responsibility for potential consequences of (in)adequate translation. In order to reduce this risk Sandrini (1999: 39) suggests to follow two guidelines, i.e. to safeguard the legal security of the target text (by double-checking its legal foundations, consulting experts whenever this is necessary) and ensure the transparency of the translational decisions, i.e. account for the solutions adopted in accordance with the *skopos* of the translation.

Conclusion

The area of legal translation is a highly specialized one, demanding from the translator an interdisciplinary approach which takes into consideration the specifics of legal science, as well as the peculiarities of legal language and thus has to unite translation science with comparative legal science and contrastive linguistics. In years of translational practice I became aware of the pitfalls and risks involved in international legal communication and therefore decided to attempt to design a targeted strategy addressing the special requirements of legal translation. In the light of the increasing demand for legal translation I believe that after due elaboration such specific strategies and techniques could effectively be incorporated in training programmes for legal translators and interpreters.

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MISTRANSLATIONS ON FOOD AND DRINK LABELS FROM SERBIAN INTO ENGLISH

Abstract: The paper deals with mistranslations into English of texts found on Serbian food and drink products. More than one hundred different labels were analysed, including names of products (if translated), ingredients, instructions for preparation, nutrition information et al. The aim of this paper is to point out the most common grammatical and orthographic mistakes as well as to suggest correct alternatives.

Key words: translating, food and drink labels, mistranslations, grammar, orthography.

1. Introduction

In recent years English has become an inevitable part of our everyday life. More and more we can witness the seemingly never-ending interference and influence of this language on our mother tongue. The impact of English on Serbian is increasingly evident and it is unstoppable, but still controllable. Unfortunately, it seems as if nobody cares for this phenomenon and nobody wants to systematise and organise the chaos caused by the uncontrolled use of English. So far a great deal has been said and written about numerous anglicisms entering our vocabulary on a daily basis, about inadequate respelling of both geographical and personal names, about mistranslations in films and books, but almost no one has paid attention to something surrounding us wherever we go - food and drink labels. Have you ever looked at the small letters informing you about the ingredients, preparation, the production or expiry date? Probably not, unless you are nutritionists or obsessed with food in some other way. The chances that you have paid attention to the English version are even slighter. Definitely good for 'surface translators', who make little (if any) effort to translate, usually without thinking about the meaning of the original text (of course, as always, 'the exception proves the rule'). And even though the majority of companies want to launch their products in the West, in Europe, they appear to neglect the fact that without a proper translation, foreign customers will not buy their product.

The aim of this paper is to present mistakes in translations found on food and drink labels and to try to make people aware that mistranslations cannot sell but only harm the product abroad. More than one hundred different labels were analysed, including the names of products (if translated), ingredients, instructions for preparation, nutrition information etc. The results are discussed in terms of the most common grammatical and orthographic mistakes. It has to be pointed out that the material was collected throughout the year 2005. Meanwhile, on some products translations have been changed (mostly when the companies were privatised by big multinational companies), some do not contain English translations any more (but some other languages, e.g. Albanian), but most of them still have the exact same labels. Throughout the paper, all the examples found on the labels are within quotation marks, whereas the suggested alternatives are italicised.

2. Grammar

Even though grammar is far easier to check than vocabulary, since there are so many reference books and dictionaries, and most of the rules are quite

straightforward and easy to follow, numerous mistakes are still to be found. They are divided in several groups - articles, prepositions, (un)countable nouns and other ungrammatical constructions.

2.1. Articles

Articles are known to pose a problem to all English learners, especially to the ones whose mother tongue lacks this category. This applies to Serbian as well. However, a list of rules is supplied in each and every grammar book, and if unsure or in doubt, one can always refer to it, since it is not infinite. What must be remembered is that:

- all countable nouns used in the singular are always preceded by an article,
- for achieving generic reference countable nouns can be used with *a/an*, *the* or in the plural,
- all uncountable nouns are used only with the definite article if the reference is specific, or without it if the reference is generic, and
- uncountable nouns and countable nouns used in the plural cannot be used with the indefinite article *a/an* since it implies the number *one*.

The common mistakes and at the same time the most numerous ones are missing articles, which is highly predictable, since there are no articles in Serbian. There were also instances of using 'a' instead of 'the' and using 'a' with plural nouns, but these cases are sporadic and rare, luckily.

2.1.1. Missing articles

The articles given in brackets are suggested by the author, but were not included on the labels.

- 'PB je proizvod bogat belančevinama.' 'PB is (a) product rich with albumen.'
'Preliti vrelom vodom filter vrećicu.' 'Pour boiling water over (a) tea bag.'
'kuvajte na laganoj vatri' 'let it simmer on (a) low heat'
'Čuvati na tamnom i hladnom mestu.' 'Keep in (a) cold and dark place.'
'stabilizatori i emulgator' 'stabilizers and (an/the) emulsifier'
'Preporučena porcija' '(The) Recommended portion'
'Oznaka serije je odštampana na zatvaraču' '(The) Serial number - see (the) cap'
'po proizvođačkoj specifikaciji' '(the) production specification'
'Analizu izvršio' '(The) Analysis performed by'
'Institut za zaštitu zdravlja Srbije' '(The) Institute for Health Protection'
'uz dodavanje preostale količine mleka' 'add (the) rest of milk'
'po zaštićenju SL Tehnologiji' 'under (the) registered SL technology'

2.1.2. Using 'a' instead of 'the'

If mentioned for the first time, the indefinite article is to be used before a noun, while if the same entity is mentioned later, it is preceded by the definite article. Only one such example of using 'a' instead of 'the' was found:

- 'Filter kesicu prelijte sa 2 dl vrele vode ... Nakon 5 minuta izvadite filter kesicu.'
'2 dl hot water pour over a tea bag ... After five minutes take out a tea bag.'

2.1.3. Using 'a' with plural nouns

The indefinite article cannot be used with a countable noun in the plural, since it substitutes the number *one*:

- '... visokokvalitetnih hranljivih materija' ... a high quality nutritives'

‘nastavite sa prženjem još 3-4 min.’ ‘and fry them for a further 3 to 4 minutes’

Two alternatives are possible: (a) no article, for generic reference, (b) the definite article for specific reference.

2.2. Prepositions

Together with articles, prepositions are quite often problematic, especially dependent prepositions found after certain verbs, adjectives or nouns, which usually have to be learnt by heart, as they are not predictable or do not always match the formal correspondent in Serbian. There are two groups: missing prepositions or inappropriate ones used.

2.2.1. Missing prepositions

The prepositions given in brackets are suggested by the author, but were not included on the labels:

‘obogaćena A i D vitaminima’ ‘enriched (*with*) A and D vitamins’
‘prirodno identična aroma vanile’ ‘natural identical flavouring (*of*) vanilla’
(or *vanilla flavouring*)
‘obezbeđuju pravilan rast i razvoj’ ‘provides you (*with*) an optimal growth’
(or *provide an optimal growth for/ to you*)

2.2.2. Inappropriate prepositions

‘Jela od povrća’ ‘Meals from (*with*) vegetables’
‘kuvajte na umerenoj vatri 5 minuta’ ‘cook at (*on a*) low heat for 5 minutes’
‘Čuvati na temperaturi 5-15’ ‘Keep on (*at the*) temperature 5-15’
‘Upotrebljivo do datuma’ ‘Usable on (*up to*) the date’
‘Gotova jela od mesa sa povrćem’ ‘Ready meals of meat with vegetables’
(or *ready meals with meat and vegetables*)
‘Rok trajanja 18 meseci’ ‘Use by (*in*) 18 months’

2.3. Countable/uncountable nouns

Using a plural or singular form unexpectedly turned out to be a problem. The common mistakes include using the plural instead of the singular and vice versa.

2.3.1. Singular instead of plural

Surprisingly, adding the plural suffix -s when translating Serbian plural nouns was not a misprint or a sporadic case, but on the contrary, was found on quite a few products. For instance, the translations for ‘začini’, ‘emulgatori’, ‘sredstva za dizanje testa’, where all Serbian nouns are in the plural, were in the English version all in the singular, namely ‘spice’ (this noun can be both countable or uncountable, but if referring to different ones used, the plural is needed), ‘emulsifier’ and ‘raising agent’. The reduced clause ‘namenjen osobama sa povišenim holesterolom’ was unexplainably translated as ‘intended for person with high cholesterol’, although it is supposed to be *people* or its more formal counterpart *persons*, often used in official language. Furthermore, the word ‘priprema’ was translated as ‘direction’, but this English noun is more commonly used in the plural when it

means instructions for doing or finding something. Besides, the first association for 'directions' is the way to get somewhere, so this phrase should be modified to *directions for use* or rephrased (e.g. *instructions for preparation* or just *preparation*).

2.3.2. Plural instead of singular

A regular occurrence of uncountable nouns used as countable was also rather unexpected, since almost all English-English dictionaries provide this information, most often immediately after the pronunciation. For that reason, examples like 'rich with albumens', 'other food with meat, offals or products from meat' or 'protein/fat contents' were a mere surprise, as all three nouns should be used in the singular; the first two because they are uncountable ('*albumen*' is a technical word for the white part of an egg, '*offal*' refers to the inside organs of an animal used as food, and despite its implying plural meaning because of organs, it is a mass noun), and the third because if used in the plural, the meaning changes. The noun '*content*' used in the singular is 'the amount of a substance that is contained in something' and in the plural 'the things that are inside a box, bag, room etc' (the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English). It is undoubtedly clear that the given plural noun is not appropriate due to the slightly different implication. The same applies to the example 'bikarbonates', but here there are two types of mistakes - apart from the fact that this chemical substance grammatically functions as an uncountable noun, the word is misspelled (see orthography). In addition, the inadequate translation with the plural instead of the singular appeared in 'dried mushrooms' (plural) for Serbian 'sušena pečurka' (singular). Finally, compounds of the type noun1+noun2 were used with the noun1 in the plural, although it functions as a modifier, and is used predominantly in the singular, as in 'high vitamins content' (instead of *high vitamin content*) and 'cream of mushrooms soup' (instead of *cream of mushroom soup*).

2.4. Other ungrammatical constructions

Food and drink labels bristle with ungrammatical constructions of different types. However, not all of them would occupy the same point on the scale of ungrammaticality, ranging from minor (word order), significant (premodifiers) to major mistakes (possessive adjective, tenses).

(A) Word order

'čokolada u prahu' 'powder chocolate' (*chocolate powder*)

This compound includes a head (the second noun) and a modifier (which answers the question 'of what kind or of what type is the following noun/head?'), thus it would be more appropriate to say *chocolate powder* (what kind of powder? - chocolate). The same goes for 'krem za torte i kolače', translated as 'filling cream for cakes' (instead of *cream filling*). In addition, the word 'dvopek' was 'bread crisps', though a more common word order is *crispbread*, and the trademark ajvar is 'Ayvar: Red Roasted Pepper Spread', illustrating two inaccuracies. First, there is no need for changing letters within the name of the brand (j into y) just for the sake of proper pronunciation by future (English-speaking) customers. Also, the word order is wrong, since '*red pepper*' is a type of pepper and all other adjectives (if any)

clumsy, where neither the verb pattern nor the word order were respected. The more suitable translation would be *150g biscuit is the amount recommended per day, but consumed in several meals*. Finally, let's take into consideration the Serbian sentence: 'Upravo iz razloga što poseduje sve osobine koje imaju pića izuzetnog kvaliteta, ovaj liker se nalazi...' and its English equivalent 'Having all the characteristics of an exceptional quality drink is the reason why this liqueur can be found...'. The English version has to be rephrased as the whole sentence is odd, since the present participle replaces a clause beginning with *as / because / since* (introducing a reason) and hence cannot coexist with the phrase 'the reason why'. A better solution would be *since this liqueur has all the characteristics... it can be found...*

(F) Possessive adjective

The essential difference between *it's* (the short form of 'it is') and *its* (the possessive form of *it*) was not recognised, as can be seen in (luckily) the only example 'for it's beneficial influence'.

3. Orthography

Orthographic mistakes include misspellings, misused capital letters and punctuation marks. Whether these mistakes are just misprints or not is questionable. However, after so many products and various labels seen and analysed, it is obvious that, apart from a few exceptions ('remove the tea-bag form the tea-cup after 4-5 minutes and add as mush sugar as you wish', 'after lettingit stand for 1 minute', 'natural and natural identical forest fruit flavouring' or 'Storing z conditions:') where proofreaders are to be blamed (possibly), others are a clear sign of total ignorance of all language aspects, including spelling.

3.1. Misprints or misspellings

Many letters were dropped as in 'recomended' (*recommended*), 'lecitin' (*lecithin*), 'enhacers' (*enhancers*), 'exclusivly' (*exclusively*), 'inver syrup' (*invert syrup*), 'suficient' (*sufficient*); many letters were added, such as 'exstra'(extra), 'after oppening' (*opening*), 'approximately' (*approximately*), 'dought raising agents' (*dough*), 'passta' (*pasta*), even the abbreviation for decilitres '3 dcl of boiling water' (*dl*) and the problems with the adverb *occasionally* misspelled in two different ways 'occassionally' and 'ocassionally' (one missing, one added letter). Some letters within the word were incorrect, e.g. 'paste' (*pasta*), 'bikarbonates' (*bicarbonates*), 'rolled oads'(oats), 'hidrogenated' (*hydrogenated*), 'marmelade' (*marmalade*), 'vanilia flavour' (*vanilla*). As could be expected, translators had a difficulty with the way some words are spelled - as one word, two words or with a hyphen. Some of them can be spelled in two different ways, as is usually the case in English, but out of two correct alternatives, they chose an incorrect one. For example, 'tea-cup', or 'tea-bag' are rarely used with a hyphen, but rather as one word or two words; the ingredient *carbohydrates* is a one-word lexeme, or rarely hyphenated (not 'carbo hydrates' as a two-word lexeme, and certainly not 'carbon hidrates', with a total of three spelling mistakes). Furthermore, 'luke warm' (two words) instead of *lukewarm*, 'wheatflour' (one word) instead of *wheat flour*. Two examples do not belong to any of the previously mentioned cases, one is 'Cipiripi spread creme' (*cream*) and another, definitely the funniest, the prepositional phrase 'of witch sugars' where instead of the relative pronoun *which*, we are unnecessarily surprised and possibly scared.

Finally, the interference of British and American English spelling within the text of the same product was also noticed. On one product the phrase ‘natural colour’ (BrE) appears in the list of basic ingredients; however, when storage conditions were mentioned, there was the sentence ‘products must be stored in a dry, dark and cool place, far from other commodities to avoid strong odors. (AmE)’. Similarly, but in two lines following one another is ‘natural identical flavorings (AmE). Do not contain preservatives and artificial colours (BrE).’

3.2. Capitalisation

The need for everything to be capitalised is so great that not only the names of products are in initial uppercase spelling, which is considered normal, if used for emphasising, but also the first letters of words. English allows such usage, if a particular purpose exists, usually for attracting attention. Capital letters are acceptable in advertisements, signs, in titles of books, articles, songs and products, but not limitlessly. Quite often the main words (or the first letters) are capitalised, but almost never prepositions, articles and conjunctions. Therefore, writing names of products with capital letters is adequate (though not in Serbian, see Prčić, 2005: chapter 4), as long as the three mentioned parts of speech are lowercase. The appropriate form is found in examples ‘Mineral Spring Water ROSA’, ‘Original Quality Homemade Tea’, ‘The First Class Tea’, ‘Water Vrnjci, Natural Mineral Water’, and not in ‘Contains 1 litre’ (*contains*), ‘imported By Detroit’ (*imported by*).

However, when listing basic ingredients or giving instructions, capital letters are to be avoided. It is entirely unnecessary (and incorrect) for the first letter of each ingredient or of each word in instructions to be uppercase. For example, ‘Ingredients - Hibiscus flower, Apple, Pear’ instead of *Ingredients - hibiscus flower, apple, pear* or ‘Preparation: Fry the Breaded Fish Fingers’ instead of *Preparation: Fry (or fry) the breaded fish fingers*.

3.3. Punctuation

The lack of knowledge of some basic punctuation rules is evident. First, using a comma when writing decimals as in Serbian, which is wrong, since in English, a point is used in this case (‘1,5 l’ instead of *1.5 l*), and a comma is used after the thousands when writing numbers in figures. More examples of misused punctuation marks in the Serbian language are found in Prčić (2005: 42-44). Second, not using a comma to separate words in a list: ‘paprika turmeric’ (*paprika , turmeric*). Third, using brackets for essential information, as in the phrase ‘at a temperature (below 15°C)’; there is no need for brackets here, because they are for extra information or a comment. Finally, using a full stop after abbreviations is proper usage, but only if such an abbreviation exists, and not like in ‘nat.id.flavour’, where *nat.* is for natural, but *id.* is for idem (from Latin, the same as previously given or mentioned) not identical, as intended.

4. Conclusion

Learning English is taken for granted, as a growing number of students get acquainted with it long before they actually learn it at school. It is a well-known fact that English is not a prototypical foreign language any more (like some other languages are). Today whoever knows some English translates for employers, as they

do not want to hire a professional translator in order to save costs. Most often, the knowledge of English those people have is chaotic and limited, as was never systematised, especially when grammar is concerned. As Ivir (1985:76) suggests, this presents the greatest danger and also the most obvious cause of many mistakes in translation. It seems to be forgotten that translations of any kind ought to be correct, especially labels, if a product is to be exported. For the sake of the introduction of national products and also our market expansion into the West, companies need to hire competent translators and interpreters, as translating is a skill requiring special knowledge, abilities, appropriate qualifications and last but not least, socio-cultural awareness. Unfortunately, as is shown here, our companies fail to understand the potential seriousness of such poor marketing of their products reflected through mistranslated labels. This paper reveals that there are numerous mistakes, both grammatical and orthographic, some of which are so serious that the message cannot be properly conveyed.

The only way to overcome this currently neglected problem is to standardise translations, as some countries have. In that way, one and the same wording would not alter from one product to another, and above all, labels would be written in standardised English. To sum up, in today's market, many food and drink products are distributed nationwide, therefore, urgent steps should be taken to improve the current situation regarding translations found on labels.

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Apstrakt: Oblast frazeologije u svakom jeziku je specifična i pričinjava prevodiocu posebne teškoće. Izlaganje se bavi posebno kraćim frazeološkim jedinicama kao što su sintagme (idiomatski izrazi) i mogućnostima njihovog prenošenja u drugi jezik, kad je moguće uz očuvanje prvobitne frazeološke izražajnosti. Vrlo često je, međutim, prenošenje moguće samo na semantičkom, a ne i na ekspresivnom planu. Komentarisani su primjeri iz italijanskog i srpskog jezika.

Ključne riječi: frazem, frazeologija, idiomi, italijanski, prevođenje, srpski

Uvod

Da bismo uopšte mogli da govorimo o prevođenju frazeologije, treba najprije definisati šta pod tim podrazumijevamo.

Prvo, misli se na prevođenje književnih tekstova iz kojih potiče većina analiziranih primjera, u konkretnom slučaju sa italijanskog na srpski jezik. Ova vrsta tekstova, koje neke teorijske podjele nazivaju ekspresivnim (Scarpa, 1997), obrađena je pošto u njima frazeološka dimenzija i najbolje dolazi do izražaja i ima najveći značaj.

Drugo, frazeologija kao dio jezika koji se u praksi javlja kroz frazeološke jedinice ili frazeme prilično je nejasno definisana, počev od same terminologije - kod nas su u upotrebi sljedeći termini: *frazeologizam*, *frazem*, *idiom*, *idiomatska fraza*, *ustaljena fraza*, *frazeološki obrt (izraz, konstrukcija)*, *ustaljeni obrt (konstrukcija)*, *frazeološka sintagma* itd... - pa do značenja odabranih termina. Zato definisati frazeološku jedinicu za potrebe ove analize nije tako suvišno kao što se na prvi pogled čini.

Ako prihvatimo i termin *idiom* u značenju u kome smo odredili termin *frazeologizam*, odnosno *frazeološka sintagma* (u daljem tekstu FS) možemo zaključiti da se većina definicija poklapa i većina autora slaže u sljedećim osobinama frazema:

- To su složene strukture (tj. sastoje se od više, najmanje dvije riječi) - *buio pesto=mrkli mrak*, ali i *battere il ferro finché è caldo=gvožđe se kuje dok je vruće*.

- Semantički su „neprozirni”, što znači da značenje ovakvog izraza nije zbir značenja njegovih konstituenata/riječi koje ga sačinjavaju - *sbarcare il lunario*, ili kod nas *sastavljati kraj s krajem*.

- Struktura FS je ili nepromjenjiva ili relativno ustaljena, što znači da frazeološka jedinica ili nije podložna uobičajenim sintaksičkim promjenama, ili je to u vrlo ograničenom stepenu. Na primjer, izraz kao što je naše *ni prstom ne mrdnuti/ital. non alzare un dito* možemo prebaciti iz sadašnjosti u prošlost ili budućnost, ali ne i iz aktiva u pasiv, jer tako ništa neće značiti. Dakle, sintaksičke mogućnosti ovih izraza su ograničene.

U frazeološke jedinice možemo po ovakvim karakteristikama uvrstiti i ustaljene fraze kao što su poslovice.

Pokušaji definisanja frazema i njegovog mjesta u jezičkom sistemu.

FS i idiomatska dimenzija jezika uopšte mogu se posmatrati interlingvistički, kao „specifičnosti“ jednog jezika u odnosu na ostale, i intralingvistički, u odnosu na pravila/strukture samog tog jezika (Casadei, 1996). Prvo gledište često vodi do preteranog proširivanja pojma „idiomatskog“ na praktično sve elemente jezika, a drugo do shvatanja FS kao anomalije u okviru „pravilnog“ jezičkog sistema. Oko samog ovog pojma postoji mnogo razilaženja među lingvistima, ne samo kroz istoriju lingvistike, nego i dan-danas. Ukratko, u savremenoj lingvistici možemo izdvojiti dva dominantna stanovišta: jedno, da je FS anomalija koja se ne uklapa u jezički sistem i ruši njegova pravila, pa je treba proučavati odvojeno, i drugo, po kome FS jeste neodvojivi dio jezičkog ustrojstva u okviru njegovih pravila, te se pri proučavanju tih pravila mora uzeti u obzir. Drugo stanovište posljednjih decenija dobija sve više pobornika, posebno od pojave **kognitivističke teorije metafore** (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Teorija metafore značajno je uticala na poimanje mjesta frazeologije unutar jezičkog sistema. Bez obzira da li ovu teoriju prihvatamo u potpunosti ili ne, moramo se složiti da frazeologija, odnosno metaforička upotreba jezika uopšte, seže preduboko i zahvata preobiman dio jezika da bismo je mogli otpisati kao marginalnu pojavu koja se proučava odvojeno od drugih jezičkih aspekata. Ako prihvatimo da FS nisu ništa drugo do specifičan oblik metafore ili makar zasnovani na korišćenju metafore, slijedi da frazeologija nije značajna za proučavanje samo zbog problema koje stvara pri prevođenju, već i zato što obuhvata mnogo veći dio jezika nego što nam se na prvi pogled čini. Takvi izrazi su svuda oko nas pa se od idioma i metafora stvarno ne može pobjeći, niti se oni mogu izolovati iz jezika i posmatrati kao neka nebitna, marginalna kategorija bez koje se može.

Tako dolazimo do zaključka da je frazeološku građu nemoguće analizirati bez analize pojma metafore. Taj pojam višestruko nadilazi značenje stilske figure koje mu se obično pripisuje. Naime, prema uobičajenom shvatanju, metafora je „stilska figura“ - dakle ukras koga bismo se mogli lako lišiti, tako što bismo metaforički izraz 'preveli' na svakodnevni, doslovni jezik. Takvo shvatanje metafore svojstveno je retoričkoj, odnosno (kasnije) stilističkoj tradiciji, a njegovim izvorom smatra se Aristotelovo učenje izloženo u *Poetici* (Klikovac, 2004).

Osnova metafore kao stilske figure jeste u poređenju. Dakle, imamo komparativnu strukturu „A kao B“, u kojoj A predstavlja pojam sadržan u B: ital. *pazzo come un cavallo* / srp. *lud kao struja*.

Kad se radi o „širem“ shvatanju metafore, tu je razlika u poimanju suštine metafore, s jedne strane kao lingvističkog čina, a s druge kao osnovne karakteristike čovjekovog pojmovnog sistema, pri čemu je drugo poimanje karakteristično za kognitivnolingvistički pristup. S jedne strane imamo teoriju metafore kao jezičke anomalije, ili teoriju metafore kao već pomenutog (najčešće skraćenog) poređenja. S druge strane, poimanje metafore kao lingvističkog čina karakteristično je za teorijske pristupe: ono što italijanski lingvisti nazivaju *teorijom interakcije*, odnosno tzv. *teorija pojmovnih metafora (conceptual metaphors)* koja je osnova kognitivističkih pristupa ne podrazumijeva da između stvari postoje objektivne sličnosti koje metafora samo jezički izražava. Naprotiv, kognitivisti smatraju da metafora ima prvenstveno *pojmovnu* funkciju: da ona ne samo izražava ili predstavlja ono što bi drukčije bilo nemoguće izraziti (jer su kognitivisti došli do zaključka da je metafora tako duboko ukorijenjena u ljudskim misaonim procesima

da je često jednostavno nemoguće „prevesti“ je na doslovno značenje), nego i *stvara* ustrojstva koja prije nje nisu postojala. Dakle, sasvim obratno od teorije metafore kao poređenja, ne postoje unaprijed dati odnosi i sličnosti koji motivišu metaforu, već je metafora ta koja stvara te sličnosti, prenoseći u pojmovnu predstavu svojstva jednog predmeta na drugi, i na taj način ih povezuje.

S obzirom da kognitivistički pristup ima ovako široko shvatanje metafore, možemo i FS uvrstiti u jednu od njenih podvrsta.

Ukoliko je konkretna metafora zasnovana na načinu mišljenja karakterističnom za određenu kulturu, biće teža za prevođenje; i obratno, ako se radi o univerzalnoj metafori, utoliko će se lakše naći odgovarajući prevod. Neka istraživanja čini se da potvrđuju univerzalnost bar pojedinih metafora, koje su nađene u najrazličitijim jezicima (npr. sve metafore koje se mogu opisati prostornim odnosom *sreća je gore, tuga je dolje*: ital. *Essere al settimo cielo* / srp. *biti na sedmom nebu*, ili ital. *sentirsi giù* / srp. *objesiti nos*); međutim, ima i mnogo suprotnih primjera, kao i dijahronijskih promjena metafora unutar istog jezika, koji takve rezultate pobijaju.

Načini na koje se frazemi prenose iz jednog u drugi jezik.

Frazeologija je nešto što je u svakom jeziku posebno neuhvatljivo i teško za definisanje. Teškoće se povećavaju kad se radi o stranom jeziku. Svima nam je poznato da savlađivanje i razumijevanje izraza koji se obično nazivaju idiomatskim pretpostavlja već zavidan stepen vladanja stranim jezikom, zbog njihove konvencionalnosti i semantičke neprozirnosti, a i nepredvidljivosti u načinu građenja. Dakle, taj dio jezika spada u stvari koje usvajamo automatski od okoline ukoliko se radi o maternjem jeziku, ili „učimo napamet“ ako je reč o stranom jeziku. (Razumije se, nisu sve FS semantički neprozirne u istom stepenu; kod nekih možemo odgonetnuti bar dio njihovog značenja, a neke su potpuno iste i u našem i u stranom jeziku).

Teškoća leži baš u njihovoj semantičkoj neprozirnosti; dovoljno je zamisliti kako bi izgledalo da pokušamo doslovno da prevedemo na neki drugi jezik naš izraz *izvoditi bijesne gliste*, na srpski italijansko *sputare il rospo* ili englesko *to rain cats and dogs*.

Frazeološki izraz može se prevesti na nekoliko načina.

Prema Vladimiru Iviru (Jerolimov, 2000), tri su moguća postupka prevođenja frazeoloških izraza:

1. I u polazišnom i u ciljnom jeziku postoji sličan frazem istog značenja (*cercare un ago in un pagliaio* - *tražiti iglu u plastu sijena*)
2. I u polazišnom i u ciljnom jeziku postoji različit frazem istog značenja (ital. *assomigliarsi come due gocce d'acqua* - srp. *ličiti kao jaje jajetu*).
3. I u polazišnom jeziku postoji frazem koji se ni po svojoj formi ni po značenju ne može povezati ni sa jednim frazemom u ciljnom jeziku - nemoguće mu je pronaći ekvivalent (ital. *toccare un tasto falso*).*

U tom slučaju, smatra Ivir, prevodilac može doslovno prevesti određeni frazeološki izraz ili napraviti kalk (naime, možda će vremenom frazem ući u sistem ciljnog

* Svi primjeri uzeti su iz korpusa za magistarski rad *Frazeološke sintagme u italijanskom i srpskom jeziku*, za detalje v. literaturu.

jezika, kao što je već bio slučaj s mnogim evropskim izrazima). Svakako, postavlja se pitanje da li je i koliko opravdano da prevodilac preuzima na sebe takvu odgovornost. To naravno zavisi od mnogih činilaca u svakoj pojedinačnoj situaciji, tako da se ne može donositi generalni sud.

Drugo rješenje bilo bi da se napravi neutralna parafraza (*toccare un tasto falso* - "dotaći se tugaljivih stvari", opisni prevod) prenoseći originalno značenje, ali bez ikakve "frazološke karakteristike". Ako, pak, želimo da sačuvamo "frazološku karakteristiku", kao treću mogućnost Ivir navodi prevođenje "neprevodivog" frazeološkim izrazom sličnog, bliskog značenja.

Po tom principu, na osnovu stepena prevodivosti frazema sa polazišnog na ciljni, odnosno u ovom slučaju s italijanskog na srpski jezik, možemo napraviti ovakvu podjelu:

- 1) FS za koje postoji ekvivalentan, dakle doslovan ili skoro doslovan prevod u našem jeziku;
- 2) FS za koje postoji frazeološki ali ne i doslovan prevod,
- 3) FS za koje ne postoji frazeološki prevod, već se moraju prevesti opisno.

U prvoj kategoriji su primjeri koje je moguće doslovno prevesti, istim takvim našim izrazom; u drugoj kategoriji su primjeri koje jeste moguće frazeološki prevesti, ali se naš izraz razlikuje od italijanskog; treću i najbrojniju kategoriju čine primjeri za koje nije nađen adekvatan frazeološki prevod, pa su morali da budu što približnije „prepričani“.

Sa doslovno prevodivim izrazima, kao što su *cercare un ago in un pagliaio=tražiti iglu u plastu sijena* ili *stare come sulle spine=biti kao na iglama* nema problema, ali njih je i inače najmanje. Nema mnogo teškoća ni kad se naiđe na izraz za koji postoji drugačiji, ali ipak frazeološki prevod kod nas (*a tutt'andare=sve u šesnaest, dire pane al pane e vino al vino=reći popu pop a bobu bob*). Teškoće se javljaju kada treba odrediti da li je neki prevod adekvatan kada je izvorni frazem „prepričan“ umjesto da je frazeološki preveden. Ima dosta takvih izraza koji u jednom jeziku postoje a u drugom ne, i ako nije nađen frazeološki prevod ne znači da je prevod loš.

Nesumnjivo je da ćemo naići na dosta loših rješenja, a izvan ove tematike svakodnevno se nailazi na mnogo gore greške. Ovdje ipak govorimo samo o književnom prevođenju kakvo je bilo obuhvaćeno analizom, dok se kod npr. usmenog prevoda to može desiti još lakše. Da izdvojimo nekoliko primjera očiglednih grešaka:

Era *pallido come la neve*.

Bio je *bled kao sneg*.

Ovdje se srpski oblik ne poklapa sa italijanskim. Kod nas postoji izraz *bijel kao snijeg*, ali ne može se primijeniti na bljedilo osobe u negativnom smislu, jer bjelina snijega za govornike srpskog nema negativnu konotaciju. Stoga ovakav prevod nije adekvatan, i može se zamijeniti nekim drugim poređenjem koje ima takođe negativnu konotaciju, *blijed kao krpa, blijed kao smrt* - izrazi koji imaju ekvivalente i u italijanskom.

...è un'altra cosa...*cosa di pochissimo momento!*

...sve je to sasvim drukčije: *za tren oka je gotovo!*

Prevodilac se i ovdje poveo za bukvalnim značenjem riječi “momento”, tako da je smetnuo s uma da frazem “di poco momento” označava nešto nebitno, beznačajno. Rezultat je pogrešan prevod.

...notti trascorse *all'addiaccio*...

...noći koje je njihov donosilac provodio *po torovima*.

Tačno je da je doslovan prevod riječi “addiaccio” - “tor”. Međutim, prevodilac nije obratio pažnju na to da se ovdje radi o predložskom frazemu. U spoju sa predlogom “a”, izraz “all'addiaccio” znači “napolju, pod vedrim nebom” (*dormire all'addiaccio*). Dakle, umjesto “po torovima” treba da glasi “na otvorenom” ili “pod vedrim nebom”.

Bitno je rasvijetliti i pojam prevodne ekvivalencije. Nije namjera ovog rada da zalazi dublje u pitanja teorije prevođenja, tako da je stručna terminologija svedena na najmanju mjeru. Međutim, složenost problema koje frazeologija postavlja pred prevodioca nigdje se jasnije ne opaža nego u slučajevima kada problem ekvivalencije nije uspješno riješen.

Šta se smatra dobrim, “pravim” prevodom? I kolika ekvivalencija može postojati? Doduše, pojam ekvivalencije u modernoj teoriji prevođenja pretrpio je znatne izmjene od prvobitnog statičkog, apsolutnog, „zadatog“ ekvivalentnog prevoda do savremenog dinamičkog i relativnog, u koji su uključeni funkcionalnost i vanjezički kontekst (Scarpa, *ibid.*) Teorija prevođenja ne daje objektivne odgovore na konkretna pitanja, osim što priznaje da je, uslijed razlike jezika i kultura, posao izuzetno težak. Ivirovo gledište, na primjer, postavlja veoma visoke kriterijume, i ističe **kreativnost** u procesu prevođenja:

„Zatečeni potencijal jezika prevodilac može razmjerno malo mijenjati vlastitim stvaralačkim dodacima, importacijom iz drugih jezika i razbijanjem jezičkoga koda (kršenjem pravila) - uvijek uz rizik da će ostati neshvaćen ili neprihvaćen, odnosno da neće ostvariti željenu komunikaciju s primaocima. Paradoksalno je ali indikativno da odašiljalac književnoga iskaza komunikaciju često ostvaruje baš otklonom od „normalnoga“ jezika, ali taj je otklon upravo otklon po tome što postoji jezični kod ili sustav od kojega se otklanja.“

„Određeni jezik raspolaže sredstvima za izražavanje nekih vidova izvanjezične stvarnosti, a ne nekih drugih. Jasno je da dva jezika mogu izražavati iste vidove stvarnosti, ali nema nikakve garancije da će jezik na koji se prevodi moći izraziti sve ono, i samo ono, što je izrazio izvorni jezik. Baš obratno, **prevodilac se često nalazi u situaciji da mu jezik na koji prevodi ne omogućuje da izrazi ono što je izvorni jezik prirodno izrazio, odnosno da ga jezik na koji prevodi prisiljava da izrazi nešto što izvorni jezik nije morao ili mogao izraziti, pa je osnovna karakteristika prijevodne ekvivalencije to da ona ne postoji nego se ostvaruje**“ (Ivir, 1989, str. 12-13).

Dakle, na prevodiocu je kako će *ostvariti* prevodnu ekvivalenciju, te je njegov posao s jedne strane stvaralački, a s druge izuzetno odgovoran.

“Prijevod će frazema biti uspješan (idiomatičan) ako se postigne funkcionalna ekvivalencija, a kriteriji za to su semantička, strukturalna, socio-ekološka (tj. postojanje neke diskurzivne funkcije u obje kulture), stilistička i upotrebna ekvivalencija. No svih se pet kriterija poklapa samo izuzetno, dok se najčešće u

svakom pojedinačnom slučaju treba odlučiti kojem kriteriju dati prednost, što prevođenje i čini umjetnošću.

Postizanje ekvivalencije pravi je cilj dobrog prijevoda i pretpostavlja ne samo poznavanje polazišnog i ciljnog jezika nego i suživljenost s dvjema različitim kulturama u najširem smislu te riječi“ (Jerolimov, *ibid.*, str. 19).

Znači, da bi bio dobar, prevod ne mora biti idiomatičan. To je ono što bismo mogli označiti kao razliku između *formalne* (vjernost originalnom tekstu) i *dinamičke ekvivalencije* (prenošenje osnovnog značenja gdje je fokus na primaocu u ciljnom jeziku).

Često se, naime, dešava da je neki frazem preveden nedovoljno izražajno, da nisu u punoj mjeri iskorišćene mogućnosti koje jezik pruža, najvjerojatnije zato što je prevodilac posegao za prvim i najlakšim rješenjem.

Ipak, primjere gdje su frazeologizmi prevedeni opisno ne smatramo pogrešnim. Pošto je potpunu ekvivalenciju teško postići, a pogotovo kad se radi o prevođenju frazeologizama, ekvivalencija u pogledu izražajnosti može se postići tako što će prevodilac propušteno nadoknaditi na drugom mjestu, u drugom dijelu teksta. Potrebno je ovdje naglasiti da, doduše, preporučujemo frazeološko prevođenje frazeologije kad god je to moguće, ali ni u kom slučaju ne izjednačavamo nefrazeološki sa lošim prevodom. Izražajnost izvornika može se sačuvati i na druge načine, a često zaista i nije moguće naći frazeološku varijantu koja bi mu u potpunosti odgovarala. To se može vidjeti u sljedećim primjerima:

“...allora tutto l'affare *sarebbe andato a monte...*”

“...tada *ne bi bilo ništa od posla*”. “...noi stiamo ancora oggi ad *arrampicarci sugli specchi* per capire in quale avventura ci troviamo coinvolti...”

“A mi još uvek *pokušavamo nemoguće* da bismo shvatili u šta smo se upleli... “

“La terza osservazione richiede che i lettori *facciano mente locale...*”

“Treća opservacija traži od čitalaca da *se koncentrišu...* “

“Avanti, avanti, *poche storie...*”

“Hajde, hajde, *nemoj da se prenemažeš...*”“...quando... *portava il cappello su le ventitré.*”

“...kad bi... *naherio šešir na jednu stranu...*”

Zaključak

S obzirom na to da se ovdje ne bavimo teorijom prevođenja već njenim praktičnim implikacijama, ne zalazimo u tipologije teksta, niti u terminologiju različitih pristupa prevođenju. Samo ćemo skrenuti pažnju na činjenicu da, premda obuhvaćeni korpus pretežno spada u književne tekstove koje bi većina teoretičara svrstala u ekspresivne, ipak nijedan tekst ne pripada samo i isključivo jednoj kategoriji. Stoga nije ni moguće „propisati“ jedan jedini metod koga bi prevodilac trebalo da se pridržava. Najviše što može da učini jeste da nastoji da izbjegne krajnosti, bilo da se opredijeli za semantički pristup, ostajući vjeran polaznom tekstu, bilo da se odluči za slobodniji, komunikativni pristup koji bi se bazirao na efektu prevoda u ciljnom jeziku.

Naime, kod prevođenja književnosti, koliko god da se oslanjamo na literaturu i rečnike, kada su u pitanju nijanse i kada pri upoređivanju prevoda s originalom

treba odlučiti da li se i koliko prevod udaljio od namjere i duha izvornika, u krajnjoj liniji presudan ostaje subjektivni utisak i lični osjećaj za jezik (preciznije rečeno za jezike). Znači da je uloga prevodioca u prvom planu, budući da je on taj koji vrši izbor između postojećih mogućnosti, ili koji je u nedostatku većeg broja mogućnosti primoran da problem rješava pomoću materijala koji mu je na raspolaganju (što u konkretnom slučaju znači, da se opredijeli za prevod koji nije obavezno frazeološki, ali dovoljno jasno prenosi značenje izvornog teksta). Jasno je da taj problem nije uvijek riješen na zadovoljavajući način. To što opisnih prevoda ima najviše, uzimajući u obzir ne samo konkretno obrađeni korpus već i sveukupno naše iskustvo s prevedenim tekstovima, ne znači da se u njima vjerno ogleda stepen (ne)prevodivosti frazema, niti da ni u jednom od takvih slučajeva nije postojala mogućnost frazeološkog prevoda umesto parafraze. Iz njih se vidi samo da prenošenje frazeologije jednog jezika u drugi nije nimalo lak posao, i da se pri susretu s takvim teškoćama najčešće poseže za bržim i lakšim rješenjem. No to ne mijenja činjenicu da nekada ciljni jezik naprosto nema sredstava da na isti način izrazi ono što je iskazano u polazišnom, i da frazeologija ostaje jedan od najvećih problema ali ujedno i izazova s kojima se u prevodenju suočavamo.

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SURVEYING INTERPRETING SERVICE IN AN UP-AND-COMING MULTILINGUAL PARLIAMENT

Abstract: Language and language policy played a seminal role in the transformation of South Africa. The legislative framework laid down a multilingual language policy by recognizing eleven official languages. Many are, however, openly sceptical about the language policy and the possibility of really putting multilingualism into practise. There is a question of economic viability and a feeling that the language policy is merely an attempt at political correctness. Nevertheless, societal issues and language realities necessitate that language service delivery in a multilingual country (Lesch 2005 and 2004) should play a prominent role. Extended communication with reference to interpreting practice are less frequent and to a certain extent in its infancy shoes. Interpreting has a fairly recent visible history in the country (Theo du Plessis 1999).

This paper surveys the reality of interpreting service within context of the highest state organ but also critically investigates the tasks language practitioners have to fulfil.

Key words: interpreting, multilingualism, language policy, South African Parliament

Introduction

The beginning of a new political dispensation in South Africa was characterised by tolerance on various levels of society. In the linguistic arena, it culminated in a new bandwagon of multilingualism onto which many a language professional and language practitioner jumped. The advantages of a multilingual language policy are obvious but the practicalities involved often hamper the efficiency of its implementation. After just more than a decade of democracy it is possible to revisit some of the programmes that were initiated. This article aims to survey the implementation of the multilingual language policy with specific reference to interpreting service in the highest state organ.

In order to promote multilingualism, people not only need to speak their own language with pride, but should also have respect and tolerance for the languages of others. It is not an easy task to change attitudes and perceptions regarding language diversity and it require the cooperation and support of the broader community. The most effective way to ensure this support is by training and developing language practitioners, including translators, interpreters and lexicographers. The greatest challenge, however, is to foster a society that embraces the practical, often time-consuming difficulties in an attempt to empower language users.

The role of an interpreter in an emerging multilingual society entails more than just rendering an efficient simultaneous and/or consecutive interpreting service. Apart from the prerequisite that the interpreter should be proficient in at least two languages, there are a number of non-interpreting activities which form part of an interpreter's job description. It is quite normal to expect the interpreter in a multilingual South Africa to interpret, translate, edit, proofread, as well as to assist in terminology development, etc. These language-related activities are essential in language practice but should be complemented by certain functional choices that need to be made.

Intercultural communication via the use of interpreters plays a pivotal role in the highest state organs to enhance effective oral communication. I draw among others upon aspects of the requirements of professional simultaneous interpreting as dictated by the South African market, bearing in mind that the interpreter is more than the sum total of his linguistic competencies as is often portrayed, to get greater insight into the phenomenon. It takes as its point of departure the viewpoint that the interpreter in parliament should be more than just a simultaneous interpreter but should be a language professional in his or her own right who should facilitate communication between speakers of minority and majority languages - also in terms of power relationships. The question then arises is namely, why is it that interpreters, powerful individuals who have occupied centre stage since the origins of cross-cultural communication, have traditionally been portrayed also in the highest state organs as mere language conduits, invisible parties in the communicative events? Why is it that their ability to perform complex linguistic and information linguistic tasks is always ignored? (Angelelli 2004:44)

Setting the context

According to Bayley, P (2004) the activity of a parliament is largely a linguistic activity: it produce talk and it produce texts. Broadly speaking, the objectives that this discourse aims to satisfy are similar all over the world: to legislate or contest legislation, to represent diverse interests, to scrutinise the activity of government, to influence opinion and to recruit and promote political actors. But the discourse of different national parliaments is subject to variation, at all linguistic levels on the basis of history, cultural specificity and political culture in particular.

The vision of the national parliament in South Africa is to build an effective people's parliament that is responsive to the needs of the people and that is driven by the ideal of realising a better quality of life for all the people. From a linguistic (i.e. language) perspective it means among others that members should be able to communicate across cultures in the language of their choice with the people of the country even if they are the secondary target market in the political debate.

The language policy of Parliament has as its main objective to set out the policy with regard to the use of the official languages in parliament and states the following:

Members of Parliament have the right to use any of the 11 official languages, as well as South African Sign Language (SASL), in the two houses, namely the National Assembly (NA) and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP); and in Committee meetings. The speeches will be interpreted simultaneously into all 11 official languages. Interpreting services will be made available in the galleries for visitors, members of other Houses visiting and the media. The policy was applicable on adoption in 2003. Within up to five years, the capacity to implement the policy in full should be completely developed. The policy was envisaged to be implemented in two phases.

Since the adoption of the language policy of parliament it guides and determines the language usage and interpreting service in the NA and the NCOP. Against the background of the abovementioned multilingual language policy the interpreting service delivery has undergone dramatic changes in the recent past. Up to 2002 and the earlier part of 2003, Parliament made use of *ad hoc* interpreters. Members of the National Parliament have to indicate beforehand whether they will need an

interpreter and for which language combination, simply because the interpreters could not be available in the interpreting booths for the duration of the whole debate. The speaker's list and the in-house close circuit television in the house serve to indicate when an interpreter for a specific language combination should be available. This also means that practical issues regarding the availability of the interpreter became obvious - where a specific language interpreter should be available at the NCOP and the NA at basically the same time. One can also imagine the chaos it could result in if the message of the first interpreter should also be relayed into another language (e.g. Xhosa to English to Afrikaans) and the first interpreter is not available.

It speaks for itself that before 1994 only an interpreting service between English and Afrikaans was available in the National Parliament due to the language policy that was in place at the time. With the dawn of a new political dispensation and a multilingual language policy but also in accordance with the language policy of Parliament, it meant that interpreters for all official languages as well as sign language had to be appointed. In 2004 as the implementation of the language policy in National Parliament commenced, 44 full-time positions for interpreters - four interpreters for each language - were advertised. Another 60 positions for sessional language practitioners were also advertised in 2005. It is further envisaged that by 2010 up to 220 language practitioners (including interpreters) will be appointed in parliament. They will provide in the needs of all official languages as well as sign language in both houses and in committees.

Why is English used as lingua franca

Despite from the mechanisms put in place for a multilingual parliament, one observes that that there is still a great tendency by the speakers to use English as the lingua franca (see attached speaker's list). The reasons for this are among others:

i) Communication: It is generally assumed that a message expressed in English will reach a wider audience. One should emphasise that the latter is a general assumption among politicians in a multilingual country comprising of 45 million but one hopes this assumption is in the process of changing. One should also bear in mind that a great percentage of the parliamentarians received the education in English due to the history of the country.

ii) The "neutrality" of English: The use of one indigenous language (including Afrikaans) rather than another can be perceived as divisive. English is regarded as the "neutral" lingua franca (this would apply in particular, though not exclusively, to members of the executive, who have provincial/regional responsibilities and don't want their pronouncements associated with a regional language). One has noticed that the first president of democratic South Africa rarely spoke anything except English in Parliament, but did very deliberately use other languages - Afrikaans and Zulu, for instance - when focusing on specific target audiences.

iii) Logistical and technical issues: Addressing Parliament in languages other than English can involve technical complications. Because interpreters for languages used relatively rarely can not be kept on permanent standby, especially when the ad hoc interpreters were used; members have to give prior notice of their language intentions. This inhibits spontaneous language choices. With the prevailing language

policy and the implementation thereof where interpreters should be available for all official languages at all time, this is not a valid reason anymore.

iv) The quality of interpreting varies, and resulted in the fact that members are not always convinced, that if they do not speak English, that their message will be conveyed fully and accurately into English - more so in the case of relay interpreting. On average, the quality of the African language interpreters has room for improvement because they have to interpret into their second or even third language and not only into their mother tongue. It is unfortunately a reality within our context that the interpreters have to interpret into as well as out of their first language.

v) In Parliament the audio-feed broadcast on television (e.g. SABC's *Parliament Live* and MultiChoice's Parliamentary Channel) usually carries the floor (original) language channel, so viewers do not have the benefit of the English interpretation. This might be in members' minds when they know a debate is being broadcast.

vi) Status connotations of English: According to some African-language speakers, in some non-English-speaking communities, people demonstrating an ability to make a speech in English are considered socially superior or better educated. From a sociolinguistic point of view this is highly debatable, but the perception at least persists.

vii) Texts and subject matter: Much of the material debated in Parliament - legislation in particular - is technical to a greater or lesser degree, and the documentation, briefings and committee discussions are in English. Preparing speeches on such subjects, in any language other than English, often poses problems of terminology.

viii) Speeches are quite frequently based on or, frankly, plagiarized wholesale from - source texts (e.g. briefing documents or explanatory memoranda) that are available in only English. It is often apparent that a speech has been prepared, in whole or in part, by someone other than the member speaking - a party researcher or an employee of the department or Ministry, for instance. The only common language between the drafter and the member might be English.

One has to add that when one hears a member stumble uncomprehendingly (and virtually incomprehensibly) through a ponderously drafted, jargon-drenched English text, one wish that the member had rather spoken his/her first language and relied on an interpreter for the English version. With a competent interpreter, the message gets conveyed far more effectively, and everyone involved has a much happier experience. This leads one to revisit the status of African languages in a post colonial South Africa.

Points worth noting

Firstly, as deduced form the enclosed advertisement and interviews I had, language practitioners in parliament need to translate, interpret, transcribe, edit and should assist with terminology development. The language practitioners that are appointed are sourced among others form the teaching profession (language teachers), court interpreters - even though it is a different environment and interpreting mode that they are used to. The main criterion is that they should have a feeling for language and the assumption is that they will be trained further. The latter (i.e. training) in itself is problematic simply because the training facilities are limited and far north

more or less 500 km away, i.e. Bloemfontein, because the facilities in parliament are not allowed to be used for training at all. As from 2007, this state of affairs has been rectified, as the University of Stellenbosch (40 km away from National Parliament in Cape Town) has equipped them to do the necessary training for interpreters - also via short courses. This is indeed an avenue that should be pursued because they have the necessary simultaneous interpreting equipment, but just as important, access to colleagues that are language experts in their own right (e.g. linguists, legal and drama experts - all relevant to interpreter training) that will cover a wide variety of the language combinations.

Secondly, problems regarding code-switching: to switch between different codes, should not be a problem for the interpreter but at times the speaker switches between some of the African languages to such an extent that it really becomes an amalgamated language. The problem that then occurs, is that the interpreters themselves are not sure what the source language is, and if they should interpret, e.g. Zulu and Xhosa. In one instance it happened that both the isiZulu and the isiXhosa interpreters were doing such an amalgamated speech into English. It should be interesting to compare the two target texts in such an instance. In the case of relay interpreting these forms of code-switching also brings its own problems. Thirdly, what one has also discovered is that in most cases the English or Afrikaans speaker made a symbolic gesture by greeting the African language speakers in their mother tongue. The English SL interpreters have taken it onto themselves to learn these more general phrases and to do the interpreting of these also instead of these single phrases to be done by relay interpreting.

Fourthly, copies of the speeches that will be delivered are in rule not available; if it is made available it is just as the speech is about to be delivered or ten minutes into the speech already. Finally, a further interesting factor is the notion of taking parliament to the people or the so called People's Assembly, where the National Parliament meets with the communities in a hall or marquee tent. In these cases the professionalism of the parliamentary interpreters is not satisfactorily: booths are bad, noise levels are high, etc. In exceptional cases consecutive interpreting is done when the necessary equipment is not available.

These practical problems add to the already difficult state of affairs regarding the interpreting activity. One needs to remind oneself of the striking and challenging nature of the activity and the fundamental difficulty for the interpreter. One has come to realise that performance problems do not only occur in fast, information-dense or technical speeches, but also in clear, slow speech segments in which no particular obstacle can be detected (Gile 1995:159). These performance problems are exacerbated in the case of densely informative speeches or highly technical speeches, and are compounded by the possibility of insufficient understanding of the source language.

The effort models of Gile (1995) were developed to describe the interplay between different sets of cognitive operations involved in simultaneous interpreting (SI) and consecutive interpreting (CI). These sets of operations were grouped into 'Efforts', which compete for a limited amount of processing capacity. The Listening and Analysing Effort (L) includes all reception and comprehension operations; the Memory Effort (M) designates the storing of information in the interpreter's short-term memory for the interval between the moment the speech is heard and the completion of its formulation; and the Production Effort (P) represents all

operations extending from the mental representation of the message to its actual formulation in the target language. These three efforts make demands on the interpreter's processing capacity at any time, together with a Coordination Effort (C), which represents the additional cognitive load required for managing the three efforts simultaneously. When the sum of the available capacity exceeds total requirement, the necessary cognitive balance between the efforts is disrupted, which results in failure sequences, with different errors and omissions. This is even more complex in the case of consecutive interpreting, in the sense that two phases can be distinguished. The first phase constitutes listening and analysis, note-taking, short-term memory and coordination, while the second constitutes remembering, note-reading and production. It becomes essential for the interpreter to balance these requirements, as he or she has only limited mental energy available for coordinating all these mental efforts.

In accordance to Pienaar (2006) and Cenkova (1998:164-165) certain factors can have an influence on the quality of interpreting service, especially on certain aspects that relate to the original speaker that is also relevant within our parliament setting: the delivering speed of the original speaker (time allocation of speakers in the National Parliament is mathematically calculated and in some instances the speaker wants to fit a 10 minute speech into a 5 minute slot - see speaker's list again); whether he/she is a mother tongue speaker of a specific language; fluency and clarity of speech; a so-called world language (English) versus his/her mother tongue where in the first instance a heavy accent is heard and words are not audible for the interpreter; and at the same time the member is pushed by time constraints. For the interpreter to deliver a faithful rendition of the speech one should take these aspects into account. Unfortunately, it is not only the original speaker who influence the quality of the interpreting service but also aspects relating to the apparatus, the availability of relevant documentation before hand, the visibility of the interpreter and a realistic perception of what one can expect of an interpreting service (Pienaar 2006).

In my survey it became clear that the interpreters did not have enough experience, especially the African language interpreters and that they are not fit for the task due to their lack of experience. In other instances the interpreters only have experience as consecutive interpreters - as legal interpreters or within a church setting. There is general consensus that not enough training is provided - a 10 day training programme is not enough. To a limited extent, some of the language practitioners felt that they were appointed as translators and transcribers and not necessarily as interpreters. (See advert again.)

It becomes essential that the users of the interpreting services should also be skilled. The fact that the primary (members in parliament) and secondary (media and visitors in the galleries) users are not properly informed, place the interpreters in a very difficult position and confirm the negative perception about simultaneous interpreting. Members should be aware of aspects such as: making documentation/speeches available to the interpreters prior to delivering their speech; the speed at which they deliver their speech; and the role of code-switching in the simultaneously interpreting practice.

Furthermore, listeners and speakers as such (Pienaar 2006) should be made aware that they should have realistic expectations from the simultaneous interpreter. Users of the services should bear in mind that even though we talk about

simultaneous interpreting, it is not necessarily 100% simultaneous and that there is usually a small time difference between the original and the interpreted speech (Paneth 2002:32-34). In the case of relaying, the time difference is even bigger but there still ought to be a high level of accuracy.

Conclusion

According to the language use as deduced from the speakers list, it is clear that most Africans cherish their home or first languages (“mother tongues”) and maintain them with pride in the primary domains of language, i.e., in family, community, religious and elementary school contexts. *They do not, however, believe that these languages are capable of becoming languages of power, i.e., dominant in “the controlling domains of language” such as government administration, the formal economy, secondary and tertiary education.* The ultimate irony, however, is that English is usually not one of the many languages in which most of them are proficient (Alexander 2005).

Post-colonial African governments, with very few exceptions, have failed repeatedly to address the language question with any measure of seriousness or consistency. In the case of South Africa the legislative framework is in place but it serves as no guarantee for the linguistic success of a multilingual parliament. Language planners and other scholars of applied language studies are agreed on the facts. In the words of Ayo Bamgbose (2000:2) the most prominent of these men and women as quoted by (Alexander 2005): “Apart from lack of political will by those in authority, perhaps the most important factor impeding the increased use of African languages is lack of interest by the elite. They are the ones who are quick to point out that African languages are not yet well developed to be used in certain domains or that the standard of education is likely to fall, if the imported European languages cease to be used as media of instruction at certain levels of education. Hence, a major part of non-implementation of policy can be traced to the attitude of those who stand to benefit from the maintenance of the status quo.”

For many years interpreting has been viewed as a marginal activity. In the South African context it is undergoing a major change and it tends to be more than a symbolic gesture, more so in the case of African languages. This change is also visible in academic research (Ulrych, 2005:23). The fact that interpreters play a pivotal role in the dynamics of cross-cultural communication is slowly but surely recognized and thanks to their mediation, linguistic borders can be crossed and communication becomes possible. But in accordance with Ulrych (2005: 23) who is referring to translators, one needs to caution that much still needs to be done before interpreters will receive professional recognition, and much depends on how interpreters are trained.

According to Schäffner and Adab (2000: xiv) in any professional environment, performance is judged according to clearly defined objectives and needs, which demand a specific type of competence - the interpreting environment should be no exception. I wish to concur that highly competent interpreters are needed to meet the ever changing requirements of the professional environment, also in our parliament and the role that Parliament could play in establishing the interpreting profession, should not at all be underestimated.

The boundaries between interpreters and translators are often very vague in practice. It is expected from parliamentary language practitioners to translate,

transcribe and to interpret. Of course, one do not necessarily need to doubt the language abilities of the individual, but the functional abilities (i.e. that is to interpret) need to be nurtured and enhanced in cases like these. It is clear that the interpreter as dictated by the South African market should be more than just a simultaneous interpreter but should be a language professional in his own right.

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Parliament of the Republic of South Africa

Applications are invited from suitably qualified individuals for the following posts:

Senior Language Practitioner - Reporting
(11 posts, one for each of the official languages)

Senior Language Practitioner - Translation
(11 posts, one for each of the official languages)

Senior Language Practitioner - Interpreting
(11 posts, one for each of the official languages)

Basic salary: R158 625 per annum
Total package: R224 805 per annum

The main purpose of this job is to ensure the quality of Language Practitioners' work in English and their respective mother tongues. Although successful candidates will be placed in one of the three units, they may from time to time be required to perform any of the three core functions. Key performance areas include: ● Transcribing members' speeches and other parliamentary debates ● Translating members' speeches, parliamentary papers and other assigned documents ● Interpreting parliamentary proceedings inside and outside the parliamentary precinct; interpreting committee proceedings ● Editing Hansard speeches ● Editing translations ● Monitoring and ensuring a qualitative interpreting service at all times ● Staff coaching and mentoring ● Proofreading Hansard publications ● Overseeing terminology development in the incumbent's mother tongue ● Assisting with the performance management of allotted staff, which includes identifying training needs, as well as developing and implementing personal development plans ● Preparing staff performance reports at the required intervals.

Applicants must be in possession of a degree or diploma in Languages, supported by 5 years' relevant experience, three of which must be directly related to two or more of the key functional areas of this job, namely Hansard reporting, translation and/or interpreting. The following is essential: ● Proficiency in English and one other national language ● Excellent verbal and written communication skills ● Good interpersonal skills ● Ability to work under pressure ● Supervisory and leadership skills ● Computer literacy ● Typing and word processing skills ● Willingness to work long and irregular hours.

General: ● As part of the selection process, short-listed candidates will be expected to take a written and/or interpreting test, to test their ability to execute the core functions of these positions ● People who wish to be considered for more than one post should apply for each post separately.

Language Practitioners

Basic salary: R123 915 per annum
Total package: R176 773 per annum

● English with simultaneous interpreting as an added recommendation (3 posts) ● Afrikaans with simultaneous interpreting as an added recommendation (2 posts) ● isiZulu with simultaneous interpreting as an added recommendation (2 posts) ● Sepedi with simultaneous interpreting as an added recommendation (1 post) ● Sign Language Interpreter (1 post) ● Siswati with simultaneous interpreting as an added recommendation (1 post)

● Xitsonga with simultaneous interpreting as an added recommendation (1 post)
Requirements: ● Preferably a tertiary qualification with a major in one of the above-mentioned languages, or an equivalent NQF qualification ● Proficiency in two official languages, one of which must be English ● Typing or word processing skills will be an advantage.

Key performance areas: ● Interpret Parliamentary debates ● Report (transcribe and edit) Parliamentary debates ● Translate Parliamentary debates and official Parliamentary documents ● Index Hansard ● Develop terminology.

Parliament reserves the right not to make an appointment.

Please submit detailed applications, including full personal and career details relevant to the position, with three contactable referees to: The Manager: Human Resources Administration, Parliament of RSA, PO Box 2164, Cape Town 8000, for attention: Igshaan Cookson.

Closing date: 11 August 2006.

The Parliamentary Service promotes & applies the principles of affirmative action and equal opportunity.



FINAL LIST AS AT 12:25

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Debate on Budget Vote 26 & 30: Agriculture and Land Affairs

Tuesday, 8 June 2004

NO	PARTY	TIME	NAME	LANGUAGE
1.	MINISTER	20	Hon THE MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE AND LAND AFFAIRS	E
2.	ANC	15	Hon E NGALEKA	E
3.	DA	7	Hon A I VAN NIEKERK	AFRIKAANS / E
4.	IFP	7	Hon M V NGENA	E
5.	ANC	13	Hon E A SCHOEMAN	E / AFRIKAANS
6.	UDM	4	Hon J BICI	E
7.	ID	2		
8.	DEPUTY MINISTER	15	Hon THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE AND LAND AFFAIRS	E
9.	ACDP	2	Hon K D S DURR	E
10.	FF+	3	Hon P J GROENEWALD	E / AFRIKAANS
11.	ANC	10	Hon Z KOTWAL	E
12.	UCDP	3	Hon P H K DITSHETELO	E
13.	MF	2	Hon S RAJBALLY	E
14.	AZAPO	2	Hon P J NEFOLOVHODWE	E
15.	ANC	13	Hon B M NTULI	E
16.	DA	6	Hon A H NEL	AFRIKAANS / E
17.	PAC	2	Hon S E M PHEKO	E
18.	ANC	15	Hon D M DLALI	E
19.	MINISTER	10	Hon THE MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE AND LAND AFFAIRS	E

MINISTER 1X20; 1X10
DEP MINISTER 1X15
ANC 2X15; 2X13; 1X10
DA 1X7; 1X6
IFP 1X7
UDM 1X4
ID 1X2
ACDP 1X3
FF+ 1X3
UCDP 1X3
PAC 1X2
MF 1X2
AZAPO 1X2

TOTAL=151

(Produced by NA Table Division)

INTERKULTURNO OSETLJIVE TAČKE U SLOVENAČKO-ITALIJANSKOM JEZIČKOM KONTAKTU

Apstrakt: Interkulturnu pragmatiku možemo razumeti kao moderan pristup kontrastivne analize različitih jezika i kultura, kod kojeg se analiza vrši kako na semantičkom tako na pragmatičkom nivou. Kako bismo stekli efikasnu interkulturnu komunikaciju treba obratiti pažnju pre svega na tzv. »interkulturno osetljive tačke« ili »bogate tačke«, koje su sastavljene iz čitavog niza asociacija i konotacija, koje govornik ne poznaje u prvome jeziku. U članku su analizirani primeri takvih mesta na područjima gde slovenački jezik dolazi u kontakt sa drugim jezicima (svakidašnji život na pograničnim i nacionalno mešovitim područjima, turizam, ekonomija, kultura, nauka, akademska sfera), s naglaskom na slovenačko-italijanskom jezičkom kontaktu.

Gljučne reči: interkulturna kompetencija, interkulturna pragmatika, slovenačko-italijanski jezički kontakt

1 Različiti pristupi interkulturnoj kompetenciji

Već izvesno vreme je kako u lingvističkoj teoriji tako i u komunikacijskoj praksi jasno da istovremeno sa jezičkim dodirima dolazi i do dodira kultura, i upravo je razumevanje potonjeg ponekad od suštinskog značaja za uspostavljanje uspešne komunikacije između predstavnika tih kultura. Dakako, istovremeno posmatranje jezika i kulture nije usmerenje samo savremene lingvistike. Pogled u prošlost nas vodi do Humboltovih spoznaja o imanentnoj povezanosti jezika i kulture u 19. veku, Levi-Strosovih zaključaka o međusobnoj zavisnosti jezika i kulture te Sapir-Vorfove (Sapir-Whorf) teorije sa početka 20. veka o neposrednoj vezanosti jezika za idejni svet pojedinca, na to nas vodi preko Hajmsove (Hymes) etnografije komuniciranja i sociolingvističkih utemeljenja značaja sociokulturnog okvira za jezik i upotrebu jezika od šezdesetih godina prošlog veka dalje, do savremenih spoznaja interkulture pragmatike čiju valjanost utvrđuje A. Viježbicka (A. Wierzbicka) u svojim delima. Možemo, međutim, lako da primetimo da se taj pristup istovremenog razmatranja jezika i kulture ipak razvija tako da je dodir između kulture i jezika sve intenzivniji.

Tako postoje različiti nivoi interkulture kompetencije, koji su posledica ne samo različitog intenziteta usvajanja kulturne stvarnosti nekog jezika kod svakog pojedinca posebno, već prevashodno različitih pristupa razmatranju i postizanju interkulture kompetencije. Tako interkulture kompetencija može da obuhvata samo poznavanje kulturnih tradicija i običaja odnosno navika neke jezičke zajednice, može da ide dublje do kritičkog promišljanja ishodišne i ciljne kulture, koje se uvažava i kod načina komunikacije sa predstavnicima ciljne kulture, dok najdublju interkulture osvešćenost predstavlja poznavanje razlika u jezičkim sredstvima ishodišnog i stranog jezika koje su posledica kulturnih razlika, tj. razumevanje interkulture osetljivih tačaka.

1.1 Učenje civilizacije

U okviru didaktike stranih jezika zaključke o značaju kulturoloških sadržaja kod proučavanja i usvajanja stranih jezika možemo pratiti još od antike dalje, dok su u novije vreme na potrebu uvažavanja kulturnog zaledja nekog jezika kod njegovog

proučavanja isto tako upozoravali već u pedesetim i šezdesetim godinama prošlog veka (Lado, u: Skela, 2000: 27).

Tada je, međutim, uglavnom bilo reči samo o “učanju civilizacije” ili spoznavanju istorije, navika, literature i drugih umetnosti ciljne kulture. U okviru takozvane komunikacijske metode odnosno metode jezičkog uranjanja u didaktici stranog jezika, koja je tada počela da se razvija i na mnogim mestima prevladuje još i danas, uzimana je naime u obzir samo kultura ciljnog jezika, što znači da je bilo reči samo o gore pomenutom prvom nivou interkulturene kompetencije.

1.2 Interkultureno obrazovanje, kritička svest, civilno obrazovanje

S obzirom na intenzivnija suočavanja kultura i jezika, u savremenom svetu se u okviru nastave stranog jezika rodila potreba za neposrednim dodirima odnosno upoređivanjem ciljnog (stranog/drugog) sa ishodišnim (maternjim/prvim) jezikom i kulturom, tj. potreba prisutnosti interkulturnih sadržaja na dubljoj ravni. U tom slučaju govorimo o interkulturnom obrazovanju, kritičkoj svesti, civilnom obrazovanju. Kod nastavnog gradiva polazimo od realnih situacija.

Pogledajmo primer dijaloga koji je razvila projektna grupa Zaplivaj jezik - Swim the language! (Swim the language, Socrates Lingua project). Projekat koji vodi Evropski plivački savez, ima za cilj da pripremi gradivo za učenje preko interneta četiri manje raširena jezika (italijanskog, slovenačkog, mađarskog i finskog), namenjeno specifičnoj ciljnoj publici, tj. plivačima i svima koje zanima plivački sport. Engleski jezik u tom slučaju nastupa kao jezik-oruđe; celokupno nastavno gradivo je dostupno i na engleskom jeziku. Nastavno gradivo (dijalozi, vežbe, testovi) nastaje takodje tako što autori pripremaju uzorak teksta na engleskom, zatim ga kod prevođenja prilagođavaju različitim jezicima. Upravo tu, naravno, dolazi do interkulturnog momenta.

Pogledajmo primer:

A: I would like a ticket to the city. (Hteo bih voznu kartu do grada.)

B: Single or return? (U jednom smeru ili povratnu?)

A: How long is return ticket valid? (Koliko vremena važi karta?)

B: A week. How long are you staying in town? (Nedelju dana. Koliko ćete vremena ostati u gradu?)

A: Six days. (Šest dana.)

B: You can get a ten trip ticket. It is valid on the bus, train, tram and underground. (Možete da dobijete kartu za deset dana. Važi u autobusu, u vozu, tramvaju, podzemnoj železnici.)“

(Swim the language, Socrates Lingua project)

U pitanju je, naizgled, jednostavan, neproblematičan dijalog na kakve smo navikli u klasičnim jezičkim udžbenicima. Ali poznavajući slovenačku realnost, u kojoj ne postoji ni tramvaj ni podzemna železnica, pitamo se da li ima smisla da neko uči komunikacijske uzorke koji su u slovenačkoj realnosti potpuno neupotrebljivi. Tako se čini da ima više smisla ako u slovenačkom dijalogu pomenemo samo vozne karte, koje u Sloveniji odista postoje, a u posebnom komentaru objasnimo razlike između pojedinih transportnih sistema (tj. između prevoza u Sloveniji, Italiji, Mađarskoj i Finskoj). Na taj način ćemo kod korisnika postići i interkulturnu kompetenciju.

1.3 Razumevanje interkulturno osetljivih tačaka, interkulturna pragmatika

Interkulturna kompetencija koja zahvata najdublju interkulturnu osvešćenost predviđa, međutim, i razumevanje kulturno uslovljenih mesta do kojih dolazi u dodiru dva jezika. U pitanju su “interkulturno osetljive tačke” (Strancar, u: Štrukelj 2000: 201-217) ili po Agar “bogate tačke” koje sadrže splet asocijacija i konotacija koje govornik ne poznaje u prvom jeziku. Kako je kod takvih primera reč o izrazito kulturno uslovljenoj upotrebi jezika, isti autor tvrdi da je razlučivanje jezika i kulture potpuno neutemeljeno, pa zato čak uvodi termin “jezikokultura/*langaiculture*”. Ta mesta, gde su rizici promašaja veći, pojavljuju se pre svega na leksičkoj ravni, na ravni govornih činova, tj. ispoljavanja uticajne uloge jezika, i konverzacijskog stila u okviru problematike diskursa (Agar 1994: 231-237). Upravo je razmatranje tih mesta u centru pažnje savremenog pristupa interkulturnoj pragmatiki, koji svojim analitičkim oruđem omogućava produbljenu analizu interjezičko i interkulturno osetljivih tačaka.

U središtu zanimanja interkulturne pragmatike koja je kao savremeni pristup kontrastivnoj analizi jezika i kultura počela da se razvija u kasnim osamdesetim godinama prošlog veka prevashodno su kulturne razlike koje se odražavaju u upotrebi jezika. Tu, međutim, nije reč o suočavanjima jezika samo na ravni izražavanja već pre svega na sematičko-pragmatičkoj ravni. Tako teorija interkulturne pragmatike koju razvija Viježbicka (2003) ističe neposrednu povezanost pragmatike sa semantikom, pri čemu je pragmatika viđena kao deo semantike. Kontrastivna analiza različitih jezika odvija se naime istovremeno na semantičkoj i pragmatičkoj ravni, što znači da su sa leksičkim i tekstualnim analizirana i pragmatična značenja. Pri tome se najviše pažnje posvećuje konverzacijskom stilu i ilokucijskoj snazi odnosno uticajnoj ulozi jezika, koji su nedvosmisleno kulturno determinisani.

Kod interpretacije kulturnih vrednosti i simboličkih društvenih značenja može se dakako nešto dogoditi pa da skliznemo na “klizavo tlo”, ali ta poznata poljsko-australijska lingvistkinja upozorava na uzbudljivost i društveni značaj pomenutog pristupa. Zato lingvistika ne bi trebalo da ga izbegava, već bi trebalo da razvija nove analitičke metode i oruđa koji bi omogućavali metodološku preciznost i spoznajnu utemeljenost (Wierzbicka 2003: v-viii, 282-284). U kontrastivnim semantičko-pragmatičkim analizama Viježbicke reč je o interkulturnom razmatranju reči, veza reči i tekstova pomoću univerzalnih semantičkih primitiva (*universal semantic primes/primitives*) koje često dopunjuju gramatička objašnjenja smisla i podaci iz analize korpusa.

U nastavku ćemo na taj način analizirati primer sintaksičkog ponavljanja koje je, kako navodi Viježbicka, veoma često upravo u italijanskom jeziku, kao npr. *bella bella*, *subito subito*, *presto presto* itd. Iako to italijanske gramatike objašnjavaju kao sredstvo za jačanje/intenzifikaciju/gradaciju značenja (*bella bella* (lepa lepa) veoma lepa - ‘visok stepen’), pomenuta autorka ga objašnjava kao ilokucijsku jedinicu sa sledećim značenjem: ‘mislim kao što je zaista’, tj. ne preterujem.

bella bella (lepa lepa)

‘zaista, istinski, odista lepa’ (NE SAMO ‘veoma lepa’)

Ako bismo kod prideva kvaliteta koji izražavaju osobinu još i mogli da govorimo samo o intenzifikaciji smisla, to bismo teško mogli da uradimo kod priloga i imenica koji ne izražavaju osobine.

diritto diritto (pravo pravo)

'zaista, istinski, odista pravo' (NE 'vrlo pravo')

caffè caffè (kafa kafa)

'zaista, istinski, odista kafa' (ne možda zamena) (NE 'vrlo kafa')

To dokazuju i dve partikule '*proprio*' ili '*davvero*' (zaista) koji se često pridružuju sintaksičkom ponavljanju npr.: '*proprio bianca bianca*' (zaista bela bela). Govornik želi tako da saopšti da se to što govori ni malo ne razlikuje od istine, ali istovremeno u poruku unosi svoj osećajni odnos, zato možemo u tom primeru da govorimo o antilitotičnom sredstvu.

Semantička predstava izgleda ovako:

bella bella (lepa lepa)

a) kažem: X (= lepa),

b) znam: ti možeš da misliš:

ja kažem : X, ja mislim 'nešto kao X'

c) želim, da znaš:

ja mislim ,X', ne mislim 'nešto kao X'

č) zbog čega ja to tako kažem (= lepa lepa)

d) ja zbog toga nešto osećam

To smo ustanovili i na osnovu korpusa savremenog italijanskog govornog jezika *Badip. Banca dati dell'italiano parlato* od 489.178 reči u kojem se nalazi 6 primera sintaksičnog ponavljanja '*subito subito*' ('odmah odmah'), što znači 0,001% pojavljivanja.

Primer sintaksičkog ponavljanja u okviru veze reči:

“ma infatti non li staccano subito subito % la Valentina ha detto addirittura che ha visto che dopo che sono nati cosa fa la mamma * li * “(BADIP, M C 6 215 A)
(tačno je da ih ne odvajaju odmah odmah % Valentina je čak rekla da je videla pošto su se rodili šta radi mama ona * ih *)

U italijanskom jeziku su česta i rečenička ponavljanja, koja opet imaju malo drugačije ilokucijsko značenje - po Viježbickoj tu preovlađuje uloga naglašavanja nad osećajnom i hiperboličnom ili antilitotičnom ulogom:

Parla, parla... (Govori, govori...):

'kažem još jednom, jer želim da se to odista dogodi'

Pored tih sredstava u italijanskom jeziku su naravno veoma česti i različiti oblici poredjenja prideva (*molto bello, bellissimo, il più bello*), koji predstavljaju hiperbolična sredstva, jer govornikov osećajni odnos prema izraženom iskazuju nesporedno, što još posebno važi za apsolutni superlativ '*bellissimo*'.

Što nam to kaže o izražavanju ilokucijske uloge jezika u italijanskom jeziku?

U italijanskom jeziku su sva ta sredstva, pre svega sintaksičko ponavljanje i apsolutni superlativ, veoma česta, zbog čega je očigledna težnja za hiperbolom ili antilitotom. U ilokucijskim značenjima se tako odražava specifičan, italijanski stil društvene interakcije, kuda spadaju i “preterana” italijanska gestikulacija, mimika lica, glasnost, koji se po značenju podudaraju sa pomenutim hiperboličnim i antilitotičnim sredstvima (Wierzbicka 2003: 255-284).

Pošto želim da uspostavim poređenje sa slovenačkom kulturom i jezikom, zanima me kakav je slovenački stil komunikacije i društvene interakcije? Da li je blizu italijanskom hiperboličnom ili bismo, naprotiv, više mogli da govorimo o litotičnosti slovenačke komunikacije? Pokušajmo da analiziramo ista hiperbolična i antilitotična sredstva još i na slovenačkom jeziku.

I u slovenačkom jeziku poznajemo apsolutne superlative, npr. *zelo*, *nadvse*, *grozno* itd. lep (Toporišič 1984: 261) (srpski prevod: veoma, nadasve, strašno itd. lep) kao i sintaksičko ponavljanje u okviru veze reči, npr. *Stopi stopi, dež bo.* (srpski prevod: Udji, udji, kiša će) - *Hitro hitro domov* (Toporišič 1984: 436) (srpski prevod: Brzo, brzo kući), mada ćemo ako pokušamo da utvrdimo učestalost sintaksičkih pa i rečeničkih ponavljanja, utvrditi da je upotreba veoma retka. U korpusu FIDAPLUS tako nalazimo samo 16 primera '*takoj, takoj*' ('odmah, odmah'), i još manje, samo 1 primer '*takoj takoj*' ('odmah, odmah'), to je ukupno 17, što u korpusu od 621 miliona reči znači 0,0000002738%, tj. vrlo vrlo retko pojavljivanje.

Primer rečeničkog ponavljanja:

»Takoj, takoj, samo hipec počakajte, da stopim v trezor.« (FIDAPLUS, 0037758 0005668)

(»Odmah, odmah, samo trenutak sačekajte, da udjem u trezor.«)

Primer sintaksičkog ponavljanja u okviru veze reči:

»S spremembami zakona želi agencija doseči, da bi takoj takoj lahko prepovedali preoblikovanje pidov v navadne delniške družbe.« (FIDAPLUS, PRIMORSKE, 0000003)

(»Promenama zakona agencija želi da postigne da bi odmah odmah mogla da se zabrani transformacija pidova (ovlašćenih investicionih društava) u obična deoničarska društva.«)

Sa gledišta analize ilokucijskih sastavnih delova zanimljiv je primer gde se pojavljuju oba, tj. rečeničko i sintaksičko ponavljanje zajedno u okviru veze reči:

»/.../ si naga, za ljubezen to ni greh. Lahko takoj takoj, takoj se dava dol...« (FIDA, 0008486)

(»naga si, za ljubav to nije greh. Možemo odmah odmah, odmah da se kresnemo ...«)

Reč je dakle o tome da govornik uz pomoć veze 'odmah odmah, odmah' misli zaista odmah (u ovom trenutku i ni tren kasnije) i zato to saopštava na osećajno obojen način te izražava da misli ozbiljno (da se ne šali) i da je pri tome osećajno angažovan. Iako je u tom primeru osećajna označenost poruke čak dvostruka i preovladjuje u odnosu na ostale modifikatore - što je s obzirom na dati kontekst razumljivo - ipak se čini, da izražavanje govornikovog osećajnog odnosa prema rečenom u slovenačkom jeziku nije najpoželjnije ni pomoću rečeničkog ili sintaksičkog ponavljanja ni na bilo koji drugi način. Slovenačka lingvistkinja A. Žele, međutim, kada razmatra ulogu načina u sklopovima novinarskog jezika, kaže:

»/.../ Pri tome valja upozoriti da bi osvešćena upotreba partikula i uzvika u sklopovima sprečila preterano opterećivanje teksta, koji često preteranom odnosno čak nametljivom naklonjenošću/nenaklonjenošću ometa primaoca da na osnovu informacije stvori svoje vlastito mišljenje. Ukratko, preterana upotreba načinskosti najčešće odvraća od prihvatanja teksta.« (Žele 2000: 310)

Slovenački način izražavanja uticajne uloge, povezane sa emotivnošću, je dakle pre litotičan nego hipoerboličan, što znači da je prilično drugačiji nego italijanski. Takav različit način izražavanja načinskosti odražava se i u stilu konverzacije. Ako za poređenje uzmemo okrugli sto na italijanskom i okrugli sto na slovenačkom televizijskom programu razlika će biti očigledna. Italijanski sagovornici će biti veoma glasni, upadaće jedno drugom u reč, obraćaće se jedno drugom veoma neposredno, veoma emotivno će reagovati na izjave sagovornika itd. Nasuprot tome, okrugli stolovi na slovenačkim televizijskim programima odvijaju se u većini slučajeva prilično mirno, sagovornici su uglašeni i čekaju da dobiju reč, odnos između njih je vrlo formalan, izbegavaju izražavanje emotivnog odnosa i slično. Slično u svojim člancima utvrđuje M. Hrastar, autorka priloga o televizijskom diskursu u rubrici "Tv-prodaja", nedeljnika Mladina, kada upoređuje debatne emisije ili tv-intervjue na stranim i slovenačkim televizijama:

»Ne razumem, zašto se kod nas uvek dogodi da se potpuno korektna emisija koja može da funkcioniše na svim stranim televizijama uvek pretvori u skalameriju koja se ne može gledati. Verovatno zato što /.../ nije došlo ni do kakvog argumentovanog sukoba mišljenja. Svi su samo previše fini i među njima i ne može da nastane konfliktno mišljenje, jer se ni ne usudjuju da ga iskažu na radikalni način, konkretan način, već samo lepim rečima, tako da na kraju ostane samo kulturnjački *jamr, jamr, jamr. /.../*« (Hrastar 2003)

No, ako Hrastarova negativno vrednuje stil slovenačkih debatnih emisija, u nedavno obavljenom istraživanju o slovenačko-italijanskom kulturnom i jezičkom dodiru u Slovenskoj Istri ova informatičarka se o slovenačkim i italijanskim TV programima izrazila na sledeći način:

»**Slovenački programi su bolji, ozbiljniji. Italijanski su piatele - zna sve i ništa.**« (Mikolič 2003: 349)

2. Zaključak

Iznete misli i zaključci otvaraju značajno pitanje interkulturalnog obrazovanja, da li i kako - na osnovu etičkih, moralnih, političkih i drugih kriterijuma - vrednovati određene težnje svoje i drugih kultura. Pri tome je svakako najvažnije to da najpre budemo svesni interkulturalnih razlika i na toj poslednjoj, najdubljoj ravni; ako još znamo na odgovarajući način, tj. neopterećeno i bez suvišnih stereotipa i predrasuda da ih vrednujemo, onda je cilj takvog obrazovanja postignut. Pa čak premašen, ako takav pristup pored toga pokrene još i produbljenu samorefleksiju koja će možda dovesti do promene manje pozitivnih kulturno uslovljenih uzoraka.

Čak i ako ostavimo po strani nožda previše dalekosežno razmišljanje, ipak ostaje danas već prihvaćena činjenica da je uvažavanje kulturnih razlika i njihovih jezičkih izraza značajno kako za razvoj lingvističkih istraživanja tako i kod nastave i usvajanja stranih jezika te kod prevodilačke delatnosti. Sama bih još dodala da je pri tome semantičko-pragmatička analiza interkulturalno osetljivih tačaka, koju čini mogućom interkulturalna pragmatika, posebno značajna zahvaljujući produbljenom uvidu u posebnosti upoređenih jezika i kultura.

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(NE)MOGUĆNOSTI ANALIZE ELEMENATA KULTURE

Apstrakt: U prvom dijelu rada razmatra se pojam kulture i njegova važnost u suvremenoj teoriji prevođenja. Relevantna pitanja za sam proces prevođenja i analizu elemenata kulture su kako se kulturni sistem manifestira u tekstu, to jest kako identificirati i klasificirati elemente kulture, te na koji ih način možemo analizirati. U drugom dijelu rada riječ je o prevođenju elemenata kulture kao o procesu prevoditeljevog donošenja odluke o odabiru strategije i procedure pri rješavanju problema transfera elemenata kulture u jezik cilj, te o implikacijama tih odluka u kontekstu globalizacije.

Ključne riječi: prevođenje, kultura, elementi kulture u tekstu, globalizacija

1. Prevođenje i kultura

"Translation has spoken with growing impact and urgency to mankind for more than two millenia. Not only has it facilitated the understanding of sociocultural structures, economic-political systems, and technological/technical processes; it has also pushed forward our knowledge of the world (including our awareness of "otherness") and widened our (inter-) linguistic and (inter-) cultural horizon."
(Wills, W. (2004) "Translation Studies - The State of the Art", Meta, Vol. 49, No. 4.)

Iako je prevođenje i kao aktivnost i kao tema filozofskih i znanstvenih razmatranja staro gotovo kao i ljudski vijek, kao zasebna akademska disciplina razvilo se tek u drugoj polovici dvadesetog stoljeća. Sustavnije i uglavnom lingvistički orijentirano izučavanje prevođenja u vidu kontrastivne analize pojavilo se 50-ih i 60-ih godina. Povijesna konferencija u Leuvenu (Louvain) u Belgiji, koju mnogi smatraju utemeljiteljskom za znanost o prevođenju, održana je 1976. godine. U razmatranje prevođenja uz lingvistiku uključuju se i književnost i kultura, a u analizama se pojavljuju intertekstualni i intersemiotički faktori.

Pravi uzlet znanost o prevođenju dogodio se devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, takozvani *cultural turn* - kulturalni obrat. Redefiniran je objekt izučavanja - verbalni tekst u mreži znakova u kulturi izvoru i kulturi cilju. Izučavanje procesa prevođenja kombinira se s prevodilačkom praksom, što daje uvid u kompleksne manipulativne tekstualne procese: izbor teksta koji će se prevoditi, uloga urednika, nakladnika ili naručitelja pri odabiru; kriteriji odabira prijevodne strategije, recepcija prijevoda u kulturi cilju, i slično. Znanost o prevođenju dijelila je zajednički interes s još jednom brzo rastućom interdisciplinom - *cultural studies*, odn. kulturalnim studijima. Smatra se da je evolucija kulturalnih studija počela 60-ih godina u Velikoj Britaniji, publikacijama znanstvenika koji su radili na sveučilištima, ali i obrazovanju odraslih - R. Hoggarta i Raymonda Williamsa. Njihovo je stajalište da pristup kulturi mora uključivati i popularnu kulturu kao izraz života radničke klase.

Možemo reći da se i u lingvistici dogodio *kulturni obrat*, a velik dio onog što se unutar širokog polja lingvistike događa od ogromnog je značaja za prevođenje: istraživanja u leksikografiji, korpusnoj lingvistici, koja pokazuju širi kulturni pristup za razliku od prethodnih kontrastivnih analiza.

I prevođenje i kulturalne studije zanimaju u prvom redu pitanja odnosa moći i tekstualne produkcije. Obje discipline prepoznaju važnost shvaćanja manipulativnih procesa koji su uključeni u produkciju teksta. Pisac ne piše u vakuumu, on je proizvod određene kulture, određenog vremena, a u njegovim se djelima reflektiraju faktori kao što su rasa, spol, dob, klasa i mjesto rođenja, kao i stilistička idiosinkratska obilježja pojedinca (cf. Bassnett i Lefevere, 1998:136). K tome materijalni uvjeti u kojima je tekst produciran, prodan, stavljen na tržište i čitan imaju također veliku ulogu.

Elementi kulture u tekstu izvoru mjesto su direktnog dodira kultura. Mnogi teoretičari prevođenja obrađuju elemente kulture u tekstu, te ih nazivaju *culture bound words*, *cultural concepts*, *Kulturspezifik*, *cultural references*, *cultural specifics*, *socio-cultural terms*, *culture bumps*, itd.

Ukoliko želimo analizirati elemente kulture u prevođenju, prvi problem s kojim se susrećemo je kako definirati kulturnu komponentu u izvornom tekstu, za razliku od jezične ili pragmatične, budući da je u jeziku sve *kulturalno*, počevši od jezika samog. Uobičajena je tendencija u teoriji prevođenja da se kao elementi kulture identificiraju tzv. *realia*, materijalna kultura, odn. institucije, ulice, povijesne osobe, imena mjesta, osoba, tisak, umjetnička djela, itd. koja predstavljaju problem pri prevođenju u drugi jezik i kulturu. Pri tome autori obično izbjegavaju bilo kakvu definiciju, atribuirajući značenje pojma nekoj vrsti kolektivne intuicije. Problem u analizi predstavlja činjenica da je takva definicija previše arbitrarna, a što je još važnije, elementima kulture daje privid statičnog karaktera, ne uzimajući u obzir vremensku komponentu. K tome se dobiva dojam da postoje permanentni elementi kulture, bez obzira o kojim se kulturama radi i bez obzira na tekstualnu funkciju elemenata.

Aixela nudi definiciju elemenata kulture u tekstu, koje on naziva *culture specific items*, odnosno CSI (1996:58):

"Those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the nonexistence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text."

Ovakva široko postavljena definicija ostavlja otvorenu mogućnost svakom jezičnom elementu da bude element kulture, što ne ovisi isključivo o njemu samom, nego i o njegovoj funkciji u tekstu, kako ga se doživljava u kulturi primatelju, to jest ukoliko predstavlja problem ideološke ili kulturne nejasnoće ili neprihvatljivosti za prosječnog čitatelja ili bilo koje institucije koja ima moć utjecaja na prijevod u kulturi cilju. Ova činjenica podrazumijeva fleksibilnost koja nije samo neizbježna, već je i poželjna, ukoliko želimo pojam CSI ostaviti otvorenim za interkulturalnu evoluciju između jezičnih zajednica. No, ovakav pristup istovremeno nas i onemogućuje, budući da je u krajnjoj instanci sve kultura, što onda onemogućuje fokusiranu analizu.

Shvaćanje teksta kao nečega uronjenog u određenu kulturu u teoriji je prevođenja široko prihvaćeno. No, odnos između mikrostrukturnih i makrostrukturnih pristupa kulturi u tekstu dosad nije razriješen. Elementi kulture u tekstu ili se fragmentarno prepoznaju i transferiraju ili je cjelovito prevođenje elemenata kulture prepušteno intuiciji prevoditelja. Suvremenoj teoriji prevođenja dakle

nedostaje opis konkretnih odnosa između kulture i teksta, što je presudno za sam proces prevodenja i donošenje odluka o izboru prevoditeljske strategije i procedure. Kao slijedeći problem javlja se usporedivost kultura teksta izvora i teksta cilja. Uvijek se naglašava da prevoditelj mora obraćati pozornost na razlike u kulturi, no nigdje ta usporedba nije sustavno prikazana ni objašnjena, što bi bilo od velike važnosti za metodiku i didaktiku prevodenja. Jasno je da su postojeći pristupi prevodenju kulture orijentirani na jezik/kulturu cilj, to jest pogled se upire na fazu reprodukcije, tako da ostale dvije faze (receptcija i transfer) su zapostavljene.

Drugim riječima, u prevodenju element kulture ne postoji sam po sebi, nego kao rezultat konflikta koji proizlazi iz bilo koje jezično reprezentirane reference u izvornom tekstu koja pri prijenosu u tekst cilj predstavlja problem za prevoditelja zbog nepostojanja ili zbog različite vrijednosti (koju može determinirati ideologija, učestalost korištenja, itd.) određenog elementa u kulturi jezika cilja.

2. Prevodenje elemenata kulture

Prevodenje elemenata kulture može se promatrati i kao proces rješavanja problema i donošenja odluke: kada u tekstu izvoru imamo element kulture koji nema ekvivalent u kulturi cilju, on za prevoditelja predstavlja problem, kojeg rješava na način da donosi odluku o primjeni strategije i procedure za prevodenje tog elementa.

Iako se termini *strategija* i *procedura* redovito koriste u teoriji prevodenja, često se odnose na različite, pa čak i suprotne pojave. Najčešće se ipak pod pojmom *strategija* smatra početna ili globalna strategija kao globalni izbor stupnja orijentiranosti prijevoda na jezik/kulturu izvor ili jezik/kulturu cilj. *Procedura* se pak odnosi na konkretne prevoditeljske odluke pri prevodenju pojedinačnih jezičnih pojavnosti na određenoj lingvističkoj ili tekstualnoj razini, na primjer leksičkoj ili sintaktičkoj.

Od Schleiermacherove podjele strategija (1813), koja se zasniva na tome da prevoditelj ili ostavlja pisca na miru i približava mu čitatelja, ili pak ne dira čitatelja, već mu približava pisca, pa sve do danas, većina utjecajnih klasifikacija strategija za prevodenje elemenata kulture je zapravo zadržala taj oblik dihotomije. No, dok je Schleiermacher inzistirao na isključivoj primjeni jedne ili druge strategije, bez njihovog *miješanja*, suvremeni teoretičari shvaćaju ove dihotomije implicitno ili eksplicitno više kao skalu nego kao binarnu opoziciju. Najutjecajnije su slijedeće podjele strategija: Vinay i Darbelnet (1958) - *direct i oblique methods*; Nida (1964, 1969) - *formal i dynamic equivalence*; House (1997) - *overt i covert translation*; Toury (1985) - *innovation i preservation*; Newmark (1991) - *semantic i communicative translation*; Nord (1992) - *documentary i instrumental translation*; Venuti (1995) - *foreignisation i domestication*; Aixela (1996) - *conservative i substitutive* strategije.

Aixela svojom podjelom mogućih strategija uspostavlja okvir koji nam ukazuje na opću tendenciju prijevoda u smislu dvostruke tenzije, to jest je li prijevod ima za cilj biti reprezentacija teksta izvora, ili pak želi biti samostalni tekst koji ima vrijednost sam po sebi. On smatra da je to najvažnija preliminarna opcija.

Aixelina metodološka podjela strategija zasniva se na stupnju interkulturalne manipulacije. Procedure se mogu kombinirati, a na njih djeluju mnogi tekstualni i nadtekstualni faktori koji imaju odlučni utjecaj na odluku prevoditelja. Ono što je

bitno za analizu i donošenje zaključaka o statusu elemenata kulture u prevođenju iz jednog jezika u drugi jest pravilnost u odabiru procedura, dok odstupanja predstavljaju modificirajuće faktore. Skalu od nižeg prema višem stupnju interkulturalne manipulacije dijeli na dvije osnovne skupine: konzervacija (očuvanje) ili supstitucija (zamjena) originalne referencije s obzirom na kulturu primatelja.

Kategorizacije procedura za prevođenje elemenata kulture najčešće se odnose na leksičke procedure na mikrorazini teksta, te ne prelaze frazu ili rečenicu. Uz to neki autori navode i tekstualne i izvantekstualne čimbenike koji utječu na izbor određene procedure. Najutjecajnije podjele su: Vinay i Darbelnet (1958), Ivir (1987), Newmark (1988) i Aixela (1996). Njihova detaljna razrada i usporedba nadilazi opseg ovog rada.

Prevođenje je proces u kojem se susreću, miješaju i konfrontiraju dva jezika i dvije kulture u svojem konkretnom pojavnom obliku - tekstu. U tom procesu na vidjelo dolaze kulturne vrijednosti, ekonomska i politička moć, subjektivne odluke prevoditelja, i što je najvažnije i ujedno razlog prevođenja - drugo, različito, u svojem jezičnom i kulturnom obliku. Neminovno se pojavljuje pitanje koje nije samo jezično i praktično, već i etičko: Koliko *stranoga* smije prevoditelj uključiti u prijevod, a koliko izostaviti, poništiti? Svaka odluka o načinu prevođenja elementa strane kulture je konfliktna situacija za prevoditelja. Pojam prevođenja kao interkulturalne komunikacije u sebi sadrži činjenicu da promjene u jeziku, do kojih dovodi prevođenje, dovode do promjene kulture.

Jednom prevedeni tekst započinje život u ciljnoj kulturi koji je izvan dosega kako autora tako i prevoditelja. On ulazi u uporabu, a importirani *kulturni* sadržaj konstruira i nepovratno mijenja kulturu cilj. Činjenica da u određeno vrijeme u određenim domenama postoje određena pravila i norme prevođenja, nastale bilo kao odraz domovilačke tradicije bilo kao konkretne upute, odnosno zapovijedi prevoditeljima, odraz su hijerarhije snaga i stvarnih ili simboličkih borbi u određenom društvu. Kako se mijenjaju kulturne hijerarhije, prevladavaju nove vrijednosti, ideologije i strukture, novi oblici kontrole, natjecanja i patronata, tako se mijenja i status i praksa prevođenje u nekim svojim elementima. Kao društvena i kulturna aktivnost, prevođenje je dio tih struktura i predstavlja operativnu snagu, alat. Prevođenje je naime jedini način susreta s drugom kulturom, ukoliko ne poznajemo jezik te kulture.

U posljednjih četrdesetak godina teorija prevođenja ubrzano se razvijala, prateći i na neki način reflektirajući promjene i razvoj u modernom svijetu. Nova sredstva i vidovi masovne komunikacije i multimedije, koja na neki način prkose vremenu, poništavaju ga, učinila su prevoditelja nužnom potrebom. Publika zahtijeva i očekuje da književna djela, filmovi, TV program, pa čak i softver, skoro istovremeno dolaze na tržište i kao original i kao prijevod.

Kulturna asimetrija između dvije jezične zajednice nužno se reflektira u diskursima njihovih članova, što za ciljnu kulturu može značiti potencijalnu nejasnoću i neprihvatanje. Kada se susrećemo s razlikom koju u sebi sadržava druga kultura (*kulturnim drugim* - *otherness, alterity*), to jest s nizom kulturnih znakova koji poriču ili dovode u pitanje naš način života, prevođenje nudi društvu primatelju čitav niz strategija, počevši od konzervacije (prihvatanja različitosti pomoću reprodukcije kulturnih znakova iz izvornog teksta u ciljnom tekstu), do

naturalizacije (transformiranja *drugog* u vlastitu kulturnu repliku). Izbor strategije pokazat će između ostalog stupanj tolerancije ciljne kulture prema drugim kulturama, kao i njezinu postojanost.

Istraživanja su pokazala da je u zapadnim zemljama jasan trend, uz iznimku tehničkih žanrova, prema maksimalnoj prilagodbi jeziku i kulturi cilju, to jest prema onome što Venuti naziva *domestication*. Direktna posljedica te strategije može biti, kako Venuti navodi "a labour of acculturation which domesticates the foreign text, making it intelligible and even familiar to the target-language reader, providing him or her with the narcissistic experience of recognizing his or her own cultural other". (Venuti, 1992:5).

Svjedoci smo očiglednog procesa kulturne internacionalizacije, s neprestanim uvozom potrošne robe i kulture, u prvom redu iz Amerike, što za posljedicu ima rastuću bliskost većine društava s anglosaksonskim svjetonazorom. Ujedno se događa i jasan proces prihvaćanja tih vrijednosti i specifične kulturne realnosti. Prijevodne strategije tako se kasnije, formirajući tradiciju i na taj način i oblik prevodilačke norme, mimetički primjenjuju na tekstove iz drugih kultura i jezika izvora.

Asimetrični odnos snaga između Amerike i Zapadne Europe vidljiv je i iz statističkih podataka o prevođenju. Podaci za 1979. godinu. pokazuju da je četvrtina svih publikacija u Španjolskoj prijevod, pola od toga iz engleskog jezika. Venuti (1995) navodi podatak da, ovisno o izdavaču, u Italiji prijevod zauzima 50-90% izdanja. S druge strane, u periodu od 1984. do 1990. prijevodi zauzimaju samo 3,5% objavljenih knjiga u Americi i 2,5% u Engleskoj.

Budući da su elementi kulture u tekstu upravo mjesto izravnog dodira dviju kultura, čini se da je upravo analiza ovakvih elemenata važna ukoliko na neki način želimo odrediti intenzitet "miješanja kultura", odnosno utjecaja kulture izvora na kulturu cilj, što može biti podloga za donošenje odluka vezanih za jezičnu i kulturnu politiku.

S obzirom da elementi kulture u dva teksta, to jest između dvije jezične i kulturne zajednice, postoje kao takvi jedino i isključivo u međusobnom odnosu upravo tih dviju zajednica, da se odluke o strategiji i procedurama donose u kulturi cilju, te da se posljedicama tih odluka i ulaskom prevedenog teksta u nju nepovratno mijenja polisistem kulture cilja, upravo je tu mjesto gdje se oni moraju istražiti. Dakle, svaka kultura za sebe. Tek tada se mogu komparirati rezultati s obzirom na druge kulture i jezične zajednice, kako bi se dobio širi uvid ili ustanovio trend.

Iako je jaz između lingvističkog i kulturalnog pristupa teoriji prevođenja dosta dugo bio prisutan u teoriji prevođenja, možemo reći da je danas u empirijskim analizama lingvistička sastavnica osnova, odnosno početak svakog drugog razmatranja. Naime, u konkretnom tekstu kultura je materijalizirana u svojoj jezičnoj pojavnosti, na svim nivoima analize, od leksičkog do analize diskursa i intertekstualne analize.

3. Primjer Hrvatske

U hrvatskim medijima (tisak i televizija) jasno je vidljiv trend nekritičkog preuzimanja riječi engleskog porijekla u hrvatski jezik. Nives Opačić u svojoj knjizi *Hrvatski u zagradama - Globalizacijske jezične stranputice* (2006) analizira ubranu promjenu u hrvatskom jeziku u javnoj uporabi (mediji), neodgovornost prema javno

izgovorenoj i napisanoj riječi, te nedostatak jezične kulture. Iz engleskog se jezika u svojem izvornom obliku u hrvatski importiraju riječi ili izrazi za koje već postoji ustaljeni izraz, a koje široj publici uopće nisu poznate. Autorica to objašnjava medijskom i tehnološkom kolonizacijom, pa ono što su nekad bili potlačeni, to su danas potrošači ili konzumenti. Mediji su ti koji u našoj stvarnosti dizajniraju i mišljenje, i ukus, i potrebe i moral. Izvadak iz pisma jednog čitatelja dnevnim novinama višeznačan je:

Šoping, skrining, bekstejd: Kojim to lengviđom govorimo?
Jutarnji list, 22.7.2006.

Iz ove reakcije čitatelja iščitavamo slijedeće:

- upravo izbor riječi govori o tri osnovne domene u kojima je jezični import najveći i u kojima su osim jezičnih najvidljivije i promjene u stvarnosti, odnosno svakodnevnom životu govornika: ekonomija (šoping), politika (skrining), kultura (bekstejd), naglašavajući na kraju sredstvo nametanja ekonomskog, političkog i kulturnog načina života - lengviđ (jezik)

- činjenica da je čitatelj reagirao govori o nezadovoljstvu jezičnim razvojem vlastitog jezika

Autorica dalje navodi dva vrlo znakovita primjera u kojima čak i abeceda, kao temelj hrvatskog pa i svakog drugog jezika, trpi drastične promjene

1. kratice, na primjer PTSP (post-traumatski stresni sindrom) i BDP (bruto domaći proizvod) u medijima se izgovaraju prema engleskom standardu - pi-ti-es-pi umjesto pe-te-es-pe i bi-di-pi umjesto be-de-pe

2. izbacivanje dijakritičkih znakova iz dresova hrvatskih reprezentativaca (Prso umjesto Pršo, Olic umjesto Olič i sl.), dok su istovremeno dva švedska reprezentativca (Teddy Lučić i Zlatan Ibrahimović) ustrajala da im prezimena pišu s dijakritičkim znakovima č i ć, smatrajući do svojim pravim identitetom.

Uz nekritičko preuzimanje stranih riječi u hrvatski jezik, vidljiv je također i trend korištenja leksičkih procedura doslovnog prevođenja i supstitucije.

Ako je jezik dio kulture i važan element identiteta, tada ovakvo preuzimanje tuđeg jezika, tuđe kulture, znači i mijenjanje vlastitog i preuzimanje tuđeg identiteta. S ovime je usko povezano pitanje jezične i kulturne politike, odnosno određivanje jezičnog standarda i prevoditeljske norme.

U svezi mogućnosti i nemogućnosti analize elemenata kulture kako ih vidi suvremena teorija prevođenja, važno je napomenuti slijedeće:

kultura kao pojam i međusobni utjecaj kultura u procesu prevođenja od 90-ih godina imaju centralni status u teoriji prevođenja

usprkos tome, još uvijek ne postoji općeprihvaćena definicija kulture, kako u teoriji prevođenja, tako ni u kulturalnim studijima, a osnovni razlog je što se kultura doživljava kao nešto dinamično, kontinuum, sistem koji u sebi objedinjuje sve aspekte ljudskog života - dakle, sve je kultura

specifični elementi kulture nisu jednoznačno definirani, jer je jezik dio kulture, pa je svaki jezični element potencijalni element kulture, što ovisi o mnogim tekstualnim i izvantekstualnim parametrima

posljedice prevođenja u kulturi cilju su dalekosežne, a mogu se analizirati i definirati za svaki par jezika i kultura, dakle nisu univerzalne

suvremena teorija prevođenja ne nudi općeprihvaćeni model analize kulture u prevođenju i međusobnog utjecaja kulture izvora i kulture cilja, već se analize zasnivaju na teoretičarevim proizvoljnim subjektivnim shvaćanjima pojma kulture i elementa kulture u tekstu

prevođenje kao proces zanimljiv je također i kulturalnim studijima, antropologiji, etnologiji, te filozofiji, a od ovakve interdisciplinarnosti svaka pojedina disciplina može profitirati

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ПОСЕСИВИ УЗ ТЕРМИНЕ ЗА ОЗНАЧАВАЊЕ СРОДСТВА У ФРАНЦУСКОМ И
ЊИХОВО ПРЕНОШЕЊЕ НА СРПСКИ ЈЕЗИК

Апстракт: Вредност и употребу посесивних детерминатива уз термине за означавање сродства у француском језику и њихово преношење на српски језик анализирали смо на примеру романа *L'amant* Marguerite Duras и његовог публикованог превода на српски језик. Наша анализа показује да посесивни детерминанти у поменутом роману носе снажан емоционално сазнајни набој који преводилац није увек успео да пренесе зато што није водио рачуна о природи и употреби посесивних речи уз термине за означавање сродства у српском језику.

Кључне речи: посесивни детерминанти, називи сродника, сазнајно-емоционални садржај

Називи сродника, „а посебно [њихове] хипокористичке форме“, с обзиром на свој „сиромашан семантички садржај“, блиски су „властитим именицама које немају никакав семантички садржај, тј. имају само способност номинације“. Наиме, „лексичко-семантичка група *називи сродника* унеколико се разликује од скупине коју зовемо именицама“ пошто се „именицама [...] сматрају оне речи које имају поред способности номинације и способност означавања појединих појмова“ док „имена сродника имају у свом семантичком садржају само једну семантичку компоненту - однос према лицу према коме се сродство одређује.“⁷⁵

Са аспекта семантике посесивних односа, сродство спада у категорију неутуђиве посесивности или својине⁷⁶, и то у тзв. односну или релациону својину.

У роману *Љубавник (L'amant)* француска књижевница Маргерит Дирас (Marguerite Duras) називе сродника употребљава у функцији означавања главних личност поменутог дела. Главне личности овог аутобиографског романа, поред нараторке, јесу чланови њене најуже породице - мајка и два брата, затим њен љубавник, другарица из интерната и гувернанта њене мајке. Док другарицу означава пуним именом и презименом, иницијалима или именом и првим словом презимена, гувернанту властитим именом *Dô*, неке друге личности пуним именом и презименом или само именом, књижевница мајку и браћу, као и нараторкиног оца, који се такође помиње, и саму нараторку означава одговарајућим називима сродства, што значи да у овом роману називи сродства функционишу као властита имена.

⁷⁵ Дражић, 2002: 248. Аутор упућује на Д. Гортан-Премк, *Полисесија и организација лексичког система у српском језику*, Београд, Институт за српски језик САНУ, Библиотека *Јужнословенски филолог*, књ. 14, стр. 41.

⁷⁶ „Неутуђива својина се дели на: 1. апсолутно неутуђиву (део тела, део целине, појмови везани за биће као живот итд); 2. односну или релациону (сродство или неки друштвени однос); 3. Привремену или околишну (факултативни делови целине, као нпр. брада и бркови и неутуђивост датог предмета у одређеној језичкој ситуацији, као нпр. Игла ми се у машини сломила.“ (Терић: 1991: 29).

Нараторкина мајка и отац се ниједном не означавају тзв. фамилијарним називима *taman* и *papa*, већ само називима *mère* и *père*, који припадају књижевном француском језику⁷⁷. Ауторка нараторкину мајку једном означава именом и девојачким презименом⁷⁸ а у зависности од наративног плана, на њу упућује и заједничким именицама као *femme* („жена“) и *dame* („госпођа“), *Madame la Directrice* („госпођа директорка“), док се на нараторкиног оца само понекад упућује и лексемом *mari* („муж“).

Брата који је од нараторке старији три године ауторка назива *frère aîné*, а брата од нараторке старијег две године - *petit frère*, заједно их означава називом у облику за множину *frères*, с тим што и једног и другог означава поменути називом, дакако у облику за једнину. При том горе наведени називи нису антоними. Наиме, *frère aîné* Vs *frère cadet* се употребљавају у књижевном француском језику, док *petit frère* Vs *grand frère* припадају тзв. фамилијарном регистру. Осим тога, придев *aîné* изражава објективно својство док *petit* може да означава и субјективни однос говорника, када именици испред које стоји даје вредност деминутива. У овом случају, назив *petit frère* представља хипокористик, јер исказује дубоко афективни однос нараторке према млађем од двојице браће, као што то показује следећа реченица:

⁷⁷ Поменути називи имају у француском вредност и дистрибуцију сличну вредности и дистрибуцији назива *мајка* и *мама* односно *отац* и *тата* у српском језику. Примера ради, истичемо да Симон де Бовоар (Simone de Beauvoir) у нарацији свог романа *Une mort très douce* (Gallimard, Paris, 1964), која се одвоја у првом лицу, користи оба термина, а при том *mère* маркира објективан однос било наратора било треће особе а *taman* носи емоционални набој. Уп:

Malgré son infirmité, ma mère était solide (стр. 16).

Bost m'a téléphoné de Paris : „Votre mère a eu un accident“, me dit-elle (стр. 18).

и: *Pauvre taman! J'avais déjeuné avec elle à mon retour de Moscou, cinq semaines plus tôt; /.../ (12).*

Le lendemain, la bouche de maman était encore déformée, sa diction embarrassée; (17)

На сличан начин књижевница у овом роману користи и термине *père* и *papa*.

У роману *Une femme* (Једна жена) (Gallimard, Paris, 1987) чија се нарација одвија у првом лицу Ани Ерно (Annie Ernaux), пак користи само називе *mère* и *père*). Алберт Ками (Albert Camus) у нарацији романа *L' étranger* (Странац) (Gallimard, 1942, Éditions Gallimard, 1996, pour le dossier) која је све време у првом лицу једине, употребљава искључиво назив *taman* а у директном говору личности које се обраћају наратору *mère*: Уп: *Aujourd'hui, taman est morte* (стр. 9). */.../, il m'a renseigné sans me regarder : „Elle était très liée avec madame votre mère. /.../“* (стр. 16).

⁷⁸ *Je lui dis que dans mon enfance le malheur de ma mère a occupé le lieu du rêve. Que le rêve c'était ma mère et jamais les arbres de Noël, toujours elle seulement, /.../, qu' elle soit celle qui cherche la nourriture ou celle qui interminablement raconte ce qui est arrivé à elle, Marie Legrand de Roubaix, elle parle de son innocence, de ses économies, de son espoir (нав. дело, 58-59).* Наиме, познато је да се књижевница по оцу презивала *Donnadieu*, али је она за своје презиме узела име села на југозападу Француске, из кога потиче породица њеног оца, што значи да је горе наведено презиме мајчино девојачко презиме. Чињеница да говорећи о себи мајка не употребљава презиме свог супруга и своје деце треба да покаже да мајка није прихватила улогу мајке и супруге, а то поткрепљују и следеће реченице: *La mère n'a aucun sens de rien, ni celui de la façon d'élever une petite fille. La pauvre enfant* (109). Кћерка прерано сазрева и у себи, иако је најмлађа у породици, развија осећање кривице и одговорности за своју мајку и браћу и жели да им помогне: *Je crois qu c'est à moi de savoir ce qu'il en sera le jour venu, pas à mes frères, parce que mes frères ne sauraient pas juger de cet état-là* (104). Компензацију за одсуство оца и мајчину незрелост и неодговорност налази у старијем љубавнику: *L'enfant maintenant aura à faire avec cet homme-là, le premier , celui qui s'est présenté sur le bac* (46). *Ainsi j'étais devenue son enfant* (122).

C'était [...] surtout pour sauver mon petit frère, [...], mon petit frère, mon enfant, de la vie vivante de ce frère aîné posée au-dessus de la sienne, /.../ (Duras, 13-14). (Подвукле Р.О. и С.Ђ.)

Само једном ауторка употребљава надимак млађег брата изведен од његовог личног имена, и то у ситуацији када старији брат, неколико година после смрти млађег који је умро као адолесцент, о њему разговара са сестром: [...], *il m'a parlé du petit frère mort. Il a dit : quelle horreur cette mort, c'est abominable, notre petit frère Paulo* (98).⁷⁹

На једног и на другог брата и појединачно и заједно ауторка упућује и називима *fils* („син“) и *enfant* („дете“), а на нараторку називима *fille* („кћерка“), *sœur* („сестра“), *petite fille* („девојчица“), *enfant* („дете“), *petite* („мала“).

Колико смо могли да уочимо, ауторка ређе све троје деце заједно означава називом *enfants* („деца“) , зато што и мајка од своје троје деце, издваја најстарије дете, сина, који се и сам „издваја“ од млађег брата и још млађе сестре јер се према њима опходи као тиранин, тако да су млађи син и кћерка за мајку *les deux plus jeunes enfants* („двоје млађе деце“) , или *les plus jeunes* („млађи“), а *son enfant* („њено дете“) је углавном само старији син: *Je crois que du seul enfant aîné ma mère disait : mon enfant. Elle l'appelait quelquefois de cette façon. Des deux autres elle disait : les plus jeunes* (75). *Elle est morte entre Dô et celui qu'elle appelle son enfant dans sa grande chambre du premier étage, /.../* (40).

Овакав однос према својој деци мајка не прикрива ни пред трећим лицима - најстарији син је у средишту мајчине љубави и пажње, иако се понаша, грубо и осиноно како и према брату⁸⁰ и сестри⁸¹, тако и према свима са којима је у контакту, укључујући и мајку⁸² и њену гувернанту, а према овој последњој и насилнички.⁸³

У другим случајевима се може видети да мајка децу одваја по полу, с тим што тада оба сина ставља испред кћерке: *Le proviseur lui dit : votre fille, madame, est première en français. Ma mère ne dit rien, rien, pas contente parce que c'est pas ses fils qui sont les premiers en français, /.../, elle demande : [...]* (31).⁸⁴

⁷⁹ При том, његова жалост није искрена, јер је млађег брата у детињству злостављао, а недуго после овог разговора своју сестру ће покрасти. Иначе, податак о имену књижевнициног брата нашли смо у другом извору.

⁸⁰ *Le frère aîné restera un assassin. Le petit frère mourra de ce frère* (72).

⁸¹ Однос према сестри је комплекснији: *Parce que la seule personne que craint le frère aîné, devant qui curieusement il s'intimide, c'est moi* (68).

⁸² *Que je vous dise aussi ce que c'était, comment c'était. Voilà: il vole les boys pour aller fumer l'opium. Il vole notre mère. Il fouille les armoires. Il vole. Il joue. [...] . Il a volé ma mère mourante. [...] . Il a volé Dô, les boys, mon petit frère. Il l'aurait vendue, elle, sa mère* (94).

⁸³ *C'est la gouvernante qui ne quittera jamais ma mère même lorsqu'elle rentrera en France, même lorsque mon frère aîné essaiera de la violer dans la maison de fonction de Sadec, [...]* (28).

Мајка међутим као да ништа од тога не примећује: *Ma mère n'a jamais parlé de cet enfant. Elle ne s'est jamais plainte. Elle n'a jamais parlé du fouilleur d'armoires à personne. Elle en a été de cette maternité comme d'un délit. Elle la tenait cachée* (97).

⁸⁴ Моја мајка није рекла ништа, ништа, незадовољна јер нису њени синови ти који су најбољи у француском, гад, моја мајка, моја љубав, пита: /.../ (22).

Али и онда када је већ принуђена да схвати да ни један ни други син неће испунити њена очекивања, мајка на кћерку и даље гледа са извесним омаловажавањем:

Reste cette petite-là qui grandit et qui, elle, saura peut-être un jour comment on fait venir l'argent dans cette maison (33).

Само на тренутке, онда када девојчица већ има љубавника-богатог Кинеза који је уз то од ње старији и када њихово окружење показује неодобравање, буди се родитељска одговорност и мајка бива свесна да њена кћерка ризикује да буде одбачена од стране друштва:

Sa fille court le plus grand danger, celui de ne jamais se marier, de ne jamais s'établir dans la société, d'être démunie devant celle-ci, perdue, solitaire (73).

Али ни тада не поступа као одговорна мајка, већ заједно са синовима користи материјалне привилегије које им омогућава богатство кћеркиног љубавника, као што су ноћни изласци у скупе ресторане.

Називи сродства по полу супротстављени једни другима⁸⁵ у овом роману нису подједнако заступљени. Тако се назив *fille* у значењу „кћерка“ употребљава ређе него *fils* у значењу „син“, јер мајка, као што смо већ истакли, кћерку претпоставља синовима. За разлику од назива *frère*⁸⁶ („брат“), назив *sœur* („сестра“) се, колико смо могли да уочимо, употребљава само једном, што показује да браћа према сестри не гаје осећање љубави, нити мајка код њих подстиче овакве емоције. Назив *père* („отац“) употребљава се далеко ређе него назив *mère* („мајка“) , који се употребљава највише од свих назива сродства, зато што је мајка у средишту пажње нараторке а отац је преминуо у нараторкином најранијем детињству. Осим тога, мајка пред децом не помиње оца своје деце и бившег супружника зато што је незрело⁸⁷ па и болесно опседнута собом⁸⁸, разочарана оним што је доживела⁸⁹ као и улогом свог супруга не само у породици него и у односу на њу саму⁹⁰. Отуда се и назив *marî* („муж“) среће ретко⁹¹, а њему супротстављени *femme* у значењу „жена,

⁸⁵ „Систем за означавање сродничких односа функционише на принципу бинарних опозиција, односно парова који се разликују на основу „пола“ као дистинктивног обележја (*отац-мајка, деда-баба, стриц-стрина, ујак-ујна...*). Оваква супротстављеност блиска је антонимији, али се овде не ради о правим већ о тзв. квазиантонимима. То значи да су ови појмови супротстављени по полу један другом, али нису упућени један на други, већ су и један и други упућени на неки трећи појам (отац и мајка саодносе се са дететом)“ (Дражић, 249).

⁸⁶ Насупрот горе наведеном, „именице *брат-сестра* ступају у конверзивни однос који подразумева релацију *ако-онда*: Ако је Ана Миланова сестра, онда је Милан Анин брат“ (*исто*, 249).

⁸⁷ *L'image de la femme aux bas reprisés a traversé la chambre. Elle apparaît enfin comme l'enfant* (50).

⁸⁸ Мајка је не само депресивна него и болује од неке врсте лудила. Уп: *Ce grand découragement de vivre, ma mère le traversait chaque jour. Parfois il durait, parfois il disparaissait avec la nuit. J'ai eu cette chance d'avoir une mère désespérée [...]* (22) и [...], *c'est là que je vois clairement la folie pour la première fois. Je vois que ma mère est clairement folle* (40).

⁸⁹ [...], *ma mère [...] interminablement raconte ce qui est arrivé à elle, Marie Legrand de Roubaix, elle parle de son innocence, de ses économies, de son espoir* (58-59).

⁹⁰ *La mère n'a pas connu la jouissance* (50).

⁹¹ Место одсутног мужа у животу нараторкине мајке у извесном смислу заузима старији син, чему доприноси и психолошка сличност мајке и сина. При том мајка не види да је он себичан

супруга“ - ниједном. Констатујемо и то да се насупрот термину *enfants* („деца“) ниједном не среће термин *parents* („родитељи“). Очигледно је да неједнака заступљеност термина - „парњака“ одражава слику непотпуне и дисхармоничне породице представљене у овом делу и односа који владају међу њеним члановима.

Поменути називи сродника употребљавају се најчешће са одговарајућим посесивном детерминантом.

Како термини сродства, који иначе, као што је напред истакнуто, припадају неотуђивој својини, „изражавају појмове тесно везане за особу која их поседује, или је у неком односу са њима, као и за ствар чији су нераскидиви део“ „увек [су] нечије и обавезно се морају довести у везу са неким или нечим, бар у оквиру свакодневне комуникације“⁹² „однос посесора и посесума [је] тесан и релативно нераскидив“, због чега „у великом броју језика такав посесум не тражи обавезну посесивну референцију, те се, нпр. у романским језицима замењује чланом, а у словенским, нултим посесивним елементом.“⁹³ Међутим, „у говорној ситуацији говорник се може одредити при избору посесива за чисту детерминацију, са нултим степеном изражајности, или за посесивни језички облик са одређеним афективним додацима, односно карактеризацијом. Чим имамо минимално карактеризиран језички степен исказа, говоримо о стилском, а карактеризација може ићи даље, до емфазе.“⁹⁴ Дакле, „сваки пут када присвојна заменица није неопходна језичком изразу у функцији референције, када је таква информација редувантна, говоримо о њеној стилској вредности.“⁹⁵ При том је „стилско истицање или наглашавање увек [...] у функцији интензивирања језичког изрази, с циљем да се појача утисак језичке поруке“.⁹⁶

У целини посматрано, ауторка најчешће употребљава посесив првог лица и то једнине, што се може објаснити чињеницом да је ово дело писано слободним индиректним стилем и језиком који умногоме има карактеристике разговорног језика а сама нарација се одвија наизменице у првом и трећем лицу једнине, тако да посесив првог лица једнине представља ознаку „за персонализован и субјективистички план нарације“ а „објективистичка нарација [је] обележена употребом [посесива] трећег лица.“⁹⁷ Али специфична вредност посесивних детерминаната па и посесивног детерминанта првог лица у овом делу заснива се на напред описаним односима који владају у породици која је у овом делу описана. Отуда у контексту преношења сазнајно-емоционалног садржаја овог дела у његовом преводу на српски језик значајно место заузима преношења посесивних детерминаната на српски језик.

и неодговоран, што девојчица увиђа и настоји да помогне мајци и браћи, али и да придобије мајчину љубав и уважавање. Мајка ће међутим до краја живота остати склона свом најстаријем детету.

⁹² Терић: 30

⁹³Терић: 30. Аутор истиче да је у германски језицима ситуација обрнута, и наводи да у енглеском језику „отуђива посесија не захтева употребу члана“, „док језа неотуђиву посесију посесивна индикација неопходна“ (исто, стр. 32, нап. 6).

⁹⁴ Терић: 215.

⁹⁵ Терић: 216.

⁹⁶ Терић:216.

⁹⁷ Терић: 217.

I Посесивни детерминанти уз назив *mère*

Када означава нараторкину мајку, назив *mère* се најчешће употребљава са посесивним детерминантом, а при том најчешће са посесивним детерминантом за прво лице једине. Емоције нараторке према мајци обојене су патњом због мајчине емоционалне хладноће која ће обележити њен живот, јер мајка од ње више воли синове, а од све троје деце највише воли најстарије дете, сина-тиранина, наркомана и коцкара, који ће после мајчине смрти од сестре отети њен део имовине да би све изгубио коцкајући се⁹⁸. Као одрасла особа, нараторка се сећа свог детињства и покушава да схвати оно што као мала није успевала.

1. Посесив првог лица једине

а) Посесив се преноси

Посесивни детерминант испред лексеме *mère* као да у први план ставља девојцину која природно воли своју мајку а осећа се одбаченом са њене стране: *Ma mère ne dit rien, rien, pas contente parce que c'est pas ses fils qui sont les premiers en français, la saleté, ma mère, mon amour, elle demande : [...]* (31).

Моја мајка није рекла ништа, ништа, незадовољна јер нису њени синови ти који су најбољи у француском, гад, моја мајка, моја љубав, пита: [...] (Дирас, 22).

Због преношења оба посесивна детерминанта уз именицу *мајка* горе наведена реченица превода је семантички непрозирна, а сматрамо да истицање субјекта у каузалној реченици није адекватно пренето⁹⁹.

У следећим примерима због преношења посесива који су са аспекта српског језика редувантни, реченице превода немају природност и спонтаност исказа: *Quelquefois, c'était à Vinhlong, quand ma mère était triste, elle faisait atteler le tilbury [...]* (100). *Понекад, то је било у Винлонгу, кад би моја мајка била тужна, наређивала је да се упрегну кочије [...]* (66-67).

Celle qui a acheté le chapeau rose à bords plats et au large ruban noir c'est elle, cette femme

d'une certaine photographie, c'est ma mère (21).

Она која је купила ружичасти шешир са равним ободом и ширком црном траком, то је она, та жена са извесне фотографије, моја мајка (15)¹⁰⁰.

И поред тога што се у доле наведеном примеру од три присвојне речи употребљене у изворнику, у преводу преносе две, једна од њих је редувантна, а сама реченица превода је семантички непрозирна.

⁹⁸ *Que je vous dise aussi ce que c'était, comment c'était. Voilà: il vole les boys pour aller fumer l'opium. Il vole notre mère. Il fouille les armoires. Il vole. Il joue. [...]. Il a volé ma mère mourante. [...]. Il a volé Dô, les boys, mon petit frère. Il l'aurait vendue, elle, sa mère* (94).

⁹⁹ Уп: Мајка не каже ништа, баш ништа, незадовољна зато што у француском нису најбољи њени синови, гад, моја мајка, моја љубав, пита: /.../. У предложеној варијанти превевода изоставља се први посесив а преноси други, којим се постиже емфатичност, а захваљујући том поступку као и адекватном преношењу наглашавања субјекта каузалне реченице реченица превода постаје семантички прозирна, а уз то се каузалност више истиче употребом каузалног везника *зато што* уместо *јер*.

¹⁰⁰ Уп.: Она је купила ружичасти шешир са равним ободом и ширком црном траком, та жена са извесне фотографије, мајка.

Il y a eu tout à coup, là, près de moi, une personne assise à la place de ma mère, elle n'était pas ma mère, elle avait son aspect, mais jamais elle n'avait été ma mère (105).

Одједном је ту, поред мене, на мајчином месту седела нека особа, она није била моја мајка, изгледала је попут ње, али никад није била моја мајка (69)¹⁰¹.

б) Посесив се не преноси

У примерима који следе посесивни детерминант уз исту лексему није пренет, због чега реченице превода, као што се може видети, изгледају природније од горе наведених реченица превода у којима се преноси посесивни детерминант: *C'est en son absence que ma mère a acheté la concession* (12).

У његовом одсуству, мајка је купила дозволу за обрађивање земље (9)¹⁰².

C' est un an et demi après cette rencontre que ma mère rentre en France avec nous (36).

Годину и по дана после овог сусрета мајка се са нама враћа у Француску (25).

Ma mère nous fait photographier pour pouvoir nous voir, voir si nous grandissons normalement (115). *Мајка нас води код фотографа да би могла да нас види, да види како нормално растемо* (76).¹⁰³

У примеру који следи не преноси се посесив испред лексеме *mère*, што јесте исправно, али се непотребно или неадекватно преносе посесиви испред других назива сродства, због чега су поједине реченице превода семантички непрозирне:

On commande tous des Martel Perrier. Mes frères boivent le leur tout de suite et ils en commandent un deuxième. Ma mère et moi on leur donne le nôtre (67).

Сви наручујемо „мартел перије“. Моја браћа га испијају одмах и наручују други. Мајка и ја им дајемо своје (45).¹⁰⁴

C'est aussi là, /.../ , que ma mère s'est trouvée face à l'image de son père, de son propre père (42). *Такође ту, /.../ , нашла се мајка пред сликом оца, њеног оца* (28-29).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Уп: Одједном ту, поред мене, уместо мајке седи нека особа, она ми није мајка, изгледа попут ње, али ми никада није била мајка (69).

¹⁰² Сматрамо да би горња реченица превода била више у духу српског језика да је уместо предлошке синтгеме у функцији глаголског додатка за време била употребљена одговарајућа временска реченица.

¹⁰³ Свеза *si* уводи тзв. зависно-упитну реченицу. Уп. /.../ да види да ли нормално растемо.

¹⁰⁴ У горе наведеном фрагменту превода не само што је посесив испред именице *браћа* у другој реченици редувантан него је, због неадекватног преношења француске присвојне заменице *le nôtre*, до чега је дошло због изостављања заједничке именице која означава врсту пића означеног француским називом, трећа реченица превода бесмислена. Уп.: Сви наручујемо шампањац „мартел перије“. Браћа шампањац испијају одмах и наручују други. Мајка и ја им дајемо свој.

¹⁰⁵ Овде наводимо потпуну реченицу превода, како би се јасније видело у којој мери преводилац није водио рачуна о духу српског језика: *Такође ту, неколико дана пред смрт свог мужа, такође усред ноћи, нашла се мајка пред сликом оца, њеног оца* (28-29).

2) Остали облици посесивних детерминаната

Уз лексему *mère*, која означава нараторкину мајку, ауторка ређе употребљава остале облике посесивних детерминаната, а при том се, колико смо могли да уочимо, посесив другог лица једнине не употребљава ниједном, а посесив другог лица множине само једном.

Il l'aurait vendue, elle, sa mère (94). *Продао би и њу, своју мајку* (63).

У одломку који следи два пута се употребљава посесив првог лица множине а једном посесив првог лица једнине. У преводу не само да у оба случаја налазимо присвојни детерминант за прво лице множине, него се њиме преноси и посесив првог лица једнине, што ствара ефекат сувишног понављања које уз то замагљује значење поруке:

C'est là que nous sommes au plus profond de notre histoire commune, celle d'être tous les trois des enfants de cette personne de bonne foi, notre mère, que la société a assassinée. Nous sommes du côté de cette société qui a réduit ma mère au désespoir. A cause de ce qu'on a fait à notre mère si aimable, si confiante, nous haïssons la vie, nous nous haïssons (69).

Ту смо у највећој дубини наше заједничке приче, приче о томе да смо све троје деца ове добронамерне особе, наше мајке, коју је друштво убило. Ми смо на страни тог друштва које је нашу мајку свело на очајање¹⁰⁶. Због онога што је учињено нашој мајци, [...], мрзимо себе саме (46).

Као што се може закључити, реченица превода у којој посесив није пренет делује природније и више је у духу српског језика:

Notre mère ne prévoyait pas ce que nous sommes devenus à partir du spectacle de son désespoir, [...] (69-70).

Мајка није могла да предвиди шта се у нама дешава [...] (47).

A voix basse, qui se voudrait intime, il me dit qu'il aimerait bien être seul avec moi pendant un moment. [...]. Lui, il continue encore, il me dit, il ose : votre mère est fatiguée, regardez-la. Notre mère en effet sombre de sommeil après les dîners fabuleux des Chinois de Cholen (66).

Он наставља, каже ми, усуђује се: ваша мајка је уморна, погледајте. Наша мајка, у ствари, тоне у сан после бајних вечера код Кинеза у Шолену (44)¹⁰⁷.

Que la seule chose qu' ils avaient en commun c' était elle leur mère et surtout cette petite sœur, rien d'autre que le sang (75)¹⁰⁸.

Да је и она, њихова мајка, једина заједничка ствар и посебно та сестрица, само заједничка крв, ништа друго (50).

Посесивни детерминант испред именице *mère* „повезује“ само синове и „њихову“ мајку, што показује у којој мери мајка и синове и себе саму претпоставља кћерки а показни детерминант испред именице *petite sœur*, као и чињеница да се ова именица употребљава само једном - да она код синова не

¹⁰⁶ Уп.: На страни смо тог друштва које нам је мајку свело на очајање.

¹⁰⁷ Уп.: [...] мајка вам је уморна, погледајте. [...].

¹⁰⁸ Занимљиво је да у релативној реченици после израза са вредношћу суперлатива аутор употребљава индикатив а не сибжонктив који „sert alors à apporter quelque tempérament à la valeur trop absolue de la principale soit qu'il reste un certain doute dans l'esprit, soit qu'on veuille éviter de prendre un ton tranchant“ (Grevisse: 1980 : 1327).

подстиче љубав према сестри, ни код кћерке љубав према браћи¹⁰⁹, као што уосталом ни синове није васпитала у духу братске љубави.¹¹⁰

II Посесивни детерминанти уз назив *père*

Када означава нараторкиног оца, ауторка овај назив комбинује са посесивним детерминантом првог лица једнине:

Était-ce la mort de mon père déjà présente, ou celle du jour? La mise en doute de ce mariage? de ce mari? de ces enfants? (22)

Да ли је већ присутна смрт мог оца, или смрт дана? Сумња у тај брак? у тог мужа? у ту децу?(16)

C'est dans cette résidence que ma mère apprendra la mort de mon père (41).

У тој резиденцији мајка ће сазнати за смрт мог оца (28).

III Посесивни детерминанти уз назив *frère aîné*

Назив *frère aîné*, као и назив *mère*, најчешће се комбинује са посесивним детерминантом првог лица једнине, док се уз *petit frère* готово подједнако често појављују одређени члан и посесив за прво лице једнине, упркос томе што ауторка недвосмислено показује да нараторка према млађем од браће осећа далеко већу приврженост него према старијем брату, кога назива и „*assassin des enfants de la nuit, de la nuit du chasseur*“ (12).

Посесив се преноси

У већини случајева посесив се преноси на српски језик:

Et moi, je ne dois pas, dans la logique de mon frère aîné, je ne dois pas répéter ce que je viens de dire, [...] . (65-66)

А ја, ја не морам по логици мог старијег брата, ја не морам да понављам оно што сам управо рекла, [...](44).

Je voulais tuer, mon frère aîné, je voulait le tuer, arriver à avoir raison de lui une fois, [...] (13). *Хтела сам да убијем свог старијег брата, хтела сам да га убијем, да једном будем у праву а не он, [...]*(10).

Посесив се не преноси

У мањем броју случајева посесивни детерминант испред овог назива се не преноси на српски језик, али нисмо уочили некакав критеријум којим се преводилац руководи:

C'est alors que j'entends la voix de mon frère aîné, il dit [...] (66).

Тад чујем глас старијег брата, изговара [...] (44).

¹⁰⁹ Уп.: Да су једино заједничко што су имали биле управо њихова мајка и посебно та мала сестра, ништа друго осим крви.

¹¹⁰ /.../; *la mère disait qu'ils s'étaient toujours battus, qu'ils n'avaient jamais joué ensemble, jamais parlé ensemble* (75). /.../; *мајка је говорила да су се одувек тукли, да се никад нису заједно играли, никад међусобно разговарали* (50).

Уп.: /.../; мајка је говорила да су се увек тукли, да се никада нису један с другим играли, никад разговарали.

IV Посесивни детерминанти уз назив *petit frère*

Као што је већ речено, испред овог назива се подједнако често појављују одређени члан и посесивни детерминант првог лица једнине, иако је нараторка за млађег од двојице браће дубоко емотивно везана. Колико смо могли да уочимо, у свим случајевима посесивни детерминант испред овог назива се преноси на српски језик.

J'oublie tout, j'oublie de dire ça, qu'on était des enfants rieurs, mon petit frère et moi, rieurs à perdre le souffle, la vie (78).

Све заборављам, заборављам да кажем да смо били деца која су волела да се смеју, мој мали брат и ја, да се смејемо док не изгубимо дах, живот (52)¹¹¹.

C'est en décembre 1942 que mon petit frère meurt (38).

У децембру 1942. умире мој мали брат (26).

C'est aussi sans doute parce que c'est pendant la guerre que mon petit frère est mort : [...] (78)

То је, бесумње [sic!] и због тога што је мој млађи брат умро за време рата: [...] (52).

Avec lui, mon petit frère, je danse (68).

Играм са њим, са својим малим братом (45).

Истичемо и то да се испред назива *frère aîné* једном употребљава посесив трећег лица једнине и три пута посесив првог лица множине а оба посесива по једном испред назива *petit frère*. То потврђује да између браће није постојала блискост док су нараторка и млађи од браће били „солидарни“ бар у односу на старијег брата.

Све ово показује да посесивни детерминанти испред назива сродника у овом делу носе значајан сазнајно-емоционални садржај. У свом раду смо само у оквиру датог превода указали на неке могућности адекватнијег преношења посесивних детерминаната. А подсећамо да српски језик, осим што посесивне детерминанте уопште користи мање него француски, посесивност, поготову уз називе сродника, чешће исказује посесивним дативом, затим присвојним заменицама али и да може да комбинује показни и посесивни детерминант, број и посесивни детерминант итд., што није случај у француском језику. Али, како је ово дело писано разговорним језиком и у слободном индиректном говору, његов превод на српски језик требало је да пренесе спонтаност исказа за коју је значајно и преношење посесива испред назива сродника. Да би превод овог дела на српски језик у што већој мери пренео његов сазнајно-емоционални садржај, било је потребно и да свака реченица превода одговара могућем исказу изворног српског говорника у одговарајућем контексту. Зато је сваку реченицу овог романа требало „читати, много пута читати на глас“¹¹², као што и

¹¹¹ Све заборављам, заборављам да кажем и то да смо као мали, млађи брат и ја много волели да се смејемо, да се смејемо све док не изгубимо дах, живот...

¹¹² Чини се да је у овом случају изостао озбиљан и темељан приступ делу француске књижевнице, а да је тако показују и неки од пропусти на које смо указали, па и податак да име француске књижевнице преводилац преноси са Мергерит а не Маргерит, како је било потребно будући да је носилац имена франкофон а не англофон.

сва дела Маргерит Дирас, по речима једног француског књижевог критичара, треба на тај начин читати, а затим напореда сваком реченицом и пасусом изворника, и сваку реченицу и сваки пасус превода. Лакоћа језичког израза Маргерит Дирас је само привидна јер заправо скрива онај „страх од старијег брата и мајчино лудило“¹¹³, „ону nelaгодност, тешкоћу живљења“¹¹⁴ који су књижевницу навели да напише ово дело о свом детињству, синтаксички обртно реченица су неискazани јецај, неми крик и „једино [је] писање било на висини те дечје катастрофе“¹¹⁵ девојчице која је непрекидно осећала да је мајка живела са могућношћу да убије и њу и браћу и која је, иако то сама књижевница није истакла, поред мајке и браће, живела у емоционалном вакууму.

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¹¹³ Inreview, p. 1

¹¹⁴ Interview, p. 2.

¹¹⁵ Interview, p. 2.

“INTERPRETER IN-BETWEEN: A CASE STUDY OF TURKISH SVET PROJECT”

Abstract: Translation/interpreting have become the *sine qua non* elements of today’s world which has become a globalized arena. As a country that has put its step on the way to European Union and is located on a very interactional passing position between many diverse cultures and geographies; Turkey seems to be in a position which makes the act of translation/interpreting a ‘must’ for the country. Starting from the basis that interpreters not only enable the linguistic and communicational flow between sides from different nationalities and cultures but also provide a sound means of cultural understanding; this paper will specifically focus on interpreting within the framework of mutual cultural understanding in Turkey by the help of the case study SVET Project (Strengthening Vocational and Technical Education in Turkey) of EU & Turkey.

Key Words: Interpreter as Mediator, In-Between Position, Narratives, Culture and Interpreting

Today, we live in a time when we have almost instant access to events all around the world, let alone in our country. Things which used to take ages are now just a matter of the number and availability of your options at hand. The New York Times columnist and the author of the book “The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century”, Thomas Friedman, calls this recent phenomenon “*flattening of the world*”; meaning, today, the notion of globalization is making the whole world a place with barely any borders. Things change and head for a drastic change not only on a daily basis for us but also signaling quite a different position at the level of politics. This is further proved by the recent clip of Tony Blair which he personally shot at his place and uploaded on YouTube in order to praise Sarkozy, the newly elected President of France. These may sound as simple details of our everyday lives, but, indeed, they have a considerable effect from a wider perspective. Individuals are no longer left to pursue their own lives in a particular circle surrounded by their work, families, friends, the people they see on the streets or watch on the local television and perhaps hear about. In brief, the world is changing with all the technological advancements; and the globalization is affecting even the smallest parts of the world, putting its finishes on almost every aspect from the details of the daily lives of the citizens to the way information is obtained and disseminated within and through academic circles etc. And the culture is no exception in this respect. We are becoming familiar with the other cultures day by day via many different media available to us; getting to know them, obtaining information, perhaps trying to adapt ourselves into them whenever we need to. Right at this point, come the vital acts of translating and interpreting onto the stage. I choose the word “vital”, because, in the real sense of the word, one finds himself/herself in a dead-end position without any assistance of language and understanding.

When we say understanding, however, the only option available is not the linguistic one, although the common tendency is to think of the linguistic communication whenever the act of communication is mentioned. Without any doubt; language is one of the basic means by which individuals communicate with one another yet we should also take into consideration the notion of culture whose definition is not the

simplest thing in terms of the aspects covered. We always hear the word culture mentioned especially in the translation studies contexts, texts and talks, yet when asked for a particular definition it is usually very hard to give a full definition at the first try. In David Katan's words (Katan, D. 1999: 16) "People instinctively know what 'culture' means to them and to which culture they belong. For example, in 1995, 20 years after Britain's referendum on its membership of the European Union, nearly one in two respondents said they did not feel European. However, even though we all know to which culture we belong; definition of the word has been notoriously difficult".

We see many different and overlapping definitions of culture but especially the definition by English anthropologist Edward Burnett Taylor in 1871 is among the most popular ones, which is as follows: "Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1983, vol. 4:657). Later on we see more than one hundred and sixty new and more extensive definitions by many anthropologists and sociologists, among whom one can quote those of Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn. They define the culture as the following:

"Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values. Culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other hand, as conditioning elements of action".

Even after the eighties, we still experience a lack of agreement regarding the full nature of the culture. Maybe this is a proof showing that it is more important to think of culture as something which can be learned and acquired later on rather than speculating on what it is. This might help to avoid a static and fixed notion of culture and help to pursue an understanding which basically claims that culture is an essential human aspect and has a lot to do with the language we use, the attitudes we carry out etc. Culture is the *sine qua non* part of who we are.

What about the role of translators and interpreters in terms culture when it comes to mediating between different languages, cultures and people from different places? The act of interpreting is a vital part of the inter-cultural interaction; indeed, it is the cultural interaction *per se*. This idea is further supported by the studies carried out within the framework of deconstructionalist approaches following the post-colonialism and structuralism. When we put translation forth as cultural interaction/dialogue/mediation; we actually refer to an act, an existence, a presence which "puts two (or three or more) sides/ interaction partners/texts/cultures into action, changes and hybridizes them" (Bahadır, S. Varlık Journal, p. 13). Because of the fact that the individuals he/she is interpreting for or to are actually people from a certain culture with their own values, beliefs, likes & dislikes, sometimes *idee fixes*; the interpreter is never in a vacuum, isolated from his/her audience but rather facing them either in the booth via his/her physical voice or literally standing before them, usually in a consecutive interpreting occasion. In February 2007, translation studies scholar Mona Baker was in Istanbul, Boğaziçi University to talk about translation /interpreting issues in the context of European Union, localization and narratives in translation studies. The

point she was trying to make in those seminar addresses was mostly about the field interpreter is standing upon: “Even if you, as an interpreter, are one hundred percent neutral with no assumptions or biases, the fact that you are participating in that particular interpreting occasion proves that you are actually constructing the reality around you”. Baker who focuses on the concept of narrativity, which is the cluster of concrete stories, events, people, relationships and the connection between these, states that narrative is an interpreter’s only interface with the world s/he lives in. It is also a true but somewhat obscure fact that all individuals tell stories from time to time. Even in a real life news story, in writing the news text one should choose the mode which sounds more convincing to the target audience. “Everything we know is the result of numerous cross-cutting story-lines in which social actors locate themselves” (Hall et. al. 2003:30). And the interesting point about these narratives is that once you get to listen to them frequently, you become simply insensitive to similar examples. According to Briggs; narratives “constitute crucial means of generating, sustaining, mediating, and representing conflict at all levels of social organization” (Briggs 1996:3). At this point, the role of the interpreter is exactly to know how to tell a story choosing the right mode or from time to time how to mediate on such occasions.

In relation with the choice of right mode, the movie *Everything is Illuminated*, adapted from the original novel by Jonathan Safran Foer might be given as an example. In this movie, Jonathan is an American Jew who one day goes back to Ukraine to gather some more information about the woman who saved his grandfather’s life from the Nazis in 1942 and Huts is his Ukrainian guide who is also responsible for mutual understanding between their customer Jonathan and his old and mean grandfather, who drives the car, but also hates Jews more than anything else and claims he is blind.

The first dialogue occurs when Jonathan met Alex and his angry grandfather for the first time. Grandfather speaks only Ukrainian and his grandson Alex speaks English which sounds a little strange to Jonathan:

Grandfather (G) to Alex: *Shut up! I’m blind, I’m not deaf. I heard you for the first time.*

Jonathan who wants to know everything spoken in a different language among people, which is very typical of someone who is unable to understand a particular language, asks Alex: *What does he say?*

Alex replies: *He says ‘Oki doki, we’ll go now*

Jonathan: *Are we close?*

A: *The Jew wants to know if we are close*

G: *Tell him to shut the hell up! (Angrily)*

J: *What does he say?*

A: *Grandfather says that we’re very proximal. He says it won’t be long until we get to the superway to Lutsk.*

J: *And from there?*

Alex interprets Jon’s question to his grandfather.

G: (in a very loud shouting tone) *Perhaps you would like me to stop the car and you two can f**k yourselves to Lutsk!*

J: *And now what is he saying?*

A: *He says you should look out the window at the premium countryside!*

While watching the movie, one cannot help thinking that even though it might be a bit exaggerated; this was one of the cases interpreters have to face from time to time. If the only motivation of an interpreted communication were the interpretation of everything from A to Z, word for word, just for the sake of linguistic decoding, it would result in a chaos rather than a mutual dialogue. This by no means requires the interpreter to function as a filter, letting merely the things which s/he knows will be favored by the target audience and leaving aside those which will cause dislike among the parties. The interpreter, on the contrary, is there to facilitate, to bridge, to maintain not only the linguistic but also the cultural and humanistic understanding.

Case Study: SVET Project

This section will be focusing on the case study of this paper: SVET Project. SVET stands for Strengthening Vocational Education of Turkey and this is a joint educational project carried out within the cooperation of Turkey and European Union, aiming to enhance the technical and vocational education and training in Turkey, funded by the grants of European Union. The structure of the project is as follows: Some technical high-schools were selected from particular pilot areas, the principals and deputy managers were supposed to participate in the trainings organized at certain intervals-preferably every three or four months- and delivered by expert foreign trainers, primarily from Denmark, Sweden and German-countries with sound and stable technical and vocational education systems. These training sessions would last at least two days, sometimes up to five days, depending on the intensity of the content. Usually there were two separate groups of participants divided according to the regions they were coming from. The training, thus, would take place in two different rooms but with trainers for each class of participants and two interpreters at the same place making consecutive interpreting.

Example 1:

One of these sessions was going to be held in the capital city Ankara and the participants were going to submit their schools' business plans which had been previously given as an assignment by the trainers. The session started, the trainer had a seat at the head of a very long table and I sat next to him, being located literally in-between the trainer and the participant who would come up in front of everyone and make his/her presentation. Right during the first of the presentation session, the principle stood up and started to read the text he was holding. This was not exactly what had been expected out of that specific assignment, after all a real presentation with all the slides, data and all of the spontaneity was wanted. And when the principle started to read the part about how their school adopted Atatürk principles as their founding rules, the Danish trainer I was sitting next to and interpreting to loudly said to me "Yeah yeah I know, the same stuff everywhere, Atatürk principle, etc.etc.; I know, they are great but almost everywhere they tell us the same thing whereas we would like to hear something different than that". Everybody was now listening to the trainer, though not understanding what he was saying to the interpreter (me) because under normal circumstances it should have been the interpreter to be talking and him who should be listening but at that moment it was vice versa. After he completed his sentence, everyone turned to me, waiting to hear what the Danish trainer had just told by swaying his hands up in the air, his voice tone louder than the normal times and quickly grabbing and the letting go of the papers in front of him. That was a real challenging moment, which

reminds one the position of Alex who was literally stuck in-between his difficult grandfather and Jonathan.

In general, this is experienced by many interpreters under varying circumstances and out of different reasons as individuals who are responsible of 'switching on the communication button'. In relation with this Seguinot puts forward (Seguinot 1995:56) that "Translators and interpreters are implicitly expected to understand the requirements of different markets, and this means that they need to understand the cultures towards which they are translating". As the experts of language-with the term taken from Vermeer who regards translators and interpreters as specialists- translators and interpreters are expected to know which boundaries to stay within or go outside. However at times like these one might have to moderate the tone of the source speech which s/he would interpret to the target audience, if not modify it all over just for the sake of avoiding disputes. Likewise, the interpreter may wish to select the tone of his/her 'narrative' in order to find something which fits that particular situation very well.

Referring back to the above case, the setting of the interpretation was the capital city, Ankara, which is especially famous for its association with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk- the founder of Turkish Republic- that would be nothing more than a difficult move to interpret this particular part about Atatürk principles word for word to the school principals because it was clear that what he actually meant was he was looking for something creative, which had not been tried before and he did not say all those on purpose.

Example 2:

The second example is a similar one, however in this case the interpreter (me) experienced a more real 'in-between' situation. This time it was a smaller and more confidential meeting including me as the consecutive interpreter, two foreign experts from United Kingdom, one local expert from Turkey versus three ministerial officers from Ankara. When the three government officials saw that the questionnaire they were asked to fill in was indeed in English, the first reaction was given. Although this was in the form of whispers and low-pitch comments which were barely heard, thus, could not be interpreted when asked by the foreign experts, there was still something to come. After that; one of the three government people stood up, turned to me as the interpreter by placing his hand up in the air in front of me saying "Madam, please do not interpret this to these men" in a shouting-like tone. This was followed by endless angry complaints to the local expert, mainly complaining that if something was necessary, this should have been done by purely Turkish people, rather than those foreign experts who were there to tell them what to do and what not to do. Meanwhile the foreign experts who could of course at least sense there was something wrong going on in the air and this was further proved by the nodding Turkish expert who was looking for just any second to interrupt him and speak. Even before I could say something one of the foreign experts said "Perhaps he did not want you to interpret what he was telling, right?" Then the second one came into dialogue saying "This is so normal, I have seen this so many times before". And I, not only physically sitting in-between the foreign experts from abroad and the government people, but also positioned in-between these two sides, cultures, attitudes, perspectives professionally and mentally,

thought to myself that perhaps never before the existence of an interpreter had been more prominent and explicit before than times like these.

In these two major examples which I experienced during my full-time interpreting job for this particular project, the status of being in-between means something more than merely mediating between two different languages and cultures: It also signified perhaps making a judgment of your own, if not as freely as normal times. Here the interpreter is forced to choose the right mode of narrative more than ever. But this should and could be seen as an opportunity in terms of gaining a professional insight; an interpreter could enhance his/her culture-awareness through such occasions. After all, an interpreter is nobody but someone who belongs to no culture but all cultures, no language but all languages, no geography but all geographies...

Conclusion

As the examples and the overall case study imply, the position of being in-between is an inherent feature of the interpreting profession; indeed it is "...a quintessential characteristic, a defining feature of interpreting, both in its professional practice and its conceptual roots" (Pöchacker, F. 2006). This intermediate situation can also be seen in the Latin expression used for interpreter in English as well as many other Romance languages. Hermann states that "the origins of the word "*inter-pres*", though not conclusively established, have been associated with "*inter partes*" or "*inter pretium*" (Hermann 1956/2002). And this is very relevant to the mediator situation between two individuals, parties or values.

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CULTURE-SPECIFIC ITEMS IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

Abstract: *Importance of the element of culture in translation has been raising significant interest of scholars since the very establishment of Translation Studies. This paper provides a brief overview of the most significant theories and research results in translation of culture-specific items focusing on their dynamic nature and the difficulty of providing a solid methodology for studying CSI, particularly the (im)possibility of achieving equivalence in meaning and effect on the audience. The paper abounds with examples from the research in translation of Julian Barnes's fiction to Serbian.*

Key words: *culture, language, translation, research, culture-specific items*

When I first saw the name of this conference - "Languages and Cultures in Contact" I immediately thought of translation. For, isn't translation precisely where languages and cultures are in the closest contact? Because translation is actually taking a text created in a source language in a source culture and re-expressing it in a target language in a target culture. But, where exactly is the line, that border between the source language/culture and the target language/culture? How do we cross the border, if we do, and what do we take across? These are the questions that have for ever been puzzling translators, scholars in Translation Studies (TS), readers and critics. The intention of this paper is not to provide all the answers, of course, but only to indicate to some of the problems we face dealing with culture-specific items in translation and Translation Studies research. Since examples and illustrations are indispensable in Translation Studies research, this paper will contain illustrations from my research in the translation of culture-specific items in Julian Barnes's short story "The Things You Know" published in the collection of short stories *The Lemon Table*¹¹⁶. The story is particularly interesting because it abounds with references to different cultures, even including the target language culture.

I Culture, Language and Translation

If we start from Edward Sapir's thesis that "No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality" and that "The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached"¹¹⁷, it is not difficult to conclude that it is exactly in translation and Translation Studies that the relation between language and culture is most frequently dealt with. Probably the most insightful comments about this relationship were made by TS scholars including Jori Lotman's that "No language can exist unless it is steeped in the context of culture; and no culture can exist which does not have at its center the structure of natural language..."¹¹⁸ and Delia Chiaro's that "Language and culture seem to be indivisible, without shared

¹¹⁶ Julian Barnes (2004) "The Things You Know" in Julian Barnes, *The Lemon Table*, London: Picador

translated into Serbian by Zoan Paunović (Džulijan Barns (2005) "Šta ti sve znaš" u Džulijan Barns, *Sto od limunovog drveta*, Beograd: Geopoetika)

¹¹⁷ Edward Sapir (1956) *Culture, Language and Personality*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, University of California Press, p. 69

¹¹⁸ Susan Bassnett, (2003) *Translation Studies*, London and New York: Routledge, p 22

*socio-cultural knowledge between sender and recipient a common linguistic code will be of little help*¹¹⁹.

Given such a strong connection between language and culture, it is no surprise that translators have always been aware of cultural differences and their significance in translation. As Douglas Robinson claims, *“Translation theorists have been cognizant of the problems attendant upon cultural knowledge and cultural difference at least since ancient Rome, and translators almost certainly knew all about those problems long before theorists articulated them”*¹²⁰ They probably did not use the proper terminology, but isn't Cicero's and Horace's discussion of the distinction between *word-for-word* and *sense-for-sense* translation, actually taking into account the importance of the elements of culture, among other things?

II Culture and Translation Studies

Thus, since ancient Rome numerous theories, approaches and school have been developed but rare are those that do not mention the significance of culture for translation. In fact, as Susan Bassnett says: *“...despite diversity of methods and approaches, one common feature of much of the research in Translation Studies is an emphasis on cultural aspect of translation, on the contexts within which translations occur...”*¹²¹

References to culture in TS are numerous. Thus, Eugene Nida calls for *cultural functionality*, as something “that ultimately counts”¹²². Andre Lefevere (1999) speaks of cultural grids and says that *Problems in translating are caused at least as much by discrepancies in conceptual and textual grid as by discrepancies in language*” and defining cultural grids says that *“these cultural grids determine how reality is constructed in both source and target texts and skill of the translator in manipulating these grids will determine the success of the outcome...”*¹²³. Focusing her work on the cultural aspect of translation, Susan Bassnett emphasises that *“In the same way that the surgeon, operating on the heart cannot neglect the body that surrounds it, so the translator treats the text in isolation from culture at his peril”*¹²⁴ She emphasizes the role of translator, particularly in 21st century because *“boundaries are perceived as more fluid and less constraining than at any time in recent history and movement of people across those boundaries is increasing”*¹²⁵ and sees the process of translation as *“not just the transfer of texts from one language to another”*, but as *“a process of negotiation between texts and between cultures, a process during which all kinds of transactions take place, mediated by the figure of translator...”*¹²⁶. Her opinion is that *“translation is about wanting to cross boundaries and enter into new territory, whilst the study of translation involves mapping the journey texts undertake”*¹²⁷. Antony Pym also talks about this process of negotiating between texts and cultures and calls for the existence of

¹¹⁹ Delia Chiaro (1992) *The Language of Jokes*, London and New York: Routledge, p 77

¹²⁰ Douglas Robinson (2007) *Becoming a Translator*, London and New York: Routledge, p. 186

¹²¹ Susan Bassnett, (2003) *Translation Studies*, London and New York: Routledge, p.2

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¹²⁴ Susan Bassnett, (2003) *Translation Studies*, London and New York: Routledge, p.22

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, p.10

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, p.6

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, p.11

inter-culture, criticizing many TS scholars for seeing translators as belonging to one culture only - the target culture.¹²⁸

Apart from analyzing the element of culture in the process of translation and the role of translator as mediator between cultures, there are other approaches that have culture at their core. For example, there are studies of the impact of translations on culture through shaping literary canon as well as studies of inequality created by some translation relationships, stating that “*translation was effectively used in the past as an instrument of colonial domination, a means of depriving the colonized peoples of a voice*”¹²⁹. These issues will not be tackled in this paper. Instead, the focus will be placed on TS research dealing with culture-specific items (CSI) and the different challenges such research brings. The number of available research is limited, I must say, exactly due to the numerous problems related to CSI and the difficulty of subjecting them to any solid empirical analysis.

III Challenges of Translation Studies Research in Culture-specific Items

III.1. Definition of CSI

The first problem in dealing with culture-specific items in Translation Studies is how to define them. The reason for this is that it is very hard to define culture. The most frequently used definition of culture in TS is the definition of the American ethnologist Ward Goodenough: „*a society’s culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members*”¹³⁰

Peter Newmark, a TS scholar, gives a definition which is also extremely broad. For him, culture is „*the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression*”¹³¹.

But if you want to do research in CSI, you cannot deal with „the way of life“ type of definition. It has to be more specific. Therefore it is very useful to study Vermeers „*cultureme*“ (1983), which he defines as „*a social phenomenon of a culture X that is regarded as relevant by the members of this culture and, when compared with a corresponding social phenomenon in a culture Y, is found to be specific to culture X*”¹³²

On the basis of his definition of culturemes, Vermeer also defines a **culture specific phenomenon** as „*one that is found to exist in a particular form or function in only one of the two cultures being compared. This does not mean that the phenomenon exists only in that particular culture. The same phenomenon might be observable in cultures other than the two in question.*”¹³³

¹²⁸ Anthony Pym (1998) *Method in Translation History*, Manchester: St. Jerome, p.177

¹²⁹ Susan Bassnett, (2003) *Translation Studies*, London and New York: Routledge, p.4

¹³⁰ Goodenough W.H. (1964) “Cultural anthropology and linguistics” in *Language in culture and society: A reader in linguistics and anthropology*, Hymes D. (ed.). New York

¹³¹ P. Newmark (1988) *A Textbook of Translation*, New York, Prentice Hall, p. 94

¹³² Christiane Nord (2000) “What do We Know about the Target-Text Receiver?” in *Investigating Translation*, ed. Allison Beeby, Doris Ensinger, Marisa Presas, Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamin’s Publishing Company, p.204

¹³³ *Ibid*, p.200

In 1996 Javier Franco Aixela uses a very similar definition for something he calls **culture-specific items**. „In translation...“ says Aixela “... a CSI does not exist of itself, but as the result of a conflict arising from any linguistically represented reference in a source text which, when transferred to a target language poses a translation problem due to the nonexistence or to the different value (whether determined by ideology, usage, frequency, etc.) of the given item in the target language culture“¹³⁴

This definition, just like the Vermeer’s one is dynamic and different pairs of CSIs are defined in different pairs of languages! Interestingly¹³⁵, Aixela’s definition has been more frequently used in Translation Studies research than the one offered by Vermeer. It is also the one I used in the research of CSI in the short story *The Things You Know*. Based on Aixela’s definition of CSI and the analysis of this short story against its translation in Serbian, we can identify as many as 53 different culture-specific items. If we take into account their repeated occurrences the number is 218!

The identified CSI are of various types. First, there are different types of names, starting with the personal names of characters¹³⁶ - of which the names of the main characters *Merill* and *Janice* are the most frequent, but there are also the personal names of various celebrities, like *Nelson Rockefeller* or actor *Michael Caine*. Personal names are followed by the names of various institutions¹³⁷, like restaurants - *French House*, *Harbour View* - and homes for elderly - *Norton’s*, *Stanhope’s*, *Walingforth*. There is a whole group of different food names - different kinds of food that do not exist in the target culture - *Arctic halibut*, *granola*¹³⁸, and the group of tea brand names - *English Breakfast*, *Earl Grey*, *Orange Pekoe*¹³⁹. The group of names is concluded by the film titles - *Little Voice*, *The Thin Red Line*¹⁴⁰.

In the second group there are CSI that can be called *linguistic* CSI which comprise puns, idioms and slang. Some of the examples could be

1. “*Come rain or shine they said. Come hell or high water. Actually it was more, come Janice’s hip operation and come Merrill’s ill advised trip to Mexico with her daughter.*”
2. „*Your husband was known on campus as that little limey fag in administration...*”
3. “*He was a teabag. OK?*”

A specific group of CSI comprises references to American culture from the perspective of a British. The two leading characters are an American old lady and a British old lady living in America and having breakfast together. Many times in the story, with a tone of criticism and condescension, the British lady comments on American culture to herself:

¹³⁴ Javier Franco Aixela (1996), “Culture-specific Items in Translation” in *Translation, Power, Subversion* ed. Roman Alvarez and M. Carmen-Africa Vidal, Multilingual Matters Ltd, p. 58

¹³⁵ (probably the fact that Vermeer wrote more in German than in English and TS are going Anglo-saxon as Mary Schnell Hornby said a few days ago in the 5th Congress of EST in Ljubljana)

¹³⁶ 8, mentioned 152 times

¹³⁷ 8 in total, mentioned 12 times

¹³⁸ mentioned 6 times

¹³⁹ mentioned 6 times

¹⁴⁰ mentioned 4 times

1. "Even after all these years, she didn't understand why Americans wanted coffee immediately the waiter arrived..."
2. "It was pity about Merrill, she didn't seem to understand that after a certain age women should no longer pretend to be what they had once been. They should submit to time. Neutrality, discretion, dignity were called for. Merrill's refusal must be something to do with being American"
3. „it did rain an awful lot up here in the Pacific North-West. People constantly told her it must remind her of England, and she always said Yes, always meaning No...“
4. „At least they did not deliver your toast already buttered, as they did at some other places. That was another American habit she couldn't get used to“
5. „But the waiter merely took away the miniature, one-cup pot which Americans misteriously judged sufficient for morning tea...“

And in the end there is an item which is particularly interesting for the research dealing with translation to Serbian. The characters, namely, mention the Balkans, Milosević and Serbs:

"It's terrible what's happening in the Balkans", said Janice.

"Yes." Merrill had long ago stopped reading those pages of the Sun-Times.

"Milosević must be taught a lesson."

"I don't know what to think."

"The Serbs will never change their spots."

This passage is *specific* to the *target* culture. It is not classified as a CSI because there is no equivalent or no understanding of it in the target language and culture, but because it causes an absolutely different effect when read in the source and in the target culture. It also serves a completely different function and conveys different meanings in the source and in the target culture.

III.2. How are CSI treated in translation?

Generally speaking, there are two different key theoretical approaches to the treatment or manipulation of CSI in translation. They can be preserved or they can be adapted. Different scholars give different names to these two key approaches. Thus, Toury calls them *adequacy and acceptability*, Holmes speaks of *retention and re-creation* (1988); Venuti launches his famous terms *foreignization and domestication* (1995), while Aixela uses terms *conservation and substitution* (1996).

Depending on which of the two approaches is taken by the translator, the translation can result in **cultural imperialism**, defined by Venuti as the situation when the source text is domesticated into a dominant language/culture (English usually), while at the other pole, if domestication is done in translation from a dominant to a dominated culture, we can speak of **resistance to cultural domination** (Kwiecinski).

In the available research that deals with CSI the methodology is usually to identify CSI and procedures for translating them (Newmark, Harvey and Higgins, Aixela, Katan, Baker, Hewson and Martin, Hickey, Ghazala). The procedures given by the scholars are very similar, some of them overlap, and every new research modifies

the existing taxonomies. One of them is Aixela's taxonomy comprising 11 procedures:

1. **Conservation**
 - a. **Repetition**
 - b. **Orthographic adaptation**
 - c. **Linguistic (non-cultural) translation**
 - d. **Extratextual gloss** (*explanation in footnote, endnote, glossary, brackets*)
 - e. **Intratextual gloss** (*explanation in the text*)
2. **Substitution**
 - a. **Synonymy** - stylistic grounds - often to avoid repetition of CSI
 - b. **Limited universalization** - another CSI from SL but less obscure
 - c. **Absolute universalization** - deletion of foreign connotation of CSI
 - d. **Naturalization** - use CSI of TL
 - e. **Deletion** (*black Cadillac sedan becomes black cadillac*)
 - f. **Autonomous creation** (rare, titles)

Other: (**compensation** (deletion + autonomous creation), **dislocation** (displacement in the text of the same reference) **attenuation** (replacement of something ideologically 'too strong' or unexceptable by something 'softer')¹⁴¹)

Using this taxonomy in analysing the story *The Things You Know* I found that the translator preferred using the procedures of conservation to the procedures of substitution¹⁴²

In the group of *Conservation* the most frequently used procedure is the orthographic adaptation¹⁴³. This procedure is used for translation of names and thus *Janice* becomes *Dženis*, *Merill* becomes *Merril* and *Michael Caine* becomes *Majkl Kejn*, which is a consequence of an orthographic rule in Serbian that every foreign name has to be transcribed. The second frequently used procedure¹⁴⁴ in this group of procedures is linguistic translation, which is translating the words, and not trying to adapt them to the target culture resulting sometimes in getting a literal translation without the real meaning (sometimes even with no meaning at all). This is the case with translations of references to American culture

Source text	Target text
"Even after all these years, she didn't understand why Americans wanted coffee immediately the waiter arrived..."	"čak ni posle tolikih godina, nije shvatala zbog čega Amerikanci prihvataju kafu svaki put kada im je konobar ponudi..."

The words are faithfully translated, almost literally, but the reader needs certain knowledge of British and American culture to understand them, which the translator

¹⁴¹ Javier Franco Aixela (1996), "Culture-specific Items in Translation" in *Translation, Power, Subversion* ed. Roman Alvarez and M. Carmen-Africa Vidal, Multilingual Matters Ltd, p.60

¹⁴² Conservation is used 32 times and 192 if we include the repeated occurrences of CSIs, while Substitution is used 21 times or 26 with the repeated occurrences.

¹⁴³ 20 times, or 180 with the repeated occurrences

¹⁴⁴ 10 times

did not try to give him. No explanation is offered. The same is the case with translating *Arctic halibut* as *arktički halibut*, for example.

This procedure is also used for translation of the reference to the target culture:

Source text

“It’s terrible what’s happening in the Balkans”, said Janice.

“Yes.” Merrill had long ago stopped reading those pages of the *Sun-Times*.

“Milosević must be taught a lesson.”

“I don’t know what to think.”

“The Serbs never change their spots.”

Target text

“Strašno je ovo što se događa na Balkanu“, reče Dženis.

„Da.“ Meril je odavno bila prestala da čita te stranice *San’Tajmsa*.

„Miloševića treba naučiti pameti“

„Ne znam šta da mislim o tome.“

„Ti Srbi nikada neće promeniti svoju ćud.“

Another procedure from the group of conservation procedures is intra-textual gloss:

Source text	Target text
‘Tom was in Korea,’ she said.	.“Tom je <u>služio</u> u Koreji”, reče. (Tom <u>served</u> in Korea)
“We went to see <i>The Thin Red Line</i> ”	“Išli smo da gledamo <u>film Tanka crvena linija</u> ” “We went to see <u>the film The Thin Red Line</u> ”

Repetition and extra-textual gloss are the procedures from this group that were not employed in the translation of *The Things You Know*.

The second big group of procedures comprises the procedures of *Substitution*. Most frequently used is naturalization¹⁴⁵ in which *lunch* becomes *užina*, which is a light snack, and not *ručak* which would be a linguistic translation; *Little Voice* becomes *Zlatni glas*, since the translator used the already existing translation of the film’s title in Serbian. “Come rain or shine they said. Come hell or high water” becomes “*makar padala i kiša. Makar padale i sekire*”, where the translator used an existing idiom in Serbian and not the linguistic translation which would have neither the same meaning nor the same effect on the audience.

The second procedure from this group is absolute universalisation¹⁴⁶

Source text	Target text
“My Bill <u>did his National Service</u> ”	“I moj Bil je <u>odslužio vojsku</u> ” (served in the army)
„a <u>cameo of lust and rage</u> ”	“ <u>mala predstava požude i gneva</u> ” (a little performance)

The translator also used the procedure of deletion in two cases where *IRS forms* are translated as just *formulari* (forms) and where *no matter how darned sorry you feel for yourself* is translated as *bez obzira na to koliko sažaljevaš samu sebe*, the culture specific *darned* just being deleted.

¹⁴⁵ 11 times and 16 with repeated occurrences

¹⁴⁶ 3 times

Procedures of synonymy, limited universalisation and autonomous creation were not used in this translation, but the translator on several occasions combined procedures from this group - deletion and naturalization:

Source text	Target text
“Coffee ladies?”	“Jeste li za kafu?” (Would you like some coffee? - completely natural in Serbian)
“More coffee, ladies?”	“Još malo kafe?” (Some more coffee? - completely natural in Serbian)

He also combined deletion and compensation:

Source text	Target text
„Your husband was known on campus as that little limey fag in administration...”	“Tvoga muža su na kampusu znali kao onog omalenog dosadnog Engleza iz administracije...” (Limey fag = dull English person)

and universalization- attenuation-linguistic translation in

“He was a teabag. OK?” which is translated as

“On je bio niko i ništa. Potrošna kesica čaja” (He was a nobody. Just a disposable teabag)

The words *fag* and *teabag* have certain connotations referring to sex (usually referring to homosexuality) which the translator avoided mentioning, losing thus some of the aspect of their meanings.

This brings us to another challenge in the research of CSI - the analysis of whether the target text can be described as an equivalent to the source text.

III.3. Equivalence?

One question that is very frequently asked in relation to any translation is the question of the equivalence of the target text to the source text. Whether the equivalence is something a translator should strive for or not and whether it can exist at all are not the issues this paper will deal with. We will just briefly discuss why equivalence is very difficult to deal with in the case of research in culture-specific items.

First of all, we can talk of equivalence in meaning. Usually we hear that meaning is partly or completely lost in the transition from the source to the target text. The very concept of meaning, just like the concept of culture referred to earlier, is extremely complex. There is a whole branch of linguistics dealing with it, and still the question of what meaning actually is has not been fully answered. Is it something the author actually and truly wanted to say? Is it something that the receptor or the audience of the source text understands? This problem makes any research in the meaning of culture-specific items in translation rather arbitrary. For the researcher does not know nor can he with absolute certainty establish what the author wanted to say, or what the translator understood and then wanted to say. The situation would be the same if he tried to establish with certainty what the audience of the source text and the audience of the target text actually understood as the true meaning. The reason for that, as Anna Wierzbicka says, lies in the fact

that as human beings “we are inevitably guided by certain principles and certain ideals which we know are not necessarily shared by the entire human race...”¹⁴⁷ and we simply cannot neglect that. This gets additionally complicated if we try tackling the issue of the effect a certain text or its segments have on the audience. I would like to illustrate my point with two examples

In the story *The Things You Know* the author is talking of “Oak leaves and clusters”. Tom, one of the characters, served in the war and was given a medal, which has *oak leaves and clusters* on it. In translation to Serbian this becomes “*Jeli su hrastovo lišće i insekte.*” (*They ate oak leaves and insects*). The literal translation is certainly not faithful. Has the translator just made a mistake? It is possible. But it is more likely that he aimed at creating an equivalent both in meaning and effect. For, probably he understood the author of the source text wanted to emphasize how brave Tom was. Instead of entering a long discussion and series of intratextual or extratextual glosses, the translator produced something he considered to have the same effect and the same meaning as the “*Oak leaves and clusters*” in the source text.

However in case of the CSI from the target culture we mentioned earlier he decided to take a completely different approach.

Source text

“It’s terrible what’s happening in the Balkans”, said Janice.
“Yes.” Merrill had long ago stopped reading those pages of the *Sun-Times*.
“Milosević must be taught a lesson.”
“I don’t know what to think.”
“The Serbs never change their spots.”

Target text

“Strašno je ovo što se događa na Balkanu“, reče Dženis.
„Da.“ Meril je odavno bila prestala da čita te stranice *San’Tajmsa*.
„Miloševića treba naučiti pameti“
„Ne znam šta da mislim o tome.“
„Ti Srbi nikada neće promeniti svoju ćud.“

It is quite obvious that in this dialogue, Janice is trying to comment on something distant, some events that are not relevant and that Merrill does not even know about, in order to pretend to be informed and interested in important things in the world. Barnes uses this, we might say, to show how idle they are and how actually they assume the right to comment on very serious things without really understanding them. It is quite a strong criticism of the segment (or whole) society they belong to. However, the linguistic translation of this dialogue has a completely different effect on the audience. Mentioning Serbs in this way, must provoke emotions in the Serbian language readers, them being mentioned as a people who “will never change their spots” and being commented on in quite a negative way. Maybe the effect of this dialogue in English could be replicated in Serbian if the translator translated it by substituting the reference to Serbs with a reference to some distant people who were also in the news for the bad things they (supposedly) had done - Iraqis, Afghanistani, for example)

As shown above, there are many things in CSI research that are not defined, that are vague and that make the research quite arbitrary in the end. But does that mean we should give up and stop analyzing CSI? I think not. The element of culture is the most challenging one, I believe, and every attempt to analyze and describe it

¹⁴⁷ Anna Wierzbicka (1991) *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics*, Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 9
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helps us understand it better and in the end helps us translate better. So we must not give up, we should just accept all the deficiencies the research in this field has and live with them. As Jose Lambert articulated it:

“Whether we like it or not, the impossibility of excluding the cultural component implies - once for all - that there can never be any ideal of translation and that only a better investigation of the various cultural parameters can provide a better basis for a better predictability of say efficiency in translation practice...”¹⁴⁸

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¹⁴⁸ Jose Lambert (1992) “The Cultural Component Rediscovered” in **Translation Studies**, edited by Hornby, Pochhacker, Kaind, p. 18

LA TRADUCTION DES CAS LIMITES

Résumé: Nous proposons d'aborder les problèmes et les stratégies de traduction consécutives aux cas limites à savoir les sociolectes et les dialectes. En effet, dans deux langues différentes, la diversité des dialectes ou des sociolectes n'est pas la même. Une langue montre certains registres et un polysystème caractérisé par une complexité, une flexibilité, mais aussi une créativité et une évolution constante. C'est en fonction de ce polysystème intralingual que chaque variante portera un indice socioculturel. Ainsi, pour le traducteur, il s'agira de tenir compte des spécificités et contraintes imposées par les traits linguistiques et culturels et d'adopter une stratégie en conséquence.

Mots clé: Traduction, stratégies, procédés, sociolecte, dialecte, sociolinguistique, culture

Introduction

Dans deux langues différentes, la diversité des sociolectes, des dialectes, des idiolectes ou des technoclectes n'est pas la même. Une langue montre un amalgame de registres et un polysystème caractérisé par une complexité, une flexibilité mais aussi une créativité et une évolution constante. C'est en fonction de ce polysystème intralinguale que chaque variante portera un indice socioculturel.

En traduction, on peut se demander s'il est possible de rendre les différentes variations linguistiques ou dialectales d'une langue à l'autre ? Le traducteur doit en effet tenir compte des contraintes imposées par les faits de langue et les faits de culture c'est-à-dire repérer l'indice socioculturel et le niveau de langue, prendre en considération le contexte ou le voisinage contextuel, garder le style et le ton du texte, etc... tout en optant pour une stratégie ou un procédé de traduction. Aussi, nous aborderons dans cette communication les problèmes consécutifs à la traduction des cas limites. Nous évoquerons quelques stratégies de traduction et choix des traducteurs pour résoudre le problème du transfert de deux variantes essentiellement orales : les sociolectes et les dialectes.

1. Écriture et oralité

Une langue vivante est rarement un système uniforme et rigide, elle varie généralement selon le lieu géographique (dialectes), le milieu social (sociolectes), les individus (idiolectes) et le temps. Une langue est en évolution constante. La cause du changement est à rechercher dans les imperfections voire les conditions d'utilisation de cette langue ou "facteurs internes"¹⁴⁹. Martinet part du principe qu'il existe un conflit entre la tendance de l'individu à limiter sa dépense d'énergie et la communauté désireuse de maintenir les distinctions jugées nécessaires par les usagers de la langue, d'où la notion d'économie du langage. L'individu aura tendance à employer un terme général, notamment un seul signifiant pour plusieurs signifiés, lorsque les besoins de la communauté réclament plusieurs termes qui appuient cette distinction, c'est-à-dire plusieurs signifiants pour plusieurs signifiés.

¹⁴⁹ Voir Martinet, 1955 et 1975

On distingue également le code écrit et le code oral ainsi que plusieurs niveaux de langue : on peut en effet séparer la langue courante ou commune, la langue soutenue ou oratoire, et la langue familière ou populaire. Il en résulte un polysystème complexe dont chaque variante aussi bien phonique, lexicale ou grammaticale dénote des indices socioculturels. Ces indices socioculturels, correspondent aux différents codes et niveaux de langage et posent entre autres le problème de la traduction du registre, mais aussi des indices des connotations qui correspondent à toutes les associations suggérées par les mots, les phrases ou l'intonation... C'est en fonction de ce polysystème intralingual que chaque variante portera un indice socioculturel. Ainsi, pour le traducteur, il s'agira de tenir compte des spécificités et contraintes imposées par les traits entre autres sociolinguistiques.

2. Les sociolectes : le cas de Zazie¹⁵⁰

En littérature, certains textes font état d'une variété régionale. Ces cas mettent en lumière les écarts langagiers, c'est-à-dire "le langage parlé" plus ou moins relâché. On sait que la diversité du code oral en anglais, en espagnol ou en slovène n'est pas la même qu'en français. Prenons quelques exemples tirés de *Zazie dans le métro* qui sont la reproduction pure du code oral français, et observons leurs traductions.

a. La langue parlée : Queneau joue avec les mots dans son ouvrage *Zazie dans le métro*. Il se réfère aux moeurs parisiennes issues de certaines classes sociales. L'oeuvre laisse apparaître des tournures familières particulières au parler de l'île de France ou "parigot" qui connaît une syntaxe populaire économe. D'autre part, Zazie regorge de termes familiers, argotiques, parfois dialectaux, de néologismes, d'archaïsmes, de calques, de termes savants, etc. Dans les exemples suivants, on notera les accents populaires, la graphie inhabituelle, la concision, la redondance, la profusion de détails, mais aussi les prépositions "passe-partout" destinées à alléger la phrase.

Il saisit la valoché à Zazie.
He grabs Zazie's suitcase.
Le quita la maleta a Zazie.
Prime Cicino torbo.¹⁵¹

-Comme vous que jvous dis, gzactement comme vous.
"Same as you like I said, gzactly the same".
-Ya le he dicho que lo mismo que usted.
"sem rekla isto kot vi, čististo".¹⁵²

L'ordre des mots ou l'économie syntaxique joue un rôle important en français. Le français oral tend en effet vers la réduction des mots à savoir "dire l'essentiel". Or, parallèlement à cette tendance réductive, on note également la répétition d'éléments qui alourdit les articulations syntaxiques de la phrase. Ici, les traductions, notamment anglaise et slovène, respectent le registre oral et la tendance réductive "she'd ; gzactly ; bla ; reč ; čististo", mais non la syntaxe alourdissante de la phrase.

¹⁵⁰ Queneau, 1959

¹⁵¹ Queneau, 1959 : 12 ; 1960 : 4 ; 1993 : 16 et 1994 : 8

¹⁵² Queneau, 1959 : 74 ; 1960 : 72 ; 1993 : 84 et 1994 : 63

Par conséquent, l'un des problèmes consécutifs à la traduction des sociolectes consiste à reformuler les éléments oraux tout en respectant le niveau de langue. Dans l'idéal, si l'auteur utilise un vocabulaire familier ou une syntaxe essentiellement orale, le message pourrait être reproduit dans le style familier et oral ou, faute d'équivalent, traduit dans un registre plus soutenu ou encore par un emprunt.

b. L'usage populaire ou vulgaire : l'usage familier et argotique parsème le texte de Queneau :

Pollop, que je lui ai répondu.
You watch out, I told him.
¡Pues anda y que te ondulen !
Tlegamaš, sem mu rekla.¹⁵³

Le mot "Pollop" formule le refus et est traduit par un impératif, il s'agit ici d'une interjection équivalant à "rien !" On notera que dans deux langues différentes la diversité des sociolectes n'est pas la même. Le texte de Queneau est représentatif d'une certaine classe sociale qui apparaît grâce au niveau de langue employé : langue familière, argotique (l'argot parisien) et vulgaire surtout mise dans la bouche d'une enfant. Quelques phrases découvrent ce vocabulaire argotique et sont traduites, non par un équivalent de l'argot, mais simplement par une expression ou un mot équivalent, au même sens. Mais, cela mène nécessairement à une perte de l'indice sociolectal caractéristique d'une couche de la société et de la culture française.

c. Les archaïsmes : Raymond Queneau, dans son désir d'inventer un vocabulaire original, introduit de nombreux néologismes dans *Zazie*. Ce sens du langage traduit une vision personnelle des choses au même titre que les archaïsmes susceptibles de recréer une atmosphère d'époque qui assaisonnent le texte de Queneau. Contrastant avec la langue relâchée et le français standard, ces archaïsmes virent vers l'hypercorrection. Ils marquent l'histoire de la langue française et précisent un parler d'époque au sein d'une oeuvre littéraire. De nature grammaticale ou lexicale, ils correspondent essentiellement au style de l'auteur et non plus au parler familier largement usité.

Il se prit la tête à deux mains et fit le futile simulacre de se la vouloir arracher.

He took hold of his head in both hands and made a futile show of trying to tar it off.

Y cogiéndose la cabeza con las manos fingió burdamente que iba a arrancársela.

*Z rokama se zgrabi za glavo in lahkomiselno zbudi vtis, da si jo bo odtrgal.*¹⁵⁴

On est en présence d'un double archaïsme : le pronom personnel objet de l'infinitif "arracher" est placé devant le verbe "vouloir" de même que le pronom réfléchi.

¹⁵³ Queneau, 1959 : 35 ; 1960 : 29 ; 1993 : 41 et 1994 : 26

¹⁵⁴ Queneau, 1959 : 21 ; 1960 : 14 ; 1993 : 27 et 1994 : 16

L'archaïsme manifeste une relation entre deux époques déterminées dans le temps. Preuve flagrante de l'intraduit culturel, ces tournures sont rarement rendues par des termes équivalents, mais traduites par un terme actuel. Nous supposons qu'une perspective sourcière nécessiterait un gros travail de recherche et gênerait le lecteur non spécialiste de ces effets.

En conséquence, on notera que la majorité des néologismes, allusions ésotériques, syntaxe, gallicismes, termes argotiques et autre forme d'expression personnelle à Queneau ont été *adaptés*, car difficiles à traduire ou souvent intraduisibles. S'agissant d'un texte littéraire, la tâche du traducteur est double : rendre la langue et le style, c'est-à-dire les mots qui possèdent en plus de leur valeur sémantique, un double sens ou une valeur esthétique, littéraire ou poétique.

Par ailleurs, dans le cas présent, l'activité traduisante fait aussi appel à l'aspect psychologique. Le traducteur saisit les connotations du texte de départ (TD), les reconnaît et les traduit pour un certain public. Mais, il s'expose au risque d'être grossier, trop familier et de choquer les lecteurs en traduisant le terme argotique par un vulgarisme. On note en effet que les traductions slovènes gardent malgré tout un registre littéraire et linguistiquement correct.

Aussi, dans le cas de *Zazie*, une perspective sourcière risquant de gêner la lecture du texte et une traduction par *emprunt* pouvant conduire à l'opacité ou la non-compréhension de la phrase malgré le contexte, *l'adaptation* s'impose presque, malgré la perte du registre lorsque l'équivalent du sociolecte n'existe pas dans la langue d'arrivée (LA). Voyons à présent si cette stratégie s'applique également à la traduction d'un langage particulier à une région.

4. Les dialectes

Les problèmes de bilinguisme collectif ou social rejoignent celui des langues en contact et des dialectes. Ainsi, des problèmes de traduction peuvent se poser dans les régions bilingues où les cas de bilinguisme collectif sont variés. En outre, un dialecte traduit peut être rapidement incompréhensible au lecteur, car les mots ou les régionalismes relèvent une vision du monde particulière à un petit groupe ou une communauté. La traduction des régionalismes est la preuve des manifestations particularistes et marque la recherche d'une identité régionale au sein d'une nation. La traduction du dialecte nous intéresse dans la mesure où sa traduction met en valeur une équivalence problématique ne reposant pas sur des notions purement topographiques, mais surtout sur une histoire et une géographie humaine. Ainsi, le "Cockney", dialecte spécifique du sud-est de l'Angleterre pourrait être traduit par le dialecte du sud-est de la France (le marseillais par exemple) ou le dialecte de Paris "le parigot" (si nous mettons de côté l'impossibilité de traduire un dialecte) pourrait être rendu par le dialecte d'une capitale ("Ljubljana" par exemple) si bien que le critère de choix retenu par le traducteur en pareilles circonstances repose vraisemblablement sur la représentativité dialectale nationale ou dialecte de la métropole, le plus accessible à la majorité des lecteurs, et non sur le choix quelconque d'une autre correspondance spatiale.

D'un point de vue formel, les marqueurs de dialecte de départ sont en général très différents du dialecte d'arrivée. On notera dans l'exemple suivant une caractéristique morphosyntaxique et lexicale de l'anglo-irlandais : le choix du groupe nominal "the like of", plutôt que la préposition "like", ou encore le choix du lexique :

It was dark, lonesome place to be hearing the like of him.

Cet endroit-là, noir et solitaire qu'il était, pour être à écouter un pareil comme celui-là.

(...) c'était un lieu solitaire pour écouter un pareil que lui.¹⁵⁵

Essentiellement oral, on retrouve la présence du dialecte entre autres en littérature, parfois dans certaines annonces publicitaires ou encore dans la presse, notamment lorsqu'il s'agit de mettre en valeur un idiome plus faible, marginalisé, qui risque de disparaître, mais pour lequel on se bat. On met alors en valeur la couleur locale, folklorique ou régionale de l'idiome. Toutefois, en traduction, on note une perte de la spécificité et souvent les équivalences ne sont guère convaincantes. Peut-on donc traduire les différences sociolinguistiques ?

5. Quelques stratégies face aux variations sociolinguistiques

Théoriquement, l'usage d'un sociolecte ou d'un dialecte de LA (dialecte d'arrivée) devrait permettre de marquer les différences formelles (phonétiques, lexicales, grammaticales, phraséologiques, etc.) et les différences idiomatiques. En général, le dialecte n'a pas de correspondance dans LA si bien que, littéralement intraduisible (du fait d'un manque d'authenticité ou risque de charabia), leur traduction ou *transposition* totale ou parfaite n'est guère possible, sauf peut-être dans les cas où l'expression considérée possède une valeur sociale (les histoires drôles, par exemple).

Par ailleurs, en regard au nombre de dialecte dans un même pays, le choix d'un dialecte, qui n'est pas celui de la métropole, risque d'aboutir à un texte où l'appartenance régionale est trop marquée ou plus marquée que dans l'original. Aussi, la difficulté de traduire les sociolectes ou les dialectes tout en respectant les tournures familières de LD et LA n'est plus à prouver. Plusieurs orientations s'imposent :

a. Le traducteur ne traduit pas le sociolecte ou le dialecte : nous qualifierons ce procédé de *traduction zéro* (perspective sourcière).

b. Il utilise un *équivalent* mais d'un autre registre : à l'écrit, on signale les marqueurs dialectaux par des traits phonologiques reflétés graphiquement par des omissions, des abréviations, des phénomènes d'agrammalités isolés et, faute de marqueurs équivalents du point de vue formel, ils peuvent être traduits par des marqueurs de type lexical. Mais cela ne signifie pas pour autant que les marqueurs lexicaux soient les équivalents des marqueurs phonologiques de départ, mais plutôt qu'en l'absence d'équivalence formelle à l'intérieur d'un même niveau de langue, la LA peut compenser un manque en ayant recours à des traits ou marqueurs jugés équivalents qui correspondraient davantage à des *compensateurs*. Le choix d'un sociolecte ou dialecte compensateur est donc arbitraire. L'usage d'un équivalent ou compensateur neutre signifie également que le dialecte est rendu, mais sans

¹⁵⁵ Déprats, 1998 : 10-11

caractéristique régionale et mène à une perte de la richesse dialectale¹⁵⁶. Par ailleurs, le traducteur peut également employer un *procédé syntaxique* (“ Whar hit gone to, den? Oû que c'est passé alors ?¹⁵⁷ “) pour rendre le dialecte, mais cela implique un changement de registre.

c. Le choix des traducteurs va souvent vers une sorte d'*assimilation* du registre à savoir le traducteur reproduit la familiarité du vocabulaire et les tournures grammaticales en fonction de LA. Il respecte la familiarité de LD lorsque LA le permet (perspective sourcière).

d. Le traducteur opte pour une bonne compréhension de la phrase ou du texte et choisit l'*adaptation* (perspective cibliste). Cependant, la méthode de traduction formelle et globale qu'est l'adaptation peut s'avérer peu satisfaisante. L'usage de l'adaptation ou d'un tout autre procédé d'insistance, lorsqu'il s'agit de rendre un dialecte par un autre dialecte dans LA, fait perdre la couleur locale. Toutefois, le message est rendu : par exemple, le parler d'un paysan est rendu par son compensateur d'arrivée.

e. Cette reconstruction vise à l'*acclimatation* du texte original, dans un autre contexte et pour un autre public. Mais, cela fait disparaître le cadre, l'époque ou le milieu.

f. Enfin, le langage populaire en cause étant la difficulté majeure à laquelle le traducteur est confronté, il peut choisir d'inventer simplement un langage populaire et d'utiliser des *néologismes* tout en y incorporant certains éléments de l'original - que le lecteur acceptera parce que les termes seront adaptés à l'esprit du livre, sans pour autant être calqués sur une forme d'expression déjà existante (l'américain du Bronx, par exemple). On peut en l'occurrence insister sur la nécessité de laisser aux personnages leur caractère national et considérer que ce serait une erreur que de les faire s'exprimer dans une langue qui ne correspondrait pas à ce qu'ils sont et qui détruirait leur réalité.

Par conséquent, il est difficile de traduire une langue double, voire impossible de la transposer dans une autre langue : les parlers régionaux sont difficilement traduisibles. L'utilisation de parlers de type sociolectal ou dialectal créerait un effet autre et ne représenterait pas la même réalité sociolinguistique. Le traducteur peut alors avoir recours à quelques procédés : l'*emprunt* pour les marqueurs lexicaux (mais le message garde son opacité) ; le *calque* pour les marqueurs lexicaux et grammaticaux (mais l'expression obtenue risque de manquer d'authenticité) ; la *simplification* (mais perte du message et/ou du registre) et l'invention ou la *création* (mais perte de la réalité). Si le traducteur choisit d'employer des termes très typiques, une *explication* ou *note du traducteur* s'avère indispensable pour préciser le choix et le dialecte. D'une manière générale, le traducteur peut utiliser l'*explication* et l'*explicitation* comme stratégies, mais aussi certaines tournures communes du parler populaire (puisque le dialecte est essentiellement oral), un *jeu des dérivations* sur le plan lexical, certains archaïsmes ou des *confusions typiques du langage parlé*, etc. peuvent aussi être introduits.

¹⁵⁶ Voir les extraits traduits de Shaw, *Pygmalion* et Brontë, *les hauts des Tempêtes*.

¹⁵⁷ Faulkner in Grellet, 1985 : 199

6. Conclusion

La recherche de critères différents en traduction mène au respect du terme dialectal ou sociolectal spécifique, de la locution particulière et différente de la langue standard, du folklore, de la couleur locale et nationale. En effet, une perspective sourcière mettra en valeur le sociolecte ou le dialecte tandis qu'une perspective cibliste l'adaptera. Quel que soit le choix de la stratégie, le traducteur pourra dans l'idéal garder l'information afin de ne pas trop déformer le texte, conserver les traits culturels et l'appartenance nationale tout en gardant le registre, le cadre, l'atmosphère. D'autre part, il s'agit de tenir compte dans la mesure du possible des connotations ou des écarts par rapport à la norme qui accentue les clivages sociaux de la hiérarchie sociale et que soulignent parfois les tournures propres à une région, mais aussi les repères de type spatial, temporel ou social pour éviter tout anachronisme, tout changement complet de décor et une perte de l'aspect national. Le sentiment d'intraduisibilité est en conséquence bien présent puisqu'il ne peut y avoir une superposition parfaite et systématique entre les marqueurs dialectaux ou sociolectaux de la langue de départ (LD) et de la langue d'arrivée (LA). Les intraduits culturels sont ainsi inévitables. Encore s'agit-il de limiter la perte, quelle que soit sa nature, en compensant et remplaçant la différence c'est-à-dire en employant un dialecte ou un sociolecte "compensateur", forme de l'adaptation, lorsqu'une trop grande part d'étrangeté risque de gêner la compréhension du texte. On pourra remplacer la forme et mettre en évidence la fonction, et ainsi privilégier la fonction à la forme, en évitant les accumulations qui agacent le lecteur ou les expressions trop typiques d'une région, etc. Les moyens ou stratégies du traducteur varient considérablement et dépendent de la nature des traits culturels, de la fonction remplie par le dialecte ou le sociolecte dans le texte. La finalité de la traduction sera relative, car variable en fonction du type de texte et de l'effet recherché par le traducteur : la traduction d'un dialecte pour une représentation théâtrale sera différente de la traduction d'un recueil de poésie. La perte étant inévitable et la déperdition inhérente à l'acte de communication, la quête de l'équivalent parfait ou compensateur prend peu à peu l'allure de la quête du Graal et semble relever de l'utopie.

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V

**METODOLOGIJA UČENJA JEZIKA/
LANGUAGE TEACHING METHODOLOGY**

Apstrakt: Problemi u prevođenju teksta struke mogu biti izazvani ne samo neadekvatnom lingvističkom kompetencijom već i nedovoljnim poznavanjem organizacije diskursa. Usvajanje određenih diskursnih obrazaca pomaže u identifikovanju i rešavanju problema vezanih za razumevanje, tumačenje i prevođenje teksta struke. Za potrebe rada analizirani su prevodi studenata društveno-humanističkog usmerenja iz oblasti istorije, sociologije, istorije umetnosti i pedagogije koji pokazuju da, bez eksplicitnog poučavanja o specifičnoj organizaciji akademskog diskursa, studenti najčešće nisu u stanju da prepoznaju i adekvatno koriste neke diskursne obrasce. U okviru nastave trebalo bi posvetiti više pažnje aktivnostima koje bi studente učinili osetljivim na naročitu retoričku strukturu teksta struke.

Ključne reči: jezik struke, prevođenje, akademski diskurs, diskursni obrasci.

Uvod

Prevođenje kao instrument učenja stranog jezika imalo je burnu istoriju. Najpre je sa gramatičko-prevodnim metodom umeće prevođenja bilo poistovećeno sa osnovnim ciljem nastave i učenja stranog jezika, da bi nešto kasnije, s pojavom bihevioristički utemeljenih audio-oralnih metoda bilo proglašeno iz učionice, kao osnovni krivac za interferencije maternjeg jezika u strani. Pojmovno-funkcionalni i komunikativni metod, ali i kognitivna psihologija, bili su nešto blaži u oceni prevođenja kao jedne od jezičkih veština koja ima svoje mesto u nastavi stranog jezika. Ispitivanja su pokazala da i u spontanom učenju govornik pribegava strategijama poređenja maternjeg i stranog jezika: prevođenje je, pre svega, svojevrsna provera razumevanja.

Iako se u savremeno doba vežbama prevođenja priznaje izvesna korisnost ukoliko se ta strategija koristi promišljeno i selektivno, nije sasvim jasno mesto prevođenja u savremenoj glotodidaktičkoj orijentaciji. Zajednički evropski referentni okvir, na primer, veštinu prevođenja potpuno isključuje. Razlog za to neki nalaze u neprimerenosti ove veštine kao parametra, zbog internacionalnog karaktera certifikacije jezičkih sposobnosti (Calvi 2003:8). Ipak, gotovo svaki pojedinac naći će se pre ili kasnije, iako mu prevođenje nije poziv, u situaciji da treba nešto da prevede. Iz perspektive komunikativne kompetencije i lingvopragmatike, umeće korišćenja jezika, tzv. *savoir faire* upravo znači sposobnost da se u realnim situacijama pojedinac služi jezikom, što nužno uključuje i veštinu prevođenja. Prevođenje uključuje i određenu metalingvističku i kontrastivnu svest neophodnu u „baratanju“ jezicima u kontaktu.

Prevođenje u nastavi jezika struke - neki problemi

Nastava jezika struke specifična je pre svega po tome što jezik tretira ne kao cilj već kao sredstvo kojim se dolazi do cilja - saznanja i unapređivanja neke druge struke. U tom kontekstu i prevođenje kao jedna od relevantnih veština opstaje, doduše uz niz specifičnosti koje ovaj vid prevođenja u mnogome odvajaju od onog na filološkim i prevodilačkim studijama. Glavna razlika leži u utilitarnom karakteru prevoda kojem estetska dimenzija, naročito kada je u pitanju pedagoški prevod, tj.

prevod u okviru nastave jezika struke, nije prva niti najbitnija preokupacija: ona ustupa mesto tačnom i preciznom transponovanju značenja osnovnih postulata i informacija stručnog karaktera koje izvorni tekst nosi.

Učenicima jezika struke teškoću u prevođenju teksta struke ne predstavlja samo specijalistički vokabular i sintaksičko-stilističke odlike koje imaju uporište u opštem jeziku, već i diskursne specifičnosti gde su lingvistički izbori uslovljeni pragmatičkim faktorima. Ako se tekst smatra vidljivim dokazom interakcije između pisca i čitaoca (Hoey 2001:11) svako ko hoće da pronikne u njegovu organizaciju i da ga interpretira mora se navići na određene obrasce, signale i uputstva diskursa koji su rasuti po celom tekstu. Upoznavši se s njima, čitalac se osposobljava da bez većih teškoća analizira i interpretira tekst date discipline.

U praksi, međutim, problem jeste u tome što učenici jezika struke često nisu svesni specifičnosti jednog neknjiževnog teksta, a s obzirom na institucionalne okvire nastave stranog jezika struke, fond časova i heterogenost grupa, nastavnici ne uspevaju uvek da obrate dovoljnu pažnju na ovaj segment učenja. Otuda se često prevodi bez pripreme, bez uvodnih časova posvećenih upravo tekstualnim i retoričkim specifičnostima tekstova struke i mogućim strategijama i tehnikama analiziranja, interpretiranja i transponovanja teksta, kao što su npr. izvlačenje primarnih i sekundarnih informacija, njihovo dijagramsko ili shematsko prikazivanje kao međukorak na putu od recepcije teksta do konačnog prevoda na drugi jezik, ukazivanje na postojanje diskursnih obrazaca i signala diskursa koji na te obrasce ukazuju i sl.

Učenici najčešće nisu svesni razlike koja postoji kod prevođenja književnog teksta (čime su se u manjoj ili većoj meri bavili u učenju nekog opšteg stranog jezika) i teksta struke, naročito s obzirom na svrhu prevođenja: bave se, često nepotrebno, estetskim uobličavanjem teksta koji je namenjen širenju naučnih i stručnih informacija, a ne estetskom doživljaju *per se*. U pokušaju da tekst ne prevedu bukvalno, učenici ponekad zanemaruju izvorni tekst, odstupaju u nedopustivoj meri od njega, dodajući proizvoljno značenja i tumačenja, „prepravljajući ga“ po svom nahodanju, često nesvesni da ga time drastično menjaju, oduzimajući mu originalnost i celovitost. Kao posledica ovakvog slobodnog prevođenja tekstova nauke i struke, nastaju ne retko krupne, materijalne greške u prevodima tekstova struke čiji su autori stručnjaci discipline kojoj tekst pripada, ali nedovoljno upućeni u načela i tehnike prevođenja za potrebe nauke i struke. Jedan od problema predstavlja i nepoznavanje ključnih diskursnih obrazaca i signala koji na njih ukazuju, ali koje učenici, „naoružani“ čak i rečnikom, često nisu u stanju da uoče, prepoznaju i iskoriste.

Kompozicija akademskog teksta struke

Kompozicija naučnog teksta ima ustaljenu strukturu zasnovanu na određenim diskursnim obrascima koji se još od sedamdesetih godina XX veka proučavaju (Hoey 2001:70), ali pedagoški se kod nas još uvek nedovoljno eksploatišu. Različite kulture često u manjoj ili većoj meri različito pristupaju izradi i interpretaciji teksta, izražavanju ideja i donošenju zaključaka. Otuda se kontrastivna retorika, grana tekst lingvistike za koju se obično vezuje pre svih ime Roberta Kaplana (Kaplan 1966), specijalizovala za poređenje i kontrastiranje različitih strategija organizacije teksta u različitim kulturama. Nepostojanje svesti o različitim sociokulturnim retoričkim modelima koji se mogu pojaviti u diskursu nauke i struke mogu

predstavljati problem učenicima stranog jezika. Evropski jezici, ipak, uz manja razilaženja, poznaju mahom slične diskursne obrasce, što je slučaj i sa italijanskim i srpskim jezikom kojima ćemo se mi ovde baviti, ali nepripremljeni učenici mogu te sličnosti prenebregnuti umesto da ih iskoriste za rad na tekstu.

Mi smo pri analizi tekstova u vidu imali akademski diskurs, budući da se jezik struke kod nas vezuje pre svega za visokoškolski nivo učenja jezika za potrebe studiranja i profesije. Obradeni su prevodi studenata koji italijanski jezik uče kao jezik struke i u okviru ispita na drugoj godini studija imaju proveru prevođenja teksta struke u obimu od 250-300 reči. Budući da se jezik izučava četiri semestra sa fondom časova od 4 časa nedeljno, bez ikakvog predznanja, tj. od nivoa A1, tek u četvrtom semestru moguće je baviti se ozbiljnije pojedinim akademskim tekstovima i tekstovima struke.

Akademski diskurs lingvistički možemo odrediti kao jezik u upotrebi, a sociološki kao međuljudsku aktivnost čiju formu određuje njena socijalna svrha. U okviru akademskog diskursa, kao što smo već napomenuli, posebno je zanimljivo pitanje retoričkih strategija koje ga jasno odvajaju od bilo kog drugog tipa diskursa. Postoji niz formalnih sredstava koja treba da nađu mesto u okviru nastave jezika struke i to upravo u momentu kada se od opšteg jezika kreće ka specijalističkom diskursu budući da upravo ta sredstva obezbeđuju preciznost i logičnost akademskom diskursu i poštuju tipiziranost tekstova nauke.

Diskursni obrasci

Postojanje diskursnih obrazaca povezano je usko s konceptom interkulturalnosti. Jezik je neodvojiv od sociokulturne konfiguracije duboko usađene u stvarnost i izražavanje stvarnosti jedne govorne zajednice. Analiza diskursa pokazuje da diskurs ne može postojati izvan datog sociokulturnog konteksta u kojem se koristi, a da se intepretiranje diskursa oslanja u velikoj meri na kontekstualne okvire, na kulturne faktore koji utiču na organizaciju diskursa i izbor sredstava kojim će se diskurs realizovati. Otuda se može smatrati da je diskurs aspekt jedne kulture i sistem značenja u jednom društvu: diskurs nije individualan niti indiosinkritički već zajednički svim pripadnicima date kulture (Merry 1990:110). To važi i za kulturu shvaćenu u užem smislu, kao i za kulturu jedne naučne ili stručne zajednice, koja deli, između ostalog, i iste karakteristike i obrasce diskursa. Kada je reč o jeziku struke, interkulture varijacije mogu biti još izraženije, s obzirom na to da se pored sociokulturnih faktora ne smeju zaboraviti interpretativne sheme profesionalne zajednice koja tekst recipira, a od kojih u mnogome zavisi interpretacija i razumevanje teksta (Gotti 2003). I pored uniformnosti tekstova iste naučne ili stručne oblasti, pre svega na leksičkom planu, tekstovi struke na retoričkom i tekstulanom planu pod jakim su uticajem kognitivnih obrazaca i konvencija diskursa date zajednice.

Analiza diskursa pomerila je težište analize teksta sa rečeničnog nivoa na nadrečenični. Presudna postaje uloga funkcionalnih segmenata jednog diskursa koji su, zaista, nekada oličeni u rečenici, ali i u većim odlomcima, čak i u čitavom paragrafu. Ovi segmenti mogu, prema Mek Kartiju (McCarthy 1991:155), biti dovedeni u vezu zahvaljujući kognitivnim odnosima koji se među njima uspostavljaju (uzrok-posledica, instrument-postignuće i sl.), ili pak odnosima poređenja (kontrast, ekvivalentnost i sl.) Kada se individualni segmenti teksta kombinuju tako da čine celovitu logičku strukturu može se govoriti o diskursnim

obrasima, kao što je npr. obrazac problem-rešenje, ili obrazac tvrdnja-protivtvrdnja, opšte-specifično i sl. Diskursni obrazac, dakle, na makroplanu, podrazumeva logičko ustrojstvo ideja koje čine jedan tekst, i bitan je faktor tekstualne koherencije. U svom pojavnom obliku, diskursni obrazac može biti manji ili veći, može biti inkorporiran u veći obrazac ili može sadržati druge obrasce u sebi.

Budući da se diskursni obrasci manifestuju u funkcionalnim odnosima među tekstualnim segmentima, a neki se od njih u tekstovima pojavljuju veoma često, ti obrasci postaju ukorenjeni kao deo onoga što Mek Karti (McCarthy 1991:57) naziva *cultural knowledge*. Diskursni obrasci kao pokazatelji odnosa leksičko-gramatičkih jedinica i tematskih segmenata teksta imaju uvek svoju specifičnu funkciju (predikcija, kontrast, poređenje, sekvenca, procena, iznošenje mišljenja, opovrgavanje, potvrđivanje, postavljanje hipoteze, ubeđivanje, sumiranje, identifikovanje odnosa i sl.) koja služi kao svojevrsan signal recipijentu teksta. (Tabela 1 predstavlja pregled najznačajnijih diskursnih obrazaca u tekstovima struke na italijanskom jeziku). No, ove signale nepripremljeno oko olako previđa. Pronalaženje obrazaca u tekstu i interpretacija odnosa između tekstualnih segmenata jeste kognitivni čin čitaoca, koji je aktivni učesnik u tekstualnoj interakciji. Čitalac se pri tom služi autorovim tragovima i signalima u tekstu u onoj meri u kojoj je tih elemenata svestan, koliko je sa njima upoznat.

FUNKCIJA U JEZIKU STRUKE	DISKURSNI OBRAZAC
Opisivanje	X si distingue per...; in X si ha...;
Procenjivanje	Si stima...; Ci si può aspettare..
Redosled - sekvenca	Prima...poi; In primo luogo...in secondo luogo;
Predikcija	In base a X si può aspettare che...
Davanje mišljenja uz potrekrepljenje	Sono dell'opinione che...dato che; A mio avviso...visto che; dal mio punto di vista X...;
Izražavanje uzroka i posledice	X è....perché/dal momento che/in quanto;...dovuto a..; dato X, ...,
Zaključivanje	ne cosome che..., se ne deduce che... se X...allora Y;
Poređenje	Sia...che; tanto...quanto, più che X, Y..;
Kontrast	Da un lato...dall'altro...; mentreX ..., Y; X e diverso da Y perché...
Izražavanje hipoteze	Supponiamo che...; Se X..., allora Y..;
Persuazivnost	Come si vede...come si può concludere...non c'è dubbio che..., è conforme al vero che..., di regola/di norma
Rezimiranje	Per riassumere...In conclusione..., tutto sommato..., tutto considerato;

Tabela 1. Pregled važnijih diskursnih obrazaca u italijanskom jeziku struke

Diskursni obrasci u prevodima studenata

Koliko god se nastavnicima činilo da su diskursni obrasci teksta struke i nauke opšte poznati i ukorenjeni u kulturni model svakog pojedinca koji pretenduje na mesto u akademskoj i naučnoj zajednici, istraživanja pokazuju da se svest o postojanju ovakvih obrazaca ne može uzimati zdravo za gotovo, već se na njih mora ukazivati i na njima mora insistirati u nastavi jezika struke.

Da bismo ispitali eventualnu osetljivost naših studenata na postojanje diskursnih obrazaca uobičajenih za određeni tip teksta struke analizirali smo 48 prevoda iz oblasti sociologije, istorije umetnosti, istorije i pedagogije koji se obrađuju na početku četvrtog semestra učenja, pre nego što se studenti upoznaju sa osnovama prevođenja za akademske i profesionalne potrebe. Iako ovi studenti svakako još uvek ne čitaju redovno stručnu literaturu na italijanskom, svi već vladaju u manjoj ili većoj meri engleskim jezikom, a mnogi i još jednim stranim jezikom, što bi moglo biti od pomoći ukoliko su koristili literaturu sličnog tipa bar na tim jezicima. Podrazumeva se, takođe, da su posle tri semestra studiranja već pročitali određeni broj tekstova sličnog tipa na maternjem jeziku. Svaki student prevodio je, uz pomoć rečnika, tekst iz discipline koju izučava na osnovnim studijama, i to iz gradiva koje je do trećeg semestra studentima obavezno već poznato. Analizu su, zbog veće objektivnosti, vršili uz predmetnog nastavnika i jedan sociolog, jedan istoričar, jedan istoričar umetnosti i jedan pedagog - studenti poslediplomskih studija koji su svojevremeno na drugoj godini uspešno položili ispit iz italijanskog jezika. Osnovni parametri kojima smo se vodili u analizi bili su: (a) preciznost u prenošenju ključnih informacija u tekstu i (b) organizacija diskursa u prevedenom tekstu. Radovi su nakon analize podeljeni u tri kategorije: A - sasvim zadovoljavajući, B - zadovoljavajući uz određene korekcije i C - potpuno nezadovoljavajući.

Od ukupnog broja prevoda, 6 studenata (12,5%) prevelo je tekst ispravno, prenoseći sve informacije tačno i koristeći u prevodu signale diskursnih obrazaca koji su u skladu sa tekstem originala. Njihovi prevodi svrstani su u kategoriju A. U kategoriju B svrstano je 32 rada (66,6 %) i to su oni koji nam daju najviše podataka o tome kojim strategijama i tehnikama prevođenja naši studenti od ranije raspolažu, ali i koje su njihove „slabije tačke“ na kojima se mora više raditi. U kategoriju C svrstano je 10 radova (20, 83 %) koji su bili ili nezavršeni, ili u većoj meri nerazumljivi.

Kada je reč o diskursnim obrascima, bez obzira na uspešnost prevoda u smislu prenetog informativnog sadržaja teksta, većina studenata (osim u prevodima kategorije A i u 12 radova iz kategorije B) nije dovoljno poštovala kompoziciju teksta i nije koristila odgovarajuće ekvivalente diskursnih obrazaca. U preostalih 20 radova iz kategorije B nije došlo do većeg nerazumevanja i pogrešnog prenošenja informacija iz teksta originala, ali je izostalo odgovarajuće retoričko ustrojstvo teksta. Studenti su, verovatno trudeći se da prevedu što tačnije smisao teksta, manje vodili računa o tekstualno-retoričkim pitanjima. Diskursni obrasci nisu dovoljno jasno istaknuti u prevodima, signali koji na njih upućuju često su bili prenebregnuti, izostavljani ili čak pogrešno interpretirani (naročito u C tekstovima). Problem „dodavanja“ značenja i arbitrarnog konstruisanja elemenata kojih u izvornom tekstu nema pokazali su se kao najozbiljnija smetnja pravilnom prevodu tekstova, pronađena u 18 slučajeva (37,5%). Uzrok tome mogao bi se tražiti, između ostalog, i u činjenici da je tematika tekstova studentima bila poznata, te da

su otuda, više nego što su prevodili, ponekad iznosili elemente sopstvenog predznanja stečenog u nejezičkoj nastavi.

Analiza grešaka osim toga jasno je pokazala da je određeni broj studenata, prevodeći onako kako je jedino umeo, reč po reč, posmatrao elemente od kojih je diskursni obrazac sačinjen izolovano, a ne kao istu jedinicu diskursne strukture. Neuspeh u prevodu diskursnih obrazaca može se objasniti nedovoljnom kompetencijom dela studenata u dekodiranju teksta na stranom jeziku: budući da prevode reč po reč, linearno, studenti pristupaju tekstu *bottom up* tehnikom, te tako gube iz vida makro obrasce i globalnu strukturu. Efikasan čitalac, a zatim i onaj ko tekst prevodi, treba da koristi simultano i *bottom up* i *top down* tehniku (Urquhart 1998:220). Rezultati do kojih smo došli kvalitativnom analizom tekstova nemaju pretenziju da budu opštevažeći i konačni, ali su u pedagoškom smislu dragoceni jer predstavljaju polazište za preispitivanje nekih segmenata nastave koji se mogu menjati i prilagođavati našem akademskom kontekstu, sa ciljem poboljšanja nastave stranog jezika struke i postignuća studenata.

Pedagoške implikacije

Kako bi se otklonili ovakvi problemi u prevodenju tekstova za potrebe studenata nefiloloških usmerenja, potrebno je da se u nastavu uvede neki vid aktivnosti sračunate na podizanje svesti učenika o postojanju tipičnih struktura i organizacije teksta oličenih u diskursnim obrascima koji uslovljavaju i određene leksičke izbore. Prevodenje tekstova struke i nauke iziskuje stalno vraćanje i pozivanje na specifičnu segmentaciju akademskog diskursa. Studente treba upoznati sa najfrekventnijim diskursnim obrascima i njihovim pojavnim oblicima i signalima. Treba ih obučiti da preuzmu aktivnu ulogu u analiziranju teksta, u interakciji sa tekstem, što se može postići tehnikama „sekciranja“ teksta, raslojavanja, poređenja teksta sa jasno istaknutim diskursnim obrascima i teksta gde se diskursni obrasci teže uočavaju, shematskim prikazima obrazaca i sl. Nastava jezika ne sme se koncentrisati isključivo na usvajanje specijalističkog vokabulara i specifičnog registra, već i na razvijanje svesti o žanru kod studenata. To podrazumeva da se diskursni obrasci uče eksplicitno, kontinuiranim praćenjem njihovog pojavljivanja u tekstovima analiziranim na času, kao pokazatelji određenih konvencija koje važe u ovom tipu diskursa, što može biti od pomoći u dekodiranju i prevodenju tekstova struke.

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THE SOCIO-CULTURAL EMBODIMENT OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS

Abstract: This paper considers the socio-cultural embodiment of conceptual metaphors and the validity of their use in the classroom. We will discuss two different aspects of the link between conceptual metaphor and culture: on the one hand, conceptual metaphors are regarded as potentially universal since evidence has shown that different languages and cultures conceptualise certain phenomena in similar ways due to the universal aspects of the human body; on the other hand, conceptual metaphors, as the reflection of cognitive structures which certain societies tend to convey, have "local" character in the sense that metaphors may be seen as indicators of cultural differences. The latter is of particular pedagogical importance, since even indirect links between metaphor and culture may be a valid argument for including "cultural awareness" into foreign language curricula.

Key words: conceptual metaphors, universal conceptual metaphors, culturally-specific metaphors

1. Two sides of the same coin - the universality and the specificity of conceptual metaphors

Lakoff and Johnson's book *Metaphors we live by* (1980) was revolutionary in many ways. It not only marked the radical departure from previous, classical theories of language, where metaphor was seen as a matter of language, *not* thought, but also the beginning of a painstaking and fruitful research into the two complementary issues of the universality and the specificity of metaphors.

"We are neural beings," Lakoff states in one of his interviews.¹ "Our brains take their input from the rest of our bodies. What our bodies are like and how they function in the world thus structures the very concepts we can use to think. We cannot think just anything – only what our embodied brains permit." This very quotation encompasses two key aspects of contemporary conceptual metaphor. On the one hand, conceptual metaphor is embodied, i.e. it is strongly contingent on our physical experience. In other words, there are a number of the so called primary metaphors² which are shared by humans irrespective of time and place. One of these primary metaphors is AFFECTION IS WARMTH whose conspicuous physical basis dates back to our earliest days when the simple act of our parent's embrace made us feel warm and secure. We experience the distinct physiological sensation of an increase in our body temperature connected with the subjective judgement of affection. The following metaphorical expressions in English are the linguistic realisations of our inner, physiological experience, i.e. of the metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH: She's a *warm* person. / They gave me a *warm* welcome. / My love for her still *smoulders*.³ Similar metaphorical expressions have also been amply documented in other languages, and Serbian is no exception. Thus, linguistic, verbal metaphors

¹ Available at: http://www.edge.org/3rd_culture/lakoff/lakoff_p1.html.

² Joe Grady (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 45-60) is credited with formulating the theory of primary metaphors. Primary metaphors are fundamental metaphors that are shared across many cultures and are physically-based. Some of the examples include the following metaphors: AFFECTION IS WARMTH, DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS, CATEGORIES ARE CONTAINERS, TIME IS MOTION etc.)

³ The examples have been taken from the Conceptual Metaphor Home page available at: <http://cogsci.berkeley.edu/lakoff/>.

such as - *Toplo sam ga dočekala./ Priredila mi je toplu dobrodošlicu. / U njemu još uvek tinja nekadašnja ljubav.* - are some of the instances which substantiate the evidence of the potentially universal character of this metaphor which is conceptualized by way of "thermic experience".⁴

On the other hand, the above quotation from Lakoff's interview also points to the second major aspect of metaphors, their neuropsychological foundation. Being one of the body parts, our brain is also embodied, so if metaphors are located in the body the corollary is that they are also located in the brain. According to Grady (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 50), the sensorimotor domain in the AFFECTION IS WARMTH metaphor is the temperature which is produced when we are engaged in some intensive activity such as love or affection. Neurological and neuropsychological evidence has shown that some intensive activity is closely linked to a particular neural region, or more precisely, to the target domain of the brain, which, when activated, produces particular sensations in the area of the brain which controls the sensorimotor domain or rather, the source domain of the brain. This and other documented examples of primary metaphors are extremely obvious, and their obviousness arises from their commonality and the fact that they happen unconsciously or automatically. Kövecses writes that we cannot choose our primary metaphors because they are our prime bodily experiences, hence universal. "In other words, universal primary experiences produce universal primary metaphors." (Kövecses, 2005: 3).

Another metaphor which also provides unequivocal evidence for being marked as universal or at best near-universal is the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT, based on the PRESSURIZED CONTAINER metaphor. The metaphor is manifested in language through the following metaphorical expressions in English: *She's a real hothead./ You make my blood boil./ She got all steamed up./ He exploded./ He has a fiery temper.* Kövecses (2002, 2006) identified both the universal and the specific character of the ANGER metaphor. Gathering data from such diverse languages as Hungarian, Japanese, Chinese, Zulu and Polish and comparing them with English, Kövecses determined that ANGER IS HEAT, or rather, its super-ordinate metaphor ANGER IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER, has universal character because of human physiology. In other words, the appearance of anger is concurrent with some objectively measurable bodily changes, such as an increase in skin temperature, blood pressure, intense respiration and other manifestations of the autonomic nervous system. This certainly allows for the strong experiential basis of this metaphor and substantiates the concept of the embodiment of conceptual metaphors. Kövecses argues that the universality of conceptual metaphors stems from the fact that they occur at generic level, which may serve to explain why unrelated languages conceptualise, in this case, anger in almost the same way.

However, different metaphorical entailments manifested in language via metaphorical expressions show that the universal physiological basis does not necessarily produce universal conceptualisation. Thus, in Hungarian, the PRESSURISED CONTAINER metaphor includes not only the body as a whole, such as is the case in English, but also the head; the principal container for anger in Japanese

⁴ Nunez, R. E. "Mathematical Idea Analysis: What Embodied Cognitive Science Can Say About the Human Nature of Mathematics". Available at: http://www.cogsci.ucsd.edu/~nunez/web/PME24_Plenary.pdf

is *hara* i.e. belly (e.g. the English translation of a Japanese sentence is: The *intestines* are boiling.), while the Zulu CONTAINER is in the heart (Kövecses, 2002: 166-169). Yu's findings (1995) suggest that the conceptualisation of anger in Chinese, unlike English, seems to be based on pressure, not on pressure *and* heat.

Therefore, numerous instances of not only different conceptual metaphors but also of disparate examples of some primary conceptual metaphors in different languages have led many cognitive linguists to reasonably assume that some other dimensions, apart from embodiment, are the cause of conceptual dissimilarities. Broader cultural contexts, along with other aspects, such as social or personal history, have been identified as being the most important. According to Kövecses, metaphor variations across cultures tend to materialize at a specific level, producing different cross-domain mappings between the source and the target. For example, Keiko Matsuki clarifies that in Japanese *hara* constitutes the inner self (*honne*), anger being one of its parts, which is contrasted with *tatamae*, representing one's social face. Furthermore, Yu explains the basis of the ANGER metaphor by the theories of *yin-yang* and the five elements of traditional Chinese medicine. Conceptual metaphors thus have a strong dual character - being strongly neurologically and physiologically embedded on the one hand, they are potentially universal and, being a reflection of the cognitive structures that a certain community tries to convey on the other, they have a strong "local" character in the sense that they represent an indicator of certain cultural differences. Hence, if metaphors as the conceptual systems of our mind are tangible via language, i.e. metaphorical verbal expressions, and if language is an inseparable part of culture, it follows that conceptual metaphors are an intrinsic part of culture. In other words, although primary metaphors are physical in nature, they are not always the same for every culture, which leads us to believe that there is a higher or lower degree of universality, i.e. a higher or lower degree of specificity of metaphors.

In the following section we will present some of the major findings of cross-cultural studies of metaphor in the realm of Applied Linguistics. All these studies are comparative analyses of English (British or American) with some other European language, and in addition to their huge pedagogical impact, they may also be viewed as an attempt to delineate some cultural patterns on the basis of the prevailing metaphors under consideration.

2. The specificity of conceptual metaphors in Applied Linguistics

The publication of Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors we live by* also heralded the growing interest of applied linguists in the implementation of the basic tenets of conceptual metaphor theory in foreign language learning. This refers to studies concerning "raising metaphor awareness" both in the field of foreign language learning in general as well as that of languages for specific purposes, e.g. the language of economics. According to Boers (2003: 231) there are two noticeable tendencies regarding research into the metaphoricity of language in Applied Linguistics. On the one side, applied linguists attempt to identify the underlying metaphoric models of language learning, while on the other, they attempt to explore the overall pedagogical implications of the use of metaphors in foreign language acquisition. Moreover, increasing research both in Applied Linguistics and Cognitive Linguistics regarding the cross-cultural study of metaphor has given rise to

the emergence of a new discipline labelled "Applied Cognitive Linguistics" (Kövecses, 2003: 311).

In order to show to what extent speakers of English have different conceptualisation in comparison to speakers of other European languages, we have chosen to present the results of four studies: Deignan et al. (1997), Deignan and Potter (2004), Deignan et al. (1998), and Kövecses (2003). These studies emphasise one of the causes of metaphor variations across cultures - the so called salience of the source domain, i.e. the fact that "geographical or cultural differences might mean that for speakers of one language a particular domain is salient and thus drawn on as a source domain for metaphors" (Deignan, 2003: 259).

In the study carried out by Deignan, Gabrys and Solska (1997), the authors tried to identify the areas of differences in conceptual metaphors between English and Polish by translating English metaphorical expressions into Polish. Although the study is primarily aimed at the pedagogical implications of the use of metaphors, it is significant for three main metaphor realisations identified by the authors. In spite of the numerous similarities in metaphors between English and Polish, which Deignan et al. label as the *same conceptual metaphor and equivalent linguistic expression*, there are also conspicuous differences when the *same conceptual metaphors are realised through different metaphorical expressions*. For example, the conceptual metaphor, IDEAS ARE FOOD, is realised in Polish by means of the linguistic metaphor which, when literally translated, means 'unripe', which is not used metaphorically in English and should be substituted with 'half-baked'. The most interesting and at the same time the most beneficial for language learning are the examples of *different conceptual metaphors*. For instance, the metaphorical expression of the metaphor RATIONAL IS UP, although conceptualised by some Polish students in the same way as in English, was also translated by the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS MAGIC (the Polish translation equivalent of the italicised words in the English sentence - 'It may be that you *have simply been swept off your feet* by an office romance that has no place in the real world' is - *zaurozyc*, which means 'charm, cast a spell').

The results of this study indicate the difficulty involved in determining the extent to which conceptual metaphors are completely culture-specific. The very fact that in some languages, Polish being a case in point, the same conceptual metaphors may be conceptualised either in the same way as in English or by means of metaphorical expressions belonging to different conceptual metaphors may be reconcilable with those views which hold that language-specific metaphors are somewhat less fundamental than those which are equally shared by both languages.

The study by Deignan and Potter (2004) investigates the notion of metaphor as an expression of embodied experience which relies on the metaphorical expressions for some body parts in British English and Italian. As the authors indicate, "a central issue in the cross-linguistic study of metaphor is the extent to which we draw on human universals in order to create shared metaphors." (2004: 1234). They chose four body parts in English, nose, mouth, eye and heart, which proved to have extensive metaphorical uses in Italian (their Italian translation equivalents are *naso*, *bocca*, *occhio* and *cuore*). In spite of the numerous conceptual similarities between the two languages, the authors found some evidence of different metaphorical expressions which rather accounted for interactions between metonymy and metaphor. For example, a search of the Italian corpora suggests that while Italian

has a wider range of expressions in which *bocca* ('mouth') stands for the target domain of eating, e.g. "*essere di bocca buona*" (literal English translation: *to be of good mouth*), and by way of extension it stands metaphorically for feelings and behaviour, i.e. for somebody who is easily pleased, in English, however, 'mouth' stands for the target domain of speech (e.g. "keep one's mouth shut"). Similar slight differences of non-literal senses were also found for the other words involved in the research - e.g. for 'heart' where the differences were noted in relation to the expression "from the bottom of one's heart." (In English it has the main meaning of sincerity, while the translation equivalent in Italian may also refer to feelings that remain concealed).

The aspect of the prominence of the source domain of metaphor was also investigated in the study carried out by Deignan, Lima, and Lòpez-Mora (1998), this time in relation to the differences in the representation of English and Spanish metaphors. Different metaphorical dispersion was discovered in cases when, for example, metaphors in English which draw on the domain of horse-racing (e.g. *neck and neck*, *first-past-the-post* which map onto British politics) are not present in Spanish, and vice versa, when Spanish metaphors based on bull-fighting (which map onto the target domain of argument such as "*Ver los toros desde la barrea*" = literally "*to watch the bulls from the fence*" i.e. remain neutral in an argument, sit on the fence), and religion are non-existent in English. The study is founded on those domains which are most likely to differ because of certain stereotypical cultural differences. Nevertheless, the documented differences are not based on isolated word metaphors but on idiomatic expressions which when analysed reveal the mappings of the sequences of some prototypical situations, i.e. the knowledge associated with them. The example that directly correlates with cross-cultural differences in metaphor use is the Spanish metaphor "*No ser santo de tu devoción*" = (literally) "*not to be the saint of your devotion*" (i.e. not be the type of thing that you like), which belongs to the conceptual domain of religion. The authors point out that the most accurate translation of this metaphor in British English would be "*not be your cup of tea*," which in turn recalls a very British cultural stereotype.

When comparing linguistic metaphors from English (precisely American English) with their Hungarian translation equivalents in researching what is probably one of the most analysed conceptual metaphors in cognitive linguistic literature, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, Kövecses proves that "Two languages may share a conceptual metaphor and the conceptual metaphor may be expressed by largely overlapping metaphorical expressions, but the expressions can reveal subtle differences in the cultural-ideological background in which the conceptual metaphor functions." (2003: 315). The manifested differences indicate that English uses active words and constructions which stress the deliberate action on the part of the agents, while in Hungarian the relative passivity of the agents is noted, verified not only through the absence of active verbs, but also through the agents' way of participating in a love relationship. Kövecses also points to the differences regarding the decision-making process which seems to be influenced by the internal considerations of the active agents in English, while external conditions are at work in Hungarian. In addition, the metaphorical expressions in English bear witness to the fact that the agents i.e. partners actively participate in overcoming the obstacles in their relationship, i.e. they actively undertake goal-oriented activities, while their Hungarian metaphorical counterparts suggest resignation on the partners' side and the calm acceptance of forces beyond their control. The author thinks that the noted differences may relate

to a more fatalistic attitude to life in Hungarian culture, while the evident degree of explicitness and extroversion is rather an American cultural trait, one not readily shared by other cultures. Although the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY is very cognitively motivated since it is based on a universal human experience, i.e. the metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, it is also deeply culturally motivated. In other words, "conceptual metaphors are just as much cultural entities as they are cognitive ones." (Kövecses 2003: 319).

3. Cross-cultural metaphors and ESP

Comparative studies regarding metaphor variation across cultures have also been conducted in the field of ESP, particularly in regard to economic metaphors. For example, Boers and Demecheleer (1997, 2001) studied metaphors in economic texts in English, French and Dutch. They found differences in the frequencies of various metaphors across the three languages and ascribed them to cultural factors. The authors suggest that "one way of estimating the salience of a given metaphoric theme is counting the variety and the frequency of occurrence of its expressions in a linguistic corpus." (2001: 256). The results of the frequency analysis show that there is a preference in British English for metaphoric idioms which exploit the domain of HATS which is in contrast to the preferred imagery of SLEEVES in French. The findings which suggest that French-speaking learners of English find it much easier to understand idiomatic expressions from the domain of FOOD, than those from the domain of SHIPS, which is, conversely, a far more prominent domain in British English (e.g. food metaphors were nearly three times as frequent in the French corpus as the English one) are particularly important.

Similar results in the field of economic metaphors have been provided by Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001), who compared the use of metaphors and their linguistic expressions in English and Spanish financial reports. Although both languages show a high level of conceptual and linguistic overlapping in all three conceptual metaphors researched: ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM, MARKET MOVEMENTS ARE PHYSICAL MOVEMENTS and SHARP MARKET MOVEMENTS ARE NATURAL DISASTERS, the frequency of certain linguistic metaphors may account for the differences identified. Similar to the previous study carried out by Boers and Demecheleer (1997), Charteris-Black and Ennis also provide evidence of the higher frequency of nautically based metaphors in British English as opposed to the preference for metaphorical expressions based on psychological states in Spanish. The authors tentatively suggest that this marked prominence of nautical metaphors and those referring to sailing and water in British English echo previous eras and the dominance of Britain as a naval force, while the linguistic metaphors in Spanish which draw on psychological mood may be ascribed to the still strong socio-cultural impact of religion in Spain, thus corroborating the findings of the study by Deignan et al. (1998), discussed above.

At the end of this section, we would like to mention another study which researched the ways in which Bangladeshi students interpreted economic metaphors, by identifying the value judgements underlying these metaphors. On the basis of Hofstede's cultural values questionnaire, which singles out four dimensions of cultural variability such as uncertainty avoidance, power distance, individualism versus collectivism, and ego versus social orientation, Littlemore (2003) discovered that Bangladeshi students favour uncertainty avoidance and high power distance,

which was in stark contrast with the evaluations preferred by their British lecturers. Littlemore assumed that the use of metaphors and their interpretation would be based on the students' inherent cultural values, i.e. the students' metaphor comprehension would be higher if it were in accordance with the lecturers' preferred cultural dimensions, and vice versa, it would be lower if it did not conform to the lecturers' value system. For example, the metaphor "*freeing up external trade*", which was offered as an example of uncertainty avoidance and the concept which exerted a positive influence on ailing economies in Western rhetoric caused misunderstanding among the Bangladeshi students. It seems that although this metaphor is based on the GOOD IS UP metaphor, which is supposed to be universal, Bangladeshi students have problems with their metaphor interpretation because of the country's strong reliance on protectionism, as a contrasting concept to free trade. Though the author herself admits to the rather tentative character of her conclusions, the study has important implications for the processing of metaphor and the different strategies that students use in order to decode the meaning of metaphorical concepts while wearing the value-loaded spectacles of the culture to which they belong.

4. Pedagogical implications

Are metaphors "a handicap or a useful tool in the classroom"? (Herrera and White 2000: 56). The studies presented in both the second and third part of this paper which investigated the pedagogical role of metaphors clearly suggest that the benefits of using metaphors as a pedagogical tool far outweigh the potential problems associated with it. The primary focus of all these studies has inevitably been to help students to increase their L2 vocabulary. Organizing subcategories of metaphors coupled with numerous metaphorical expressions, idioms and collocations under a topic conceptual metaphor offers both a solid and practical way of organizing new vocabulary to be learned since teaching is now more focused on metaphorical systems and a new, revamped version of building semantic networks by organizing vocabulary into metaphorical sets. This all leads to the enhancement of students' vocabulary acquisition strategies and the assimilation of unfamiliar figurative expressions. In addition, activities that incorporate metaphorical expressions may improve translation practice, as well as reading, writing and speaking skills. Potential problems may arise from the culturally-loaded nature of metaphorical expressions, since their meaning has to be worked out by students who may not share L2 cultural backgrounds. Nevertheless, the high proportion of similarities in the conceptualisation of concepts between two languages should have a positive effect on integrated language skills. Although the introduction of more culturally-specific metaphors into the classroom places significant demands on the majority of students, it does not mean that figurative language should be excluded from classes. Once the cultural backdrop is obtained, metaphors may significantly facilitate the overall understanding of the socio-cultural embodiment of a language. If L2 students are actively encouraged to interpret and adopt both conventionalised and more culture-specific metaphorical expressions, this will contribute to the development of "figurative thinking"⁵ which in turn should foster communication and understanding between L1 and L2 speakers.

⁵ The phrase is coined by Littlemore and Low (2006).

5. Concluding remarks

This descriptive study may be regarded as one more attempt to highlight the extremely complex nature of conceptual metaphors, which arises from their multi-faceted nature, metaphor being at the same time a linguistic, cognitive, neuropsychological, educational and socio-cultural phenomenon. The search for our collectively shared experience through primary metaphors along with the deeper exploration of our culture-specific conceptualisation, in various aspects of human knowledge, may increasingly help us find our way through the myriad of concepts around us, thus contributing to a better understanding of cultural diversity.

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PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION:
A FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM PERSPECTIVE

Abstract: The paper discusses some aspects of acquisitional pragmatics and possible ways of its didacticisation. Language learners, particularly those at more advanced stages of language proficiency, when attempting to decode the message and get its proper contextual meaning, need to develop the right level of sophistication not only in their linguistic and communicative competences, but also in the pragmatic and metaphoric competences. Such competences should sensitize the learners to the discursal and pragmatic layers of meaning of the message and enable them to decode its metaphorical levels - which can be very deeply culturally embedded. We propose a potentially useful teaching and learning technique, illustrating how some of the basic concepts of the theory of cultural scripts (Wierzbicka, 2006) can be introduced into the foreign language classroom.

Key words: pragmatic competence, intercultural communication, the theory of cultural scripts, language learning and language teaching

1. Introduction

The paper reports on the main results of a corpus-based and pedagogically oriented contrastive analytical project envisaged initially to complement and supplement the existing reference, descriptive and contrastive grammars of English and Serbo-Croat⁶ languages, and consequently other pedagogical materials. The analysis utilised the cognitive linguistic theoretical approach and focused, *inter alia*, on pragmatic principles governing the occurrence of the examined grammatical structures in interactive contexts. More recent stages of the project focus on pragma-linguistic structure of modern political discourse and public communication in general, pointing out its relevance in pedagogical contexts.

The analysis also points out that the pragmatic principles underlying the rules of usage of various grammatical segments, often quite neglected in traditional reference grammars and relevant pedagogical materials, need to be established and analysed in a socio-cultural context in which the examined instances are found to be naturally occurring. Examples are taken mainly from modern political discourses and public communication and observed within some more recent theoretical frameworks such as contrastive and intercultural pragmatics and the theory of cultural scripts (e.g. Wierzbicka, 2006), found to be able to provide an analytical apparatus capable of explaining the interaction between grammar, pragmatics and culture specific processes of conceptualisation. The concluding part of the paper will point out that further research within the proposed framework can yield contrastively valuable results which can be further applied to a variety of study fields, primarily to language pedagogy.

⁶ The term *Serbo-Croat* is here used as a sociolinguistically and glotto-politically neutral hyperonym denoting a linguistic system that encompasses all the idioms of the Štokavian speaking areas.

2. Contrastive pragma-semantics: a model of analysis

The contrastive project in question was originally set up with the aim to look more closely into the grammatical categories of verbal reflexivity and middleness exemplified in a set of related verbs in Serbo-Croat, the so-called 'se-verbs', verbs followed by the morpheme *se*, which is a multifunctional grammatical device, and their English translation and pragmatic equivalents. The categories were defined within the cognitivistic theoretical framework and their boundaries delimited in pragma-semantic terms.

The results of the analysis identified a clearly discernible semantic core denoting prototypical reflexivity grammatically encoded by the pure reflexive verbs in Serbo-Croat. Prototypical middleness, on the other hand, proved to be grammatically encoded by means of the so-called quasi-reflexive verbs. Other instances, denoting, passive, impersonal and modal semantics, were found to be standing further away from the semantic core denoting prototypical middleness, but still within its semantic domain. Their English translation equivalents, however, exhibited a number of grammatical manifestations capable of conveying the meaning of the observed notions. They include structures with the reflexive and reciprocal pronouns as that semantic core denoting prototypical reflexivity. Verbal intransitivity proved to be a grammatical category comfortably accommodating the majority of instances expressing prototypical middleness. More precisely, mutative and inchoative semantics seemed to be occupying the central position in this context, rendering into, and being rendered from, the majority of the Serbo-Croat *se*-instances denoting prototypical middleness (cf. Kurteš, 2003; 2005a; 2005b; 2006; 2008).

3. Developing pragmatic competence: theory and practice

More recent stages of the project focus on pragmatic principles and pragma-semantic characteristics underlying the usage of the grammatical segment in question, in particular how it appears to be used in some areas of public communication. The main objective of this part of the project is not just to establish its proper contextual meaning and rules governing its natural occurrence, but also to point out its pedagogical relevance and propose ways of introducing it into language teaching curricula. In what follows we shall briefly report on the preliminary findings and offer a possible theoretical interpretation of them.

The quasi-reflexive verbs, mainly of the *se₈* and *se₉* type ('reflexive' passives and impersonals), seem to occur with increasing frequency in modern political discourse and public communication in general⁷. Pragmatic and stylistic implications of that are still to be fully investigated, but what emerges as a dominant pragma-semantic effect is the opposite of what *se₈* and *se₉* structures have been defined as canonically denoting - in spite of the fact that the Agent cannot be specified in these structures, which is why they are in traditional grammatical literature known as 'deagentivised', 'impersonalised' structures, pragmatically speaking the focus is brought straight onto the (normally political) opponent of the speaker (Agent in this case), that consequently becomes easily retrievable from the context or the hearer's background knowledge - which contradicts the canonical definition of the

⁷ We have primarily looked into the situation in present-day Serbia and its modern political and public discourse.

structure. It becomes immediately clear whom the speaker is referring to, but at the same time, by using what - on the face of it - appears to be an impersonal grammatical structure whose agent cannot be notionally retrieved, protects him/herself from the danger of being either publicly accused of defamation or, in more extreme case scenarios, taken legal action against for libel. In a society that embraces the suing culture as one of life-style choices of the affluent and powerful, this seems to be a very effective protective strategy, and possibly a unique hedging device. Here are some more recent examples:

- (1) *Kada se moglo, tada se*
 when se-IMPERS can-PART:PASS NEUT then se-IMPERS
nije smelo, a sada, kada
 is not-AUX:3SG dare-PART:PASS NEUT and now when
se sme - ne može se⁸.
 se-IMPERS dare- PRES:3SG not-NEG can-PRES:3SG se-IMPERS
When it could have been done, nobody dared, and now, when there are people who dare - it cannot be done.
- (2) *Radi se na rasturanju koalicije.*
 work-PRES:3SG se-IMPERS on destroying-LOC coalition-GEN
There are attempts to destroy the coalition.
- (3) *Očekuje se smena ministra⁹.*
 expect-PRES:3SG se-IMPERS deposition-ACC minister-GEN
The minister is expected to be deposed.
- (4) *Sprema se moja likvidacija.*
 prepare-PRES:3SG se-IMPERS my-NOM liquidation-ACC
There are plans to kill me.
- (5) *Ja se ovde bestijalno blatim,*
 I se-PASS here bestially defame-PRES:1SG
stvari se vade iz konteksta¹⁰!
 things se-PASS take-PRES:3SG from context-GEN
I am being bestially defamed here, things are taken out of context!
- (6) *Igralo se najbolje što se moglo¹¹.*
 play- PART:PASS NEUT se-IMPERS best as se-IMPERS
 can-PART:PASS NEUT
They played the best they could.

⁸ A senior official's reply why Serbia failed to deliver a war crime suspect to the war crimes tribunal in the Hague.

⁹ A daily newspaper title.

¹⁰ (2), (4)-(6) heard at press conferences held by senior officials in Serbia about to be deposed.

¹¹ (6) heard at a press conference held by the coach of a Serbian national sports team explaining why their performance at an international competition did not live up to the expectations.

Preliminary results of the analysis suggest that the wider discursive and pragmatic framework for the interpretation of the phenomenon observed can be offered by the theory of cultural scripts, originally introduced by Wierzbicka (e.g. 1994; 1996; also Goddard and Wierzbicka (eds), 2004). The main construct of the theory essentially refers to “a technique for articulating cultural norms, values and practices using the [...] metalanguage of semantic primes as the medium of description” (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2007). The concept of language scripts testifies to the fact that natural languages are never culturally and pragmatically neutral, on the contrary, both lexically and grammatically languages carry identifiable ‘cultural baggage’, ethnopragmatic norms and values (cf. Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2007).

These norms change constantly, but as Wierzbicka (2006: 9) points out, “in every period there are certain shared understandings and shared cultural norms that find their expression in a community’s ways of speaking. Words, with their meanings, provide evidence of the reality of such shared understandings”. They, therefore, do not reflect “any unchanging monolithic realities with sharp boundaries. They stand for certain constructs, but these constructs are not fictions, and they have an impact on people’s lives” (Wierzbicka, 2006: 9).

There are at least four distinctive features of the theory that make it unique among other attempts to describe and analyze cultures. Briefly, the cultural norms and values in the theory of cultural scripts are described “from within rather than from outside” (Wierzbicka, 2006: 24), that is “from the point of view of those people who are the bearers of the postulated norms and values (and in their own language)” (Wierzbicka, 2006: 24). Secondly, although the norms are unique and identified for each language individually, they are based on a set of universal concepts found in languages across the board, which in turn ensures the common ground that enables them to be compared and contrasted. Its third and perhaps the most important distinctive feature is their practical application to a variety of fields of study, primarily language pedagogy, cross cultural education and intercultural communication (cf. Wierzbicka, 2006: 24). Finally, the cultural scripts approach relies on hard linguistic evidence and no generalizations can be made without being supported by the appropriate data (cf. Wierzbicka, 2006: 25).

In practical terms, here is an exemplification of cultural scripts defining the Anglo culture’s concept of ‘personal autonomy’ and the Russian culture’s concept of ‘expressiveness’ that will later on serve as a model platform for identifying and defining relevant cultural scripts in the Serbian culture:

(7) An Anglo cultural script connected with ‘personal autonomy’:

people think like this:

when a person does something, it is good if this person can think like this:

“I am doing this because I want to do it” (Goddard & Wierzbicka 2007: 114)

E.g. common ‘suggestive’ formulas: *You might like to..., Perhaps you could..., I would suggest...,* etc. (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2007: 114)

(8) A Russian cultural script connected with ‘expressiveness’:

people think like this:

it is good if a person wants other people to know what this person thinks

it is good if a person wants other people to know what this person feels (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2007: 115)

E.g. Russian preference for frankness of expression: *Nepravda!* 'Untruth!', *Ty ne prav* 'You are wrong', *Da net* 'Emphatically no!', etc. (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2007: 115)

Taking account of some basic principles of the theory of cultural scripts as it has been presented so far, we propose the following interpretation of the examples (1)-(6). Namely, the observed pragma-semantic prototypes that appear to be emerging from the discursal usage of the sentences is **self-protection**, obtained through the utilization of a hedging device that saves the speaker from being (dangerously) exposed, while at the same time enabling them to be direct and critical enough, as required and acceptable in the national culture. In other words, by using the impersonal and deagentivised structures the speaker seems to be bringing the spotlight onto the alleged culprit, so there is no real need to name him/her. Thus, the pragmatic effect is even stronger, while the speaker remains perfectly safe. Moreover, **self-promotion** appears to be another emerging effect. Not only does the speaker refer to the (political) opponent in defamatory terms - and does it safely - they also make it clear that any wrongdoing remains on the opposite side, too. Preliminary investigations thus show that examples (1)-(3) express self-protection as a dominant pragma-semantic effect, while (4)-(6) seem to have self-promotion as a dominant reading. This can be elaborated further in the following way ((Kurteš, 2008: 74-77):

(9) A Serbian cultural script connected with 'self-protection'

(underlying *se₉* pragma-semantics):

[people think like this:]

when I want to say something

it will be good if I think like this:

"I want to say openly what I think about X

I want everybody to understand what I think about X

I don't want to put myself into trouble"

(10) A Serbian cultural script connected with 'self-promotion'

(underlying *se₈* pragma-semantics)

[people think like this:]

when I want to say something

it will be good if I think like this:

"I want to say openly what I think about X

I want everybody to understand what I think about X

I want everybody to understand that I blame Y for X

I am right and Y is wrong"

Further and more systematic investigation into pragmatics of grammar using the cultural scripts approach can hopefully give more profound insights into the ways meaning is conveyed generally, and how it is grammatically encoded more specifically. Contrastive analysis can benefit from this approach considerably, being empowered with the methodological approach that will no doubt yield valuable results which would otherwise probably remain unnoticed.

4. Cultural scripts in the foreign language classroom: ways forward

The relevance and applicability of the proposed analytical model is to be seen in a wider applied linguistic context. Let us here single out the applicability of the obtained results to language teaching methodology.

Language teaching methodology substantially relied on the results of contrastive analysis, as well as error analysis, particularly during the 1960s and, to a perhaps lesser degree, later on. The goals and aims of foreign language learning of that time established the grammar-translation teaching method as dominant, while, at the same time, contrastive linguistics focused almost exclusively on the various levels of language structure in its analysis, putting aside any extralinguistic and pragmatic factors that might have been worth looking at. However, with the introduction of the concept of communicative competence (Hymes, 1974) and the redefinition of the goals of the foreign language learning more in accordance with the needs of the modern world, teaching methods adopted a more communicative approach, emphasizing the cultural context that a human language finds itself embedded in. Pedagogical materials started to be supported by communicative grammars and course books designed for learners with specific first language backgrounds, focusing particularly on culturally specific issues and putting the relevant language sequences in their natural pragmatic context. Again, the preparation of such materials would be much less successful without the readily available results of modern contrastive studies that took various extralinguistic factors as their platform of reference in the process of analysis (cf. Kurteš, 2005b; 2006; 2008).

Further and more systematic investigation into intercultural pragmatics and other tangent fields using the cultural scripts approach can give more profound insights into the ways meaning is conveyed generally, and how it is grammatically encoded more specifically. Contrastive Analysis can benefit from this approach considerably, being empowered with the methodological approach that will no doubt yield valuable results which would otherwise probably remain unnoticed.

In practical terms, what can be seen as a very useful technique, particularly from a methodological point of view, is the introduction of the basic concepts of the theory of cultural scripts into the foreign language classroom and inviting students, particularly those at more advanced levels of language proficiency, to interpret messages in terms of their underlying cultural norms and values. The students can then be encouraged to identify their discursial, pragmatic and metaphorical¹² equivalents in the target language and its culture. Each student can compile their own mini data-bank of pragmatic and pragma-semantic descriptors that can be further contrastively analyzed and illustrated with more authentic examples.

Finally but equally importantly, cultural scripts should find their place in language learning materials, both directly and indirectly, inviting the learners to reflect upon their own experiences, knowledge and understanding of both their own culture and the culture of the target language, thus helping them to develop metadiscursial and metacognitive strategies that will in turn ensure more successful and more autonomous foreign language learning and learning in general.

¹² For a more elaborate discussion on the acquisition of metaphors cf. Low 1988; Bailey 2003; Littlemore and Low 2006.

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A MULTI-LAYERED APPROACH TO LITERARY TRANSLATION INSTRUCTION

Abstract: Relying upon insights provided by Translation Studies and stylistic approaches to translation, the paper proposes a multi-layered model of teaching literary translation, drama translation in particular. Contrary to the former, rather impressionistic approach to translation instruction, the proposed model attempts to show how different elements and layers of language can be studied separately through several separate stages of work, with awareness raised on both their role in the text and their possible implications for the final product and intercultural communication in general.

Key words: drama translation, literary translation, shifts, style in translation translational analysis

Theoretical background

There has been an ongoing dispute over the notions of what kind of academic discipline Translation Studies is or should be. One of the key issues underlying the division is the clash between prescriptivism and descriptivism, with the latter, assuming to offer no guidelines whatsoever to professional or prospective translators, seen by many as a sign of progress (Chesterman, 33-34). However, no matter what view is taken as to the nature of the discipline and its primary goal, it appears that Translation Studies indisputably informs translation practice and, consequently, translation instruction.

To begin with, this paper is based on the insights provided by Translation Studies or, more specifically, translational models and analyses developed within this area of research. Particularly worth mentioning here is Kitty van Leuven-Zwart's comparative and descriptive model, based on Dik's Functional Grammar, Leech and Short's Hallidayan concept of functions and Bal's concept of levels. This model offers a very systematic and comprehensive examination of every linguistic expression in its interrelation with individual level and functions.

Besides, the model is designed so as to be able to accommodate two basic approaches to translation, top-down and/or bottom up approach, and offers a more systematic method of establishing stylistic and/or register features of individual text types. The model proves to be very helpful in building the syllabus around specific elements and dividing the process into logical units. Thus, different layers of language can be studied separately with awareness raised on both their role in the text and their possible implications.

In some language communities, Leuven-Zwart's model and/or some other translational models have given rise to a substantial amount of systematic practical research into translations of certain literary works and the nature of motivated and unmotivated shifts occurring during the translation process¹³. The

¹³ Among these communities is certainly Slovenia, notably the University of Maribor, where Prof. Darja Hribar's enthusiasm for this type of practical translational research into drama translation in particular has prompted many students and scholars to engage in this type of research.

results of this kind of research have proven to give invaluable insights into the issues and elements that appear particularly sensitive in specific types of texts, as well as those inherent to the relation of two specific languages. This has no doubt provided much more favourable ground as well as stimuli for a more systematic and informed approach to translation practice and more systematized and targeted translation instruction.

Another area of research which has provided invaluable insights for literary translation instruction is the study of style in translation. A highly complex and elusive concept defying definition, in Wales' *Dictionary of Stylistics* style is simply defined as "the perceived distinctive manner of expression" (Boase-Beier, 2006, 4). Generally equated with optional aspects of language, style reflects the writer's or translator's choices. In Josep Marco's words, "style is a set of (often patterned) linguistic options taken up by an individual author, a particular work, etc., against the backdrop of all the other options s/he could have taken up but did not" (Marco, 74). In her recent comprehensive study of stylistic approaches in translation, Boase-Beier places an emphasis on the style of the source text in its effects on the reader (as perceived by the translator as a reader) and how it is conveyed or changed or to what extent it is or can be preserved in translation (Boase-Beier, 2006, 5).

She goes on to say that stylistic analysis mostly involves explaining how texts have the effects they have and why they are understood in the way they are, by uncovering views, stances and states of mind not immediately obvious without such analysis, and that one of the reasons why translators (should) try to capture the style of a literary text is to provide the possibility for such effects upon the reader of the translated text (29-30).

Analysing relevance theory and its role in the study of translation, Boase-Beier quotes Ernst-August Gutt, who maintains that stylistic properties of texts frequently include linguistic features which are not at all universal and that, consequently, it is not their formal qualities that are preserved but rather what they stand for: "the fact that they provide clues that guide the audience to the interpretation intended by the communicator" (59). Thus, what literary translation should recreate is the relationship between features of style as 'communicative clues' and the meanings to which these clues point. It remains an example of interpretative use in that it preserves what the stylistic features mean in the overall context of the text, rather than merely their formal shape (59).

The importance of literary style in translation is accentuated by Shiyab and Lynch, who claim that "style constitutes the most intrinsic component of every literary translation act and that consideration of issues regarding the relationship of 'form' and 'content' studied in literary criticism are crucial to a successful translation" (Shiyab and Lynch, 263). They also argue that it is not always easy to distinguish between form and content in a literary text and that they might sometimes have to be viewed as one. According to them, "Style determines the form of a specific content but in translation there are always alternatives. Alternatives can appear at different levels of language and they are constrained by the conventions of specific language communities" (271). Finally, they conclude that "style is translatable if and only if the translator possesses the theoretical knowledge, practical skills, and the ability to carefully appreciate the tone and spirit of the original work" (264).

To round off the brief discussion on literary style in translation serving as another basis for the proposed model, we could make reference to Pamela Faber's view,

who also believes that the first step in the translation process is a detailed analysis or exegesis of the source language text and that “if the translator wishes to limit the inevitable loss of meaning involved in literary translation, he must make an evaluation of the significant structures on all levels of the text, and try to find their equivalent in the target language” (Faber, 808).

The model

The presented model, consisting of several stages, makes a journey from the macro-level to the micro-level and back to the macro-level. The first stage implies that the students are required to read the selected play¹⁴ in its entirety in order to be able to engage in the *macrostructural analysis* of the source text. Roughly speaking, this may include:

- the context of the text (historical, social, cultural);
- its structure and plot;
- characters and relationships;
- an overview of the style characterizing the text.

The analysis of the context of the text, for example, implies identifying the setting of the play, when and where it was written, what historical period it deals with, the social circumstances, the cultural traits etc. The analysis of the characters and their relationships, on the other hand, provides information which should make students more perceptive when it comes to the language through which these characters and their personal relationships come across in the way they do. This is of help in making an overview of the language characterizing the play, i.e. impressions on the author’s style, and seeing, among other things, for example, whether there are any poetic traits in it, whether the language is rich and varied or not, what elements appear to prevail, whether there are any striking dissimilarities between the language used by different characters etc.

It may be said that this preliminary stage tended to be rather neglected in translation instruction and sometimes, apparently, even in translation practice. Students/translators would sometimes embark upon translating a particular piece without prior reading of the entire text and thinking about some of the above mentioned elements/aspects. However, this stage proves to be of tremendous importance for successful accomplishment of the translator’s task as it provides the background and the starting point for work to follow.

The second stage makes a shift from the macro to the micro level which means that it implies analysis of some specific micro-elements. As for the range of elements to be included, they should be selected on the basis of the author’s style and the specific nature of the chosen play. According to Boase-Beier, a stylistic analysis reveals points which will require particular attention in the translation (2004, 404). Also, this is where the previously mentioned insights from practical translational analyses may play the crucial role. Namely, if practical translational analyses of translations of English texts have been made in a specific language community, they generally shed light on issues and elements which appear particularly sensitive in

¹⁴ Though tailored to suit the needs of drama translation in particular, the proposed model could be readily adapted to other types of literary translation.

specific types of texts, elements that tend to be neglected or overlooked, as well as those inherent to the relation of the two languages in question. In an ideal situation, the play, or at least the playwright, included in the syllabus may be one whose translation or translations already exist in a particular culture and have been subject to translational analysis.

Based on the described criteria, these elements, among other things, may include:

- register
- sociolect
- idiolect
- recurrences
- polysemy
- vulgar and abusive language
- colloquialisms
- dialectal expressions
- alliteration
- culture-specific elements
- figures of speech and metaphorical language
- proper names
- deviations from standard English usage, etc.

This analysis may start with some theoretical input on a specific element or elements which will be in focus in one particular class. This theoretical input needn't be too extensive but should rather give some basic idea of what a specific element is, what function or functions it usually has in a literary text, what effect it may produce and, possibly, whether it is known to be connected with some specific period, author or genre. This part might even be assigned to students to explore and make a brief presentation about. This is naturally followed by recognition of such instances within a selected extract.

Within this stage, it might even be beneficial to study, if available, the existing translations and the way in which they deal with the elements identified. Focusing systematically on individual elements is aimed at raising students' awareness of a vast variety of issues that need to be thoroughly examined in the translation process, equipping students with the necessary basic knowledge about these elements and sharpening their senses to them to be able to notice them more easily and understand their role and importance.

The third stage is the actual production stage in which students eventually come up with their own solutions to specific problems. Presumably, the two preceding stages will contribute to their decisions being more informed and conscious rather than instinctive and to their being able to provide arguments for such decisions.

The final stage is aimed at bringing students back to the macro level, when they discuss the possible implications of certain choices in the target language product. This is where their attention will be drawn to Leuven-Zwart's notion of shifts in translation "not as exceptions to the rule, but as the rule itself" (Leuven-Zwart, 229), something which unavoidably manifests itself on both the microstructural and the macrostructural level. And this is where they will realize that apart from

linguistic factors, extra-linguistic factors play an important role, too, as translations are not simply texts written in a different language, but also texts which have to fulfill a function in a different place, a different time, a different society and a different culture (228).

Benefits

The benefits of the proposed model are manifold. To begin with, such an approach is likely to lead to a heightened awareness of what the translation process implies and what skills and knowledge literary translators should be equipped with. The importance of this is best illustrated by the fact that not so long ago the predominant view was that good literary translation was the exclusive domain of gifted people who possessed special talents for this kind of translation and needed no theoretical knowledge whatsoever (see Hribar, 142). Furthermore, this multi-layered approach should raise students' awareness of the importance of deciding on a translation strategy prior to embarking on the translation itself and, in Faber's words, "A translator, like any competent general, must marshal his forces and decide on a certain strategy and that strategy invariably depends upon the kind of source language text, the two languages involved, and which is more important, content or form (Faber, 806). Additionally, the model should increase the students' perceptiveness while reading the source text, enabling them to notice things which may otherwise pass unnoticed; and, to quote Shiyab and Lynch, "The ability to see characteristics another may miss is one of the necessities the translator of literature should possess" (Shiyab and Lynch, 264). This, undoubtedly, implies a greater ability to make conscious and informed decisions about how to tackle specific translation problems, making "finer cross-cultural distinctions" (Grossman, 56). As stated by Grosman, a thorough understanding of the foreign text enables students to decide more competently how to handle the foreign and the unknown in relation to their own culture (57). On a wider level, this means acceptance of translation as cultural negotiation, which, in a way, represents promotion of more conscious and informed intercultural communication.

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ANGLOFONI DIJALEKTI I NASTAVA ENGLSKOG JEZIKA
U GLOBALNOM KONTEKSTU

Apstrakt: Članak razmatra potrebu uvođenja dijalekata u nastavu engleskog jezika, prvenstveno na višim nivoima znanja. Ovde se zalaže za to da ovaj materijal bude dodatni u nastavi ili čak da učenici samostalno savladavaju neophodne informacije, tj. da se ovaj deo gradiva ne testira. Osim toga, nudi se pregled izvora koji bi koristili prvo nastavnicima u upoznavanju s varijetetima, a zatim i učenicima, koji bi taj materijal kasnije koristili za samostalno učenje. Materijal se može naći u obliku knjiga, priručnika, audio i video materijala, kao i na mnogim, ovde preporučenim, sajtovim na internetu.

Ključne reči: dijalekat, izgovor, samostalno učenje.

Svedoci smo prodora engleskog jezika u razne sfere života, što ga čini nezaobilaznim delom profesionalnog i svakodnevnog života i komunikacije do te mere da onaj ko ga ne govori i ko se njime ne služi, smatra se nepripremljenim za posao i komunikaciju. Štaviše, zbog sve veće rasprostranjenosti i neophodnosti, a samim tim i interesovanja, engleski jezik je stekao status međunarodnog jezika i postao obavezan predmet za svakoga unutar školskog sistema, bez obzira da li se radi o osnovnoj, srednjoj, višoj, privatnoj školi ili fakultetu. Međunarodni status engleskog jezika zahteva prilagođavanje pristupa nastavi i učenju engleskog kao stranog i to zbog tri razloga: prirode govornika međunarodnog engleskog jezika, promena koje su se desile prilikom širenja engleskog jezika i odnosa između kulture i međunarodnog jezika (McKay 2002:1-2). Da objasnimo, danas postoji više stranaca koji govore engleski jezik nego izvornih govornika, što se odražava na prirodu samog jezika kao i na promene u njemu. Zatim, globalna rasprostranjenost engleskog jezika promenila je sam jezik na nivou gramatike, leksike i fonologije, što u budućnosti može da dovede do međusobne nerazumljivosti varijeteta. Naposletku, jezik koji se smatra međunarodnim ne može da se vezuje ni za jednu zemlju niti kulturu jer pripada svima onima koji ga koriste.

Pošto prevladavajuće metodologije nastave engleskog jezika odražavaju kulturu zapadnih anglofonih zemalja, postavlja se pitanje čija će se kultura uzeti kao model za učenje jednog međunarodnog jezika. Uobičajena dijalekatska stratifikacija engleskog jezika zasniva se na Kachru (1988), i prema njoj se engleski deli na tri kruga: *unutrašnji*, *spoljašnji* i *rastući*. Unutrašnji krug obuhvata zemlje u kojima se engleski govori kao maternji, odnosno matičnu zemlju (Velika Britanija) i doseljeničke kolonije (npr. SAD, Australija, Kanada). Spoljašnji krug uključuje ostale kolonije bivše britanske imperije gde engleski danas ima status službenog jezika pored maternjeg/maternih jezika datih zemalja (npr. Indija, Kenija, Uganda). U rastućem krugu se nalaze sve zemlje u kojima se engleski jezik uči i govori kao strani (npr. Japan, Rusija, Srbija) i broj zemalja u ovom krugu raste iz dana u dan. Nastavnici engleskog jezika u ovom najširem krugu nužno moraju da izaberu koji od postojećih dijalekata da predaju svojim učenicima. U Srbiji se do sada uglavnom kao standard uzimao britanski dijalekat, prvenstveno zbog tradicionalnih veza našeg obrazovnog sistema i evropskih zemalja, iako se u poslednje vreme sve više oseća uticaj američkog dijalekata, koji putem medija, filmova i muzike postepeno preuzima primat nad britanskim varijetetom. Učenje stranog jezika, međutim, ne

podrazumeva samo savladavanje jezičkog sistema već i podizanje nivoa kulturološke svesti učenika. U pomenutom dijalekatskom kontekstu ovo bi značilo da učenici treba da se naporedo s jezičkim upoznaju i s raznovrsnim kulturološkim elementima datog dijalekta.

Iako se u teoriji predlaže korišćenje jednog standardnog dijalekta engleskog jezika kao modela u nastavi (v. Paunović 2007, 5. poglavlje), praksa je pokazala da učenici koji su imali prilike da zaista upotrebe jezik u stranoj zemlji ništa nisu razumeli, a bili su ubeđeni da su savladali englesku gramatiku i vokabular. U pitanju je situacija za koju učenici nisu bili pripremljeni, a to su različiti dijalekti i različiti izgovori koje ranije nisu imali prilike da sretnu, osim možda u ponekom filmu, gde su više pažnje obraćali na radnju, nego na jezik. Veliki korak u tom pravcu bilo bi uvođenje dijalekata u nastavu u fakultativnom obliku, gde bi naglasak bio na učeničkom osposobljavanju za prepoznavanje i razumevanje dijalekata, a nikako se ne bi insistiralo na reprodukciji različitih izgovora. Drugim rečima, okosnica nastave bi i dalje bio standardni model engleskog jezika.

Dijalekti u nastavi danas

Što se tiče sadašnjeg stanja po ovom pitanju, možemo konstatovati da u udžbenicima za srednje škole delom zaista jeste zastupljena svest o postojanju varijeteta engleskog jezika i za njih vezanih kulturnih okruženja (Radić-Bojanić 2006a, 2006b), ali se uglavnom radi o istorijskim činjenicama kroz koje učenici posredno saznaju na kojim se sve geografskim područjima govori engleski. No, ni ovo nije dovoljno, pošto su, od svih zemalja sveta gde je engleski prvi jezik ili jedan od službenih jezika, zastupljene samo velike i već poznate države, kao što su Velika Britanija ili Sjedinjene Američke Države, a povremeno i Australija. Drugim rečima, ovakva slika može da učenicima pogrešno predstavi situaciju i time im uskrati i deo opšteg znanja i kulture neophodnog za laku i nesmetanu komunikaciju. Pored ovoga, primećujemo nedostatak audio materijala, koji su od izuzetne važnosti u učenju stranih jezika, a naročito kada je reč o dijalektima, kod kojih je najbitniji element izgovor.

Udžbenici stranih izdavača, s druge strane, najčešće imaju obilje audio materijala, ali većina knjiga i materijala koji se koriste u našem podneblju imaju drugi nedostatak. Naime, radi se o činjenici da su u pitanju materijali britanskih izdavača i stoga su mahom usmereni ka britanskom području i kulturi. Što se tiče dijalekatskih stratifikacija, u njima se jedino pominje već poznata razlika između britanskog i američkog varijeteta engleskog jezika. Ovde opet uočavamo problem da se o drugim dijalektima ništa ne govori, a naročito je upadljiva činjenica da retko koji udžbenik spominje dijalekatsku stratifikaciju unutar i ta dva pominjana varijeteta, britanskog i američkog. Varijetet koji učenici uče jeste standardni engleski jezik (eng. RP).

Kako da promenimo situaciju?

Prvi i najbitniji korak ka promeni već je učinjen time što, kao što je već rečeno, u nastavi stranih jezika sve se više insistira na upoznavanju učenika sa elementima kulture čiji jezik uče. U tom pogledu, učenici već znaju da jezik nije samo skup reči i pravila za nizanje tih reči, nego ima i svoju upotrebnu vrednost koja se vidi u različitim stepenima prikladnosti reči i izraza u zavisnosti od komunikacione situacije i govornika koji učestvuju u razgovoru. Veoma je bitno odmah napomenuti

da ova svest nema veliku težinu na nižim nivoima znanja, jer se tada učenici više bore sa samom leksikom i gramatikom, ali je zato pravo vreme da se učenici na višim nivoima, koji se na mnogo načina bave finesama jezika, upoznaju i s dijalekatskim razlikama unutar jezika. Drugim rečima, veoma je bitno da su učenici svesni gde se sve govori jezik koji uče i kako zvuče sve te razlike.

U ovoj situaciji najbitnije je prvo podstaći njihovu zainteresovanost i probuditi svest o razlikama, a zatim njima samima prepustiti odluku o tome da li žele da se upuste u učenje ili ne. Ovo će zavisiti u velikoj meri od razloga učenja jezika, pa će se sami učenici u skladu s tim upustiti u upoznavanje s dijalekatskim razlikama. Iako učenici koji uče engleski u profesionalne svrhe možda neće biti toliko zainteresovani za dijalekatsku raslojenost, potrebno je naglasiti da će i njima uvežbanost i veće iskustvo u razumevanju različitih izgovora olakšati komunikaciju s kolegama koji govore engleski bilo kao maternji (tj. nekim od dijalekata) bilo kao strani jezik (nekim od stranih izgovora). Pretpostavljamo, doduše, da će veliki broj učenika biti zainteresovan za ovakvu vrstu znanja, naročito ako im se jasno predstavi višestruka korisnost poznavanja dijalekata.

Kada je reč o studentima anglistike, odnosno budućim nastavnicima engleskog jezika, njima takav izbor nije ostavljen. Naime, kao budući edukatori oni moraju da budu sposobni da učenicima pruže dodatne informacije o raznovrsnim anglofonim dijalektima i kulturama zemalja iz kojih oni potiču, što uvođenje dijalekata u nastavu na studijama anglistike čini obaveznim (na nivou receptivnih a ne produktivnih veština).

Postoji nekoliko načina da se probudi svest učenika o dijalekatskim razlikama, a nastavnici sami treba da odluče kako će prići problemu, u skladu s mogućnostima i situacijom. Prvi korak svakako uključuje puštanje raznovrsnih materijala u učionici, a dalji tok je različit. Materijali mogu da budu audio ili audio-video prirode, znači kasete, CD-ovi ili filmovi i serije. Nakon što učenici čuju ili pogledaju materijal, mogu im se zadati različiti zadaci. Tako se jedan od zadataka zasniva na prostom razumevanju teksta koji čuju. Ovo možda zvuči lako i banalno, ali praksa je pokazala da to nije nimalo jednostavno, a naročito ne ako se odaberu manje poznati dijalekti, kao što su novozelandski ili velški. Osim toga, učenike bi trebalo podsticati da identifikuju geografsko područje s koga dijalekat dolazi i postaviti im zadatak da kažu nešto o tom području, kao i o tome kako je engleski jezik tamo došao. Ovakav zadatak može da se još proširi, naročito na veoma visokim nivoima znanja, pa da učenici zapišu ono što su čuli, tj. da se sâmo upoznavanje s materijalom pretvori u diktat. Nakon završenog diktata učenici mogu međusobno da porede koliko su razumeli i zapisali i na taj način vide koliko bi se dobro snašli u pravom jezičkom kontaktu. Ovde bi im svakako trebalo naglasiti da prava upotreba jezika ne podrazumeva idealizovanu jezičku sredinu, nego kontakt s govornicima koje će razumeti isto tako teško ili čak teže nego materijal koji su upravo čuli.

Nakon što učenici postanu svesni postojanja situacije s kojom će se sresti u budućnosti, trebalo bi im ponuditi niz rešenja i odgovore na njihova pitanja. Isto tako smatramo da bi sve ovo trebalo predstaviti kao slobodan izbor i da se ovakvo znanje ne bi trebalo testirati. Već smo naglasili da će neki učenici misliti da im, za njihove ciljeve učenja jezika, poznavanje dijalekatskih razlika nije potrebno, a i smatramo da na sve ostale obavezne jedinice nema potrebe dodavati i nove. Dakle,

upoznavanje sa ovakvim jezičkim nijansama trebalo bi da bude stvar ličnog i slobodnog izbora. U skladu s tim su i načini na koje će se učenici upoznati s dijalektima, pa predlažemo da se u većoj meri oslone na samostalno učenje, jer smatramo da u planu i programu nema dovoljno vremena za ovakve inovacije.

Učenicima je u ovom poduhvatu najbitnije vođstvo koje im nastavnici mogu pružiti, što znači da sami nastavnici moraju dobro da se upoznaju s dijalektima i izvorima informacija koje će učenicima ponuditi. Oni sami moraju da učenike dodatno motivišu za upoznavanje sa ovakvim informacijama, prvenstveno dajući im zanimljive ili neobične podatke iz istorije i kulture, koje će povremeno uvoditi u nastavu kroz dodatni materijal. Nadalje bi učenike trebalo pregledno upoznati s geografskom distribucijom dijalekata engleskog jezika i ponuditi im izvore informacija koje će oni ubuduće sami koristiti.

Iako se danas na internetu mogu pronaći mnogi sajtovi sa informacijama o dijalektima u najširem smislu, predlažemo da nastavnici prva saznanja iz ove oblasti dobiju iz pregledne i jasno napisane Kristalove enciklopedije (Crystal 1995). Razlog za ovo leži u činjenici da je ovaj priručnik uglavnom dostupan svima koji su završili studije engleskog jezika i književnosti, pošto se često može naći na spiskovima obavezne ili preporučene literature za jezičke predmete. Osim toga, svaka fakultetska biblioteka ima primerak ove enciklopedije, koja nudi najbitnije informacije o istorijskim činjenicama koje su dovele do širenja engleskog jezika po svetu, a zatim daje jasne informacije o dijalektima. Jedini njen nedostatak leži u nepostojanju audio materijala koji bi pratio tekst. U te svrhe, s druge strane, nastavnici se mogu obratiti fakultetskim saradnicima koji će sigurno u fonološkim laboratorijama imati kasete s različitim izgovorima. Jedna od najiscrpnijih serija jeste *The English Speaking World* sa 12 kasete i pratećih 12 knjižica, ali se mogu naći i drugi materijali. U svakom slučaju, dobrodošla je bilo koja pouzdana knjiga o dijalektima, a naročito ako je praćena kasetom ili nekim drugim dodatnim materijalom.

Drugi korak je svakako internet, na kome se može doći do mnogo više materijala, ali isto tako treba svemu prići kritički, zbog ponekad izuzetne nepouzdanosti autora i izvora. Ovde ćemo predložiti nekoliko sajtova na kojima se mogu pronaći i tekstovi i audio materijali, koje u svakom slučaju i sami učenici mogu koristiti. Najopsežniji izvor audio materijala i po broju fajlova i po raznolikosti koju nudi jeste sajt Međunarodne arhive dijalekata engleskog jezika (IDEA - The International Dialects of English Archive) www.ku.edu/~idea/. Taj sajt korisnike dalje upućuje na druge izvore informacija (www.ku.edu/~idea/links/links.htm), gde se mogu naći i drugi audio fajlovi, kao i geografske mape i rečnici fraza i idioma svojstvenih datom dijalektu. Što se tiče dva najpoznatija dijalekta, britanskog i američkog engleskog, postoje sajtovi koji nude dalje linkove ka informacijama. Tako sajt www.evolpub.com/Americandialects/EngDialLnX.html daje linkove ka podacima o engleskim, škotskim i irskim varijetetima, kao i linkove o varijetetima engleskog koji se govori u Africi, Australiji, Novom Zelandu, Polineziji i Antarktici. S druge strane, sajt www.courses.fas.harvard.edu/~ling80/tool/wwwlinks/ vodi do mnogih izvora koji se odnose na varijetete engleskog na američkom kontinentu, uključujući južnjačke, srednjeameričke, severnjačke i afroameričke izgovore. Ovde se mogu naći i linkovi ka britanskim i kolonijalnim dijalektima, kao i linkovi o kanadskom i dalekoistočnom engleskom. Naposljetku, na sajtu <http://angli02.kgw.tu-berlin.de/html/dialects.html/dl01.html> može se naći knjiga Petera Trudgilla

Dialects, u kojoj se, osim informacija, nažalost samo o britanskom engleskom, nalaze i vežbe iza svakog poglavlja. Ovo se može pokazati kao veoma koristan materijal, pošto učenicima daje priliku da sami testiraju svoje znanje i u rešenjima, koja dolaze uz knjigu, provere koliko su dobro savladali gradivo.

Jasno je da ponuđeni sajtovi nisu jedini izvori informacija o dijalektima na internetu, te učenici samostalno mogu da nastave da istražuju ovo izuzetno interesantno područje jezika. Svakako će vremenom steći neko znanje koje će im omogućiti da zauzmu kritički stav prema pouzdanosti materijala koje će naći na internetu, te će im ovo vremenom postati rutina. Osim toga, na nastavniciima je da učenike usmeravaju i odgovaraju na njihova pitanja.

Veoma je važno napomenuti da same učenike ne treba podsticati da usvajaju izgovore različitih dijalekata, nego da nastave s korišćenjem standardnog engleskog jezika. Razlog za ovo leži u činjenici da će njih svi razumeti budu li govorili standardnim jezikom, a znanje koje će steći o dijalektima omogućice im da razumeju izvorne govornike, bez obzira na to s kog područja dolaze. Drugim rečima, učenici treba da se po pitanju dijalekata izvešte na nivou prepoznavanja i razumevanja, tj. da razviju pasivne jezičke veštine, a da im se aktivne i dalje zasnivaju na opšteprihvaćenom standardu.

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DO WE TEACH TEACHERS TO TEACH CULTURE?

Abstract: Although modern foreign language teaching methodology emphasises the importance of teaching culture, there has been no research dealing with the aspects of target culture that future language teachers get acquainted with in the course of their studies in Serbian higher education. Therefore, the goals of our small-scale research have been to determine: whether the students of English language and literature think they gain sufficient knowledge of the target language culture through the culture-oriented subjects; and whether they get acquainted with the relevant culture-teaching techniques in their Methodology of TEFL course. The participants were 3rd year English Department students, Faculty of Philosophy, Nis, who have already attended a number of culture courses, as well as the Methodology of TEFL course.

Key words: culture teaching, culture assessment, Methodology of TEFL, pre-service teacher training.

The past decades have seen a steady development in the theory and practice of teaching second/foreign language culture. The majority of authors insist on the importance of presenting the cultural component alongside other language skills and emphasise the significance of awareness-raising and critical rethinking of both target and source cultures (Kramsch 1993, 2001, Byram 1991, 2004, Seelye 1975, 1993). In addition, they offer a number of culture-teaching techniques (Fantini 1997, Seelye 1975, 1993). However, an issue that still remains controversial is that of assessing cultural competence - the *what* question (which elements of cultural competence should be assessed) and the *how* question (how should cultural competence be assessed) have not yet been answered in a satisfactory way.

In view of the recent developments in the field of the methodology of culture teaching, an important issue is how much of the current theory and practice future language teachers get acquainted with during their studies - either implicitly, through the techniques and assessment practices used in their culture courses, or explicitly, in their Methodology of TEFL course. There has been very little research into the presence of cultural elements and culture teaching techniques in pre-service teacher education in general, and none that we are aware of in Serbia. Since the higher education reform is currently under way in Serbia, we believe now is the right time to engage students more actively in the education process, find out their opinions and explore possibilities for new courses tailored to suit their needs. That is why the present study focuses on our students' perceptions of one aspect of their studies - that dealing with target language cultures and culture teaching.

Some issues in teaching and assessing cultural competence

Being complex and all-pervasive, culture is difficult to teach and even more difficult to assess. Namely, rather than merely presenting facts about the target culture, teaching culture involves students' attitudes, preconceived notions and stereotypes, all of which are very sensitive issues. Moreover, it is never certain whether a learner has a conscious control over the development of attitudes, empathy or flexibility, all of which undermine the very concept of assessment (Byram and Morgan 1994). As

culture is subjectively perceived and constructed, some scholars claim that objective, holistic assessment is impossible (Atkinson 1999, Sercu 2004). Finally, as some note, even the assessment methods are culture-dependant (Damen 1987, Bachman 1990, Lessard-Clouston 1997), which additionally hinders valid and reliable assessment. And these are only some of the difficulties we necessarily encounter when trying to assess students' cultural competence.

Why, then, assess at all? We believe there are several reasons why we should at least try to do so. To start with, through different forms of assessment, learners receive feedback on their progress in target culture understanding. Also, assessment helps teachers see the nature of their students' understanding of culture. Further, by assessing cultural competence we show students that it is an important part of their linguistic competence and that it deserves attention and (re)consideration. Contemporary literature on teaching and assessing culture as well as numerous research reports explore assessment methods other than usual multiple choice and question-and-answer tests. To start with, all the techniques for culture teaching - *assimilators, culture capsules and clusters* (Seelye 1975, 2003), *portfolios* - can also be used for assessment. Other possibilities for assessing culture include *report writing, role play, essay writing, peer assessment, simulations, self-evaluation* (Sercu 2004), *compare and contrast, problem identification tasks, cultural mini dramas* (Lessard-Couston 1992).

With culture being recognized as an important aspect of language teaching, teacher education has to face the new context and equip teachers "with practical and theoretical support" (Byram & Morgan 1994:73). Therefore, it is crucial that future teachers get acquainted with these alternative assessment techniques. Ideally, they should have the opportunity to experience them all during their studies, and put some of them into practice during the Methodology of TEFL course. With first hand experience they would be more confident and readier to use them themselves with their future learners.

Previous research

Research into pre-service teacher training has been far from extensive. Several studies that have looked into teacher development - general practices of would-be teachers and their beliefs on teaching (Lortie 1975, Brouwer 1989, Corporaal 1988, etc.) indicate that teachers generally start teaching not well prepared and "do training on the job" (Korthagen & Kessels 1999).

Research on the pre-service training of language teachers which specifically focuses on culture and intercultural communication (ICC) training has also been scarce. One of the studies which included ten European countries showed that few teachers had received any training in techniques of teaching culture and had had sporadic courses of cultural studies; their answers "pointed to absence of any systematic presentation of the topics of ICC" (Aleksandrowicz-Pędich *et al.* 2003:11). Even though they claimed they included cultural aspects into language teaching, they all stressed that they used their knowledge from courses ranging from history to cultural studies. What this research showed was that even those participants who "attached great importance to ICC teaching, did so more in the theoretical or idealistic sphere than what they actually [did] in practice during classes" (Aleksandrowicz-Pędich *et al.* 2003:14). Consequently, the authors of this study

conclude that the link between theory and practice - sound training in culture teaching techniques, seems to be missing.

So far, the research done in the field of culture teaching as part of foreign language teaching has mainly focused on language learners or teachers, while relatively little attention has been given to pre-service teachers. Conscious of the necessity to identify the needs and explore the attitudes of future language teachers, and aware of a lack in pre-service training in culture teaching and assessment techniques in our context, we have launched a small-scale research, as an introduction into a more detailed study of our students' needs, expectations and practices.

The present study

Background

The present study included students from the English Department, Faculty of Philosophy, Niš, who are explicitly or implicitly exposed to the target language culture content in almost all their courses. The obligatory culture courses offered at the department are: British, American, Australian and Canadian Studies. In addition to these, Methodology of TEFL and English language courses (e.g. Grammar, Translation, Essay writing) also provide students with information on the target language cultures¹⁵.

Aware of the fact that our students often tend to keep apart the theoretical knowledge and practical skills they gain in different courses, in our Methodology of TEFL course we would like to integrate the theory they have mastered in the culture courses and their teaching practice, or, as Brouwer and Korthagen state, to "coordinate the acquisition of theoretical knowledge with practice in teaching skills" (Brouwer and Korthagen 2005:158). However, the syllabus of a basic course in Methodology does not leave very much space in tutorials for introducing specific techniques for teaching culture or for raising the students' awareness of the sensitivity that cultural issues need to be dealt with in the classroom. Therefore, the present study was motivated by the wish to explore the students' opinions about the target culture knowledge they gained during their studies and their self-estimated theoretical knowledge and practical skills for teaching culture.

The research questions this study set out to answer were:

1. Which techniques for assessing cultural competence do the participants get acquainted with through the culture-oriented courses and in the Methodology of TEFL course?
2. Do the participants feel they get acquainted with the relevant culture-teaching techniques in their Methodology of TEFL course?
3. How could the existing courses be improved to correspond more closely with the students' interests?

¹⁵ What follows is the number of classes a week for each of these courses:
Culture courses - 1.5-hour sessions and 1.5-hour tutorials in British and American Studies
Methodology of TEFL - 1.5-hour lectures, 1.5-hour tutorials, and 2 months of class observation and teaching in primary or secondary schools
English language courses - 1.5-hour lectures and three 1.5-hour tutorials.

Fifty-six third year English Language and Literature students (70% of the total number of the third-year students) from the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Nis, volunteered to participate in the research. When the study was conducted (June 2007), they had already attended four obligatory culture courses (British, American, Canadian and Australian Studies) as well as the Methodology of TEFL course.

The participants' views on the culture and methodology courses were elicited through a questionnaire consisting of three parts (Appendix 1). The first one included questions related to the culture courses the students had attended - specifically, it focused on the assessment techniques the participants had experienced. The second part of the questionnaire was composed of items concerning the cultural component of the Methodology course - it sought to find out if the participants had got acquainted with the most common techniques used to teach culture, whether they had seen a cultural component included into their mentor's classes or tried to incorporate it into their own classes during the practical part of the course. Finally, the participants were asked to provide suggestions on how to incorporate culture into their university courses more effectively. Each of the question groups included both multiple choice and open-ended items¹⁶.

Results

In this section we will provide the students' responses to each of the groups of the questions as well as comment on the results obtained.

The first set of questions dealt with the ways of assessment used in culture courses and the students' attitudes to them. It was included in the questionnaire because we assumed that the participants, as future teachers, were likely to use with their pupils at least some assessment techniques they were exposed to during their studies. Also, having completed the Methodology course, with assessment as one of the topics covered, our students were now bound to take a more critical approach to all the evaluation techniques used in their courses, and make better informed choices about which techniques to apply once they became teachers. The results show that tests are most frequently used to assess students' competence in culture subjects (according to 93% of the students); however, another assessment technique, used in the participants' opinion almost as frequently (80%), is assessment through students' group presentations and projects on a particular aspect of the target language culture done in regular classes. The majority of the students (84%) consider such assessment appropriate. When asked to suggest alternative ways that could be suitable to assess their cultural competence, they provided the following responses: oral exam, in-class discussions, individual student presentations, presentations through role play, term papers and essays, as well as peer assessment.

The second group of questions focused on the culture-teaching competences our students had gained during the theoretical and practical modules of the Methodology of TEFL course. The first question within this group sought to find out if the participants felt they had got acquainted with some techniques for teaching

¹⁶ Before presenting and discussing the results obtained, it is important to note that the authors of this paper are directly engaged in the Methodology of TEFL course and some English Language courses but not in the culture courses. Consequently, all the comments regarding these courses in this paper will be based exclusively on the students' responses in the questionnaire.

culture during the course. Fifty-five percent of the participants' responses indicated they had, explaining that they could apply some of the teaching techniques they had learnt even if they were not specifically tailored to teaching culture. However, as teaching assistants in this course, we are completely aware of the fact that the syllabus actually left no room for us to deal with the techniques designed for culture-teaching, such as culture assimilators, culture capsules and culture clusters. Therefore, we were surprised to see such a large number of students give a positive response. On the other hand, during the course the students were asked to think about how to introduce some cultural elements into the classroom, through their in-class or take-home assignments, so that could account for the results we got. The answers to this question, we fear, show a degree of confidence that may mislead our students - since they have not seen the whole scope and complexity of culture teaching, they might mistakenly believe no further work in the area is needed.

The next two questions related to the practical module of the Methodology course, during which the students spent time in a primary or secondary school, observed at least five lessons taught by the teacher-mentor who supervised their work, and then taught five classes on their own. The participants were first asked to think about the experience they had gained with teaching culture while observing their mentors, i.e. whether they had observed lessons dealing with the target culture. While 57% of the students had seen some elements of the target cultures introduced, 43% had not had the opportunity to observe a class which presented an aspect of the target cultures to pupils. Such results seem to indicate that a high percentage of teachers still does not treat culture as an integral part of teaching a foreign language in spite of the fact that the new course books (such as *Opportunities*, *Headway*, *World Club*, *Go* etc.) and teaching materials offer various possibilities for including a cultural component in language classes.

The following question referred to the students' actual teaching experience during the practicum - they were asked if they had included a cultural component into the lessons they taught. We were pleasantly surprised to see that less than 20% answered in the negative, while the other 84% who tried to tackle some cultural issues in their classes pointed out that they had done so through audio/video materials, songs, newspaper articles, quizzes, internet material etc. Such answers show our students have a positive attitude to culture teaching and are indeed willing to attempt to experiment with something they have not been well equipped to deal with. However, for course instructors, such results also suggest that we need to provide better theoretical and practical foundations for tackling cultural issues in the classroom; otherwise, future generations of teachers might be left to their own devices when it comes to the issues of teaching culture.

In the third part of the questionnaire the students were asked to offer some suggestions for better culture teaching that concern their present studies as well as some for the future changes. The students suggested that the culture courses they had been taking could be improved by using more authentic audio and video material and in-class discussions which would explore a particular number of topics in depth. Also, the students felt they needed more freedom in doing their own research which would focus on the present - popular culture, current events and everyday life of the native speakers of different varieties of English. As for the Methodology of TEFL course, the majority of the students said that the present number of classes was insufficient for a good grasp on foreign culture teaching, and

for future changes they suggested introducing elective courses that would improve their skills for teaching cultural issues, and enable them to put their cultural competence into teaching practice.

Discussion and conclusion

The discussion and conclusions will be structured around three major areas this study set out to explore: the assessment techniques for cultural competence the participants in this survey had got acquainted with, the culture teaching techniques they had mastered in the practical part of their Methodology of TEFL course and their suggestions for further work on their cultural competence and culture teaching skills.

As far as assessment is concerned, the participants' responses indicate that in the course of their studies they have not got acquainted with the assessment techniques specifically tailored to assessing cultural learning, either through the culture courses they have attended or through their Methodology course. Although the students have been able to suggest ways of assessment other than the ones they are well familiar with, the use of those techniques would necessarily require more thorough preparation on their part as they have not had any practical experience with them. Unfortunately, once they start working, most teachers no longer take the time to explore new methodologies; therefore, at least some of the techniques need to be introduced during their pre-service training as a basis for further teacher development.

As for culture teaching techniques, responses do not clearly show whether these have been introduced or not - just over a half of the participants gave a positive answer. Such a proportion of positive responses could be attributed to the flexibility and resourcefulness of the participants in the study; namely, some of them commented on the question saying that they could adjust some of the teaching techniques to culture teaching. However, we are fully aware of the whole range of techniques and issues that have not been covered in the course. In our opinion, such responses point to a lack of awareness of how profound an issue culture teaching is - rather than introducing target cultures through an occasional authentic text or a song, teachers should now aim at raising cultural awareness as a key to intercultural communication. In order for future teachers to be able to do that, they need to be sensitized to detect cultural content in every aspect of language teaching material. This is all the more significant today when, with the emergence of World Englishes, the language they are going to teach is connected with an increasing number of cultures. Therefore, we believe it would be beneficial to offer elective courses focusing on various aspects of teaching and assessing culture - a view also expressed in the student suggestions section of the questionnaire. This way we could 'collect the fragments' and equip our future teachers with a pool of usable and experience-based techniques for culture teaching. Moreover, we could raise their awareness of the central issues from the fields of intercultural competence and communication, their inclusion in linguistic competence, as well as of the complexity of the problems introducing the target culture might pose in the classroom. That way, they would come to "understand the implications of cultural learning, both cognitive and affective, for their practices in the classroom" (Byram and Morgan 1994:73).

The responses have also shown that the students have clear ideas about how the existing courses could be improved and which topics they would like to explore in more detail as part of their coursework. These suggestions, we believe, should be examined in more depth and could be extremely valuable for designing future courses, especially in view of the ongoing university reform in Serbia.

More broadly, the interest in culture teaching has recently been rekindled in our region as some of the linguistic conferences held in our country show (these include a number of linguistics/applied linguistics conferences in Niš, Belgrade, Herceg Novi, as well as English Language Teachers' Association conferences). Most of the topics addressed focused on culture in the foreign language classroom, teaching material, as well as developing cultural competence in language learners. This is surely a step in the right direction, as this is one of the best ways for the research findings and new methodologies to reach practitioners, thus linking theory and practice.

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Appendix 1¹⁷

1. How is your cultural competence assessed in culture courses?

- a) tests
- b) presentations
- c) term papers
- d) other _____ (provide _____ examples)

2. Do you consider these ways of assessment appropriate?

- a) yes
- b) no

3. Do you think another method of assessment would be more appropriate?

- a) yes
- b) no

Give suggestions. _____

4. Have you got acquainted with the techniques for teaching culture in your Methodology of TEFL courses?

- a) yes
- b) no

5. During your practicum (lesson observations) in primary and secondary schools, did your mentors deal with target language cultures in their classes?

- a) yes
- b) no

6. During your practicum, did you include a cultural component in your lessons?

- a) yes
- b) no

Give examples. _____

7. Are there any significant aspects of the target cultures that are not dealt with in culture courses? Which ones?

8. What are your suggestions for changes in your culture courses and the Methodology of TEFL course to increase the English Department students' cultural competence and culture teaching skills?

¹⁷ This is a shortened version of the questionnaire, including only the items commented on in the paper.

STRATEGIJE UČENJA U NASTAVI I UČENJU ENGLESKOG JEZIKA KAO STRANOG

Apstrakt: S obzirom na to da se strategije učenja zasnivaju na ideji samo-usmjeravanja i da predstavljaju ključ za veću autonomiju učenika i više učenja sa smislom, kao i sredstvo za aktivno učešće u nastavi koje je od suštinske važnosti za razvoj komunikativne kompetencije (gramatičke, sociolingvističke, strateške i kompetencije diskursa) u učionici u kojoj je komunikacija konačno postala prioritet, njihova važnost i važnost njihove zastupljenosti u nastavi stranog jezika sve više dolaze do izražaja. Ovaj rad se fokusira na osvjetljavanje tog prostora kroz prizmu rezultata četvoromjesečnog istraživanja ponašanja učenika u učionici.

Ključne riječi: strategije učenja, autonomija učenika, istraživanje.

Tokom posljednjih godina XX vijeka došlo je do preusmjeravanja fokusa sa nastavnika na učenika - sa isključive brige o poboljšanju nastave na brigu o tome kako se sami učenici snalaze sa konkretnim zadacima u učenju drugog ili stranog jezika, sa onog što se uči na to *kako* se uči - na sami proces učenja, tj. usvajanja. Postalo je jasno da veliki dio odgovornosti za uspjeh u učenju jezika počiva na samom učeniku i njegovoj sposobnosti da iskoristi priliku za učenje.

Upravo u takvom jednom prostoru do izražaja dolazi važnost strategija učenja i njihove zastupljenosti u nastavi jezika, s obzirom na to da se zasnivaju na ideji *samo-usmjeravanja* i da predstavljaju ključ za veću autonomiju učenika i više učenja sa smislom, sredstvo za aktivno i samo-usmjereno učešće u radu, koje je od suštinske važnosti za razvoj komunikativne kompetencije u učionici u kojoj je komunikacija konačno postala prioritet. Njihovo proučavanje omogućava sticanje uvida u način na koji učenici uče/usvajaju strani jezik, kao i razumijevanje samog tog procesa.

Premda se koriste već hiljadama godina (sama riječ „strategija“ potiče od grčke riječi „strategia“ što znači „umijeće ratovanja“), strategije učenja su tek od skoro i formalno otkrivene i imenovane. Nema, međutim, načelnog slaganja oko njihovog *definisanja* i preciziranja njihovog sadržaja, iz razloga što ne postoji opšteprihvaćena teorijska osnova za njihovo otkrivanje i opisivanje. Tako ih jedni povezuju sa *opštim karakteristikama* pristupa učenju koji učenik jezika koristi, a drugi sa učenikovim pokušajima da *utiče* na sopstveni proces kodiranja jezičke informacije; jedni ih smatraju *svjesnim i voljnim*, a drugi *podsvjesnim* aktivnostima; jedni se pitaju da li ih treba posmatrati kao *konkretno ponašanje* (te stoga moguće za objektivno proučavanje) ili kao *mentalne aktivnosti*, ili i kao jedno i kao drugo, a drugi, opet, da li utiču na učenje i na razvoj medjujezika *direktno* ili *indirektno* (Ellis 1999). Rebecka Oksford je jedina koja u svoju definiciju unosi dimenziju emocionalnog), pa tako prema njoj, strategije učenja predstavljaju konkretne aktivnosti koje učenik preduzima kako bi olakšao i ubrzao svoje učenje, učinio ga *prijatnijim*, samo-usmjerenijim i uspješnijim, i efikasnije primjenjivao stečeno iskustvo u novim situacijama (Oxford 1990:8).

S obzirom na ovakvu raznolikost u pogledima i stavovima, moglo bi se reći da najbolji pristup definisanju pojma i sadržaja strategija učenja ima Rod Ellis (Ellis 1999), koji jednostavno navodi njihove *glavne karakteristike*:

- strategije predstavljaju i *opšti* pristup učenju i *konkretne* aktivnosti ili tehnike koje učenik koristi u učenju L2
- strategije se koriste u cilju rješavanja nekog konkretnog *problema* u učenju
- učenici su uglavnom *svjesni* strategija koje koriste i mogu prepoznati iz čega se one sastoje ako ih pitate da obrate pažnju na ono što rade i o čemu razmišljaju
- strategije učenja se mogu primjenjivati i u L1 i u L2
- neke strategije predstavljaju oblik *ponašanja*, a neke *mentalnu* aktivnost, tako da je neke moguće direktno posmatrati, a neke ne
- strategije uglavnom doprinose učenju *indirektno* (pružaju učeniku informaciju o L2 koju on kasnije može obradivati); neke, pak, mogu doprinijeti učenju i *direktno* (npr. strategije pamćenja određenih jezičkih obilježja ili gramatičkih pravila)
- upotreba strategija učenja je *raznovrsna* i može, između ostalog, zavisiti i od vrste zadatka pred kojim se učenik nalazi, kao i od učenikovih ličnih sklonosti.

U početku su naučnici bili usredsređeni na otkrivanje i pravljenje lista strategija učenja; malo toga je urađeno da se te strategije *klasifikuju* u opšte kategorije, a otkrivene strategije uglavnom su odražavale tip učenika, okruženje učenja i konkretna interesovanja istraživača. Osamdesetih godina dvadesetog vijeka, Taroneova (Tarone 1980b) pravi razliku između tri tipa strategija: *strategija učenja jezika*, s jedne, i *strategija produkcije*, odnosno *komunikacije* (kao strategija *upotrebe* jezika) s druge strane. Strategije učenja jezika odnose se na učenikove pokušaje da razvije lingvističku i sociolingvističku kompetenciju jezika cilja, strategije produkcije - na njegove pokušaje da uspješno upotrijebi svoj jezički sistem, a strategije komunikacije na učenikovo snalaženje u problemima komunikacije na koje nailazi u interakciji. Rubinova i Naiman, koji su se bavili proučavanjem strategija učenja kod odraslih učenika, naglašavaju važnost učenikovog *razmišljanja o sopstvenom učenju i svjesne analize* (v. Ellis 1999) a Vong-Filmorova (Wong-Fillmore 1976), čije istraživanje obuhvata djecu uzrasta od 5-7 godina, važnost *društvenih aspekata* učenja. Ove razlike kao da ukazuju na važnost uzrasta učenika i okruženja unutar kojeg se odvija učenje, implicirajući da *djeca i odrasli* ne koriste neminovno iste vrste strategija učenja.

Na prve sveobuhvatne i na teoriji zasnovane klasifikacije nailazi se u deskriptivnim istraživanjima učenikovog jezika, a najveći doprinos današnjem poznavanju strategija učenja i njihovoj klasifikaciji dali su O'Mali, Šamo i Rebeka Oksford.

U (opšteprihvaćenju) klasifikaciji koju nude O'Mali i Šamo (O'Malley and Chamot 1990) prepoznajemo tri glavne vrste strategija: *kognitivne*, *metakognitivne* i *društveno-emocionalne* (ili *socio-afektivne*). *Kognitivne* strategije se odnose na konkretne korake u rješavanju nekog problema koji zahtijeva direktnu analizu, transformaciju ili sintezu materijala koji se uči (Ellis 1999:536), dakle, na način na koji učenik povezuje nove koncepte sa već postojećim informacijama u svojoj memoriji; *metakognitivne* strategije predstavljaju pokušaj učenika utiče na svoje učenje putem planiranja, posmatranja i ocjenjivanja, tj. da se organizuje u cilju uspješnog učenja, a *društveno-emocionalne* se odnose na način na koji učenik bira da *saradjuje* sa drugim učenicima i izvornim govornicima.

Najsveobuhvatniju i najpregledniju klasifikaciju, ipak, daje Rebeka Oksford (Oxford 1990), koja je zapravo sve ranije otkrivene strategije i one koje je sama uočila tokom rada i istraživanja smjestila na jednu listu. Oksfordova najprije pravi razliku između direktnih i indirektnih strategija, a potom nudi širok repertoar njihovih podkategorija. **Direktne** strategije (strategije pamćenja, kognitivne i strategije kompenzacije) predstavljaju *strategije koje direktno uključuju jezik cilja* u smislu da zahtijevaju mentalnu obradu jezika, a **indirektne** (metakognitivne, afektivne i društvene strategije) pružaju indirektnu pomoć u učenju jezika kroz usmjeravanje pažnje, planiranje, samo-ocjenjivanje, iznalaženje prilika za komunikaciju, kontrolu treme, saradnju, empatiju i dr. (Oxford 1990). Svaka od ovih podkategorija ima nekoliko grupa strategija (kognitivne strategije, na primjer, obuhvataju strategije *uvježbavanja, primanja i slanja poruke, analiziranja i rasudjivanja, i stvaranja strukture za input i output*) i svaka od ovih grupa, opet, ima svoje podgrupe (kognitivna strategija *uvježbavanja* sastoji se od pet različitih vrsta ponašanja: *ponavljanja, uvježbavanja forme, prepoznavanja i upotrebe formulisanog govora, preuredjivanja i prirodnog uvježbavanja*).

Premda *pamćenje* još uvijek predstavlja „crnu rupu“ u neurobiološkim proučavanjima (Oxford 1990:240), zna se da ljudski um može da čuva oko 100 triliona različitih informacija; međjutim, samo jedan dio tog potencijala može se iskoristiti ukoliko se čovjek ne pomaže strategijama pamćenja. **Strategije pamćenja** (memory strategies/mnemonics), koje pomažu učeniku da zapamti novu informaciju i da je se sjeti kad zatreba, sasvim sigurno su efektivnije ukoliko ih učenik koristi istovremeno sa metakognitivnim i afektivnim strategijama (npr. *pažnjom* i *redukcijom treme*); izuzetno su korisne za učenje leksike, često podrazumijevaju uparivanje različitih vrsta materijala, a naročito je korisno povezivanje verbalnog sa vizuelnim, jer je kapacitet uma za vizuelnu informaciju daleko veći od kapaciteta za verbalnu informaciju.

Kognitivne strategije omogućavaju učeniku da razumije i upotrijebi jezik i od suštinske su važnosti za učenje novog jezika. Puno je različitih kognitivnih strategija (*ponavljanje, preuredjivanje, bilježenje, markiranje, rezimiranje, deduktivno rasudjivanje, analiziranje izraza, prevod*), ali im je svima zajednička funkcija - manipulisanje ili transformacija jezika cilja, odnosno njegova kognitivna obrada. Istraživanja pokazuju da ih učenici vrlo rado i često koriste.

Strategije kompenzacije omogućavaju učeniku da razumije ili govori novim jezikom u autentičnoj komunikaciji uprkos svom ograničenom znanju gramatike i (češće) leksike, odnosno da prevaziđe jaz koji nastaje uslijed neznanja. Naročito su korisne strategije *pagadjanja*, koje podrazumijevaju upotrebu velikog broja različitih signala - jezičkih i nejezičkih - kako bi učenik shvatio značenje nekog iskaza čak i onda kada ne razumije sve riječi; koriste ih i učenici sa visokim nivoom znanja, pa čak i izvorni govornici kada nešto nisu dobro čuli, kada ne razumiju neku riječ ili kada je njeno značenje skriveno između redova, jer čovjek, u stvari, interpretira informaciju oslanjajući se na neposredni kontekst i svoje životno iskustvo, tj. znanje.

Pomoću **metakognitivnih strategija** učenik kontroliše svoju kogniciju, odnosno koordinira proces učenja koristeći funkcije *usmjeravanja, uređivanja, planiranja i ocjenjivanja*. Ove strategije su od izuzetnog značaja za uspješno učenje jezika, jer učenik koji je istinski zainteresovan da ovlada jednim jezikom mora da preuzme

odgovornost za iznalaženje prilika za uvježbavanje jezika i unutar i izvan učionice, za organizaciju i planiranje svog učenja, za postavljanje ciljeva i slično.

Afektivne strategije pomažu regulaciju emocija, motivacije, stavova i sistema vrijednosti. Afektivna strana učenikove ličnosti vjerojatno je od najveće važnosti za uspješno učenje; negativne emocije veoma često blokiraju uspjeh, čak i kod onih učenika koji znaju kako treba učiti, dok ga pozitivne olakšavaju i čine prijatnim. Učenikovo inhibiciji često doprinose i *kritike*, kako nastavnika tako i ostalih učenika, a onda i samog sebe. U prevazilaženju ovakvih i sličnih problema učeniku u velikoj mjeri mogu pomoći afektivne strategije (npr. strategije *samo-ohrabrivanja* i *smanjivanja treme*), kao i nastojanje da kod sebe razvije *spremnost na rizik i toleranciju dvosmislenosti*. Zna se, naime, da je umjereno i promišljeno rizikovanje izuzetno važno za uspješno učenje jezika (npr. kada učenik pogadja značenje ili kada govori uprkos tome što će vjerojatno u nečemu pogriješiti), a slično je i sa tolerancijom dvosmislenosti. Učenici koji su spremni da rizikuju obično su otvoreni i mogu da se nose sa konfužnim činjenicama i događajima koji su neminovno dio učenja jezika; oni, pak, učenici koji imaju potrebu za kontrolom nad svakom novom informacijom i žele da je odmah postave na svoje pravo mjesto imaju problema kada naidju na nešto što im nije potpuno jasno.

Društvene strategije pomažu učeniku da uči kroz interakciju sa drugima i od izuzetne su važnosti, s obzirom na to da jezik predstavlja oblik društvenog ponašanja, odnosno komunikaciju koja se odvija među ljudima. *Postavljanje pitanja* predstavlja jednu od najvažnijih vrsta društvene interakcije čijom upotrebom učenici puno postižu: postaje im jasnije značenje, poboljšava se njihovo razumijevanje govora, dobijaju veliku količinu inputa na jeziku cilja, povećavaju svoje interesovanje, u većoj mjeri bivaju uključeni u sami proces učenja, a odgovor sagovornika dodatno im još govori i o kvalitetu njihove komunikacije, s obzirom na to da dobijaju direktnu povratnu informaciju o svom govoru.

Strategije učenja jezika, takodje, podstiču različite aspekte *komunikativne kompetencije*: gramatičku, sociolingvističku, kompetenciju diskursa i stratešku kompetenciju. Tako, neke strategije pamćenja (npr. *strukturirano ponavljanje*) i neke kognitivne strategije (npr. *deduktivno rasudjivanje* i *primjena kontrastivne analize*) povećavaju gramatičku tačnost, a društvene strategije (npr. *postavljanje pitanja*, *saradnja sa izvornim govornicima* i *sa ostalim učenicima* i *jačanje kulturološke svijesti*) snažno pomažu razvoju sociolingvističke kompetencije. Različite vrste strategija mogu podstaći autentičnu komunikaciju i na taj način povećati kompetenciju diskursa, kao što je to slučaj sa strategijama kompenzacije (npr. upotreba *kontekstualnih signala za pogadjanje*), društvenim strategijama (npr. *saradnja* i *postavljanje pitanja*.) i kognitivnim strategijama (npr. *preuredjivanje*), dok strategije kompenzacije (*pogadjanje* u situacijama kada se ne zna značenje riječi ili *upotreba sinonima* i *gestikulacije* da bi se prenijelo značenje neke nepoznate riječi ili izraza) predstavljaju samu suštinu strateške kompetencije (Oxford 1990:9).

Učenici se u priličnoj mjeri razlikuju kako u *učestalosti upotrebe* tako i u izboru konkretnih tipova strategija, a na izbor određene strategije utiče čitav jedan *niz faktora*: godine, nivo motivacije, prethodno iskustvo, uvjerenja, opšti nivo znanja jezika, stepen svijesti, konkretan zadatak, očekivanja nastavnika, pol, nacionalnost, maternji jezik učenika, opšti stil učenja, lične karakteristike i sami cilj učenja jezika. Tako, ima istraživanja koja pokazuju da se u učenju nekih jezika strategije

učenja koriste u većoj mjeri nego u učenju nekog drugog jezika - u učenju ruskog, francuskog i njemačkog jezika, na primjer, strategije se koriste u većoj mjeri nego u učenju španskog, a za same Španjolce je karakteristično to da u L2 učenju koriste strategije učenja u većoj mjeri od nekih drugih naroda (Chamot 1988).

U četvoromjesečnom istraživanju koje je sprovedeno na večernjim kursovima na Institutu za strane jezike u Podgorici, tokom kojeg je u okviru opšteg jezičkog ponašanja učenika praćena i upotreba strategija u učenju engleskog jezika kao stranog (u prvom redu *gramatike* i *leksike* engleskog jezika) kod tri različite starosne grupe učenika (*odraslih, djece i adolescenata*) kojima je maternji jezik srpski, za proučavanje konkretnih strategija koje učenici koriste korišćena su dva upitnika koja sadrže unekoliko različite strategije učenja. Prvi upitnik sadrži 34 strategije i zasniva se na kombinaciji klasifikacija koje daju O'Mali, Šamo, Vendenova i Oksfordova (v. Ellis 1999); drugi upitnik sadrži 35 strategija i zasniva se isključivo na klasifikaciji pod nazivom „SILL“ Rebeke Oksford (Oxford 1990:230: Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL) - Version for Speakers of Other Languages Learning English).

Prema rezultatima prvog upitnika (koji, prema mišljenju autora ovog rada, sadrži strategije primjerenije učenju stranog jezika u učionici, za razliku od drugog upitnika, koji sadrži strategije koje su u većoj mjeri primjerene učenju u prirodnom okruženju, naročito kada je riječ o kognitivnim strategijama (uporediti strategije koje su navedene u tabeli br. 3)), **odrasli** učenici u najvećoj mjeri koriste *kognitivne strategije*, **adolescenti** *strategije pamćenja*, a **djeca** *društvene strategije*.

100%	Kognitivne strategije	Strategije pamćenja	Strategije kompenzacije	Metakognitiv. strategije	Društvene strategije	Afektivne strategije
Djeca	61.5%	70.4%	44.4%	66.7%	100%	45.3%
Adoles.	64.1%	77.7%	55.5%	66.7%	55.5%	0.25%
Odrasli	73.07%	40%	46.6%	41.6%	43.3%	25.2%

Tabela br.1: (Strategije učenja 1)

Poslije kognitivnih, kod odraslih učenika najzastupljenije su strategije kompenzacije i društvene strategije; kod adolescenata su poslije strategija pamćenja najzastupljenije metakognitivne i kognitivne strategije, a kod djece poslije društvenih - strategije pamćenja i metakognitivne strategije. Kognitivne strategije u većoj mjeri od ostalih koriste odrasli, društvene djeca, dok adolescenti u većoj mjeri od ostalih koriste strategije pamćenja i strategije kompenzacije.

Prema rezultatima drugog upitnika, kod učenika postoje značajne razlike na planu upotrebe pojedinačnih vrsta strategija. Tako, odrasli učenici i adolescenti u najvećoj mjeri koriste metakognitivne, a djeca u istoj (najvećoj) mjeri koriste metakognitivne, strategije kompenzacije i afektivne strategije; odrasli učenici u najmanjoj mjeri koriste kognitivne, adolescenti afektivne, a djeca strategije pamćenja. Prema rezultatima ovog upitnika, dakle, kod većine učenika (uopšteno uzev) najzastupljenija je upotreba *metakognitivnih strategija* učenja.

100%	Strategije pamćenja	Kognitivne strategije	Strategije kompenzacije	Metakognitivne strategije	Afektivne strategije	Društvene strategije
Djeca	50%	60.6%	66.7%	66.7%	66.7%	55.5%
Adolesc.	58.3%	54.5%	55.5%	79.2%	11.1%	77.7%
Odrasli	42.5%	37.2%	48.3%	52.5%	43.3%	43.3%

Tabela br.2: (Strategije učenja 2)

Ovakvi rezultati impliciraju da je moguće da je upotreba neke konkretne vrste kognitivne, odnosno metakognitivne, strategije pamćenja, kompenzacije, afektivne ili društvene strategije u manjoj ili većoj mjeri karakteristična za određeni *kontekst* učenja (formalni ili prirodni), *ličnost*, a onda i *maternji jezik* učenika, i da su kognitivne strategije koje koriste učenici drugog i stranog jezika (sadržajno) različite, odnosno da strategije (učenja) u prirodnim uslovima učenja, tj. usvajanja jezika i učenja jezika u učionici možda ipak nisu iste.

Kognitivne strategije	<i>Povezujem novo i staro gradivo (novi materijal sa onim što sam prethodno naučio)</i>	<i>Gledam TV program/filmove bez prevoda; slušam radio program na engleskom</i>
	<i>Svjesno primjenjujem pravila koja sam prethodno naučio</i>	<i>Razgovaram na engleskom kad god je to moguće</i>
	<i>Bilježim ono što smatram da je najvažnije; rezimiram</i>	<i>Pišem pisma, obavještenja, kratke informacije i sl. na engleskom jeziku</i>
Metakognitivne strategije	<i>Pokušavam da shvatim šta je to što će mi pomoći u učenju i da obezbijedim prisustvo tih uslova</i>	<i>Svjestan sam kada pogriješim i nastojim da učim na svojim greškama</i>
	<i>Pratim i korigujem svoj govor</i>	<i>Pažljivo slušam kada neko govori na engleskom</i>
Strategije pamćenja	<i>Pravim asocijacije</i>	<i>Pokušavam da zapamtim novi material pravljenjem asocijacija sa onim što već znam</i>
Strategije kompenzacije	<i>Pogadjam i predviđjam (novo na osnovu poznatog)</i>	<i>Vrlo često pogadjam značenje novih riječi</i>
Društvene strategije	<i>Pitam nastavnika (ili nekog drugog učenika) da mi nešto objasni kada mi nije jasno</i>	<i>Molim one koji znaju engleski da me ispravljaju kada pogriješim</i>
Afektivne strategije	<i>Isprobavam novu gramatičku strukturu/riječ i kada nisam siguran da je ispravna</i>	<i>Ohrabrujem sebe da govorim čak i kada se plašim da ću pogriješiti</i>

Tab.3: Pregled najzastupljenijih strategija iz prvog (*lijevi stubac*) i drugog (*desni stubac*) upitnika

Očigledno je, dakle, da strategije učenja sve više zaokupljaju pažnju istraživača u oblasti usvajanja (odnosno učenja) i nastave drugog (odnosno stranog) jezika, što ne iznenadjuje s obzirom na njihov značaj kao veoma korisnog sredstva za aktivno učešće u nastavi, za razvijanje svijesti i preuzimanje odgovornosti za sopstveno učenje. Njihovom zastupljenošću u nastavi otvara se put ka većoj *autonomiji učenika* (koja predstavlja tendenciju savremene nastave stranih jezika), pri čemu, naravno, ne treba zanemarivati ili potcjenjivati ulogu nastavnika. Trebalo bi,

takodje, raditi i na podizanju svijesti samih nastavnika o značaju strategija učenja, kako bi se obezbijedila njihova neposrednija zastupljenost u nastavi, a koja bi, sasvim sigurno, doprinijela uspješnijem učenju stranog jezika. Ovo područje, međutim, i dalje predstavlja nedovoljno istražen prostor koji čeka da se neki smjeli istraživači uhvate u koštac sa poduhvatom još detaljnijeg prepoznavanja i klasifikovanja strategija koje se tiču ovih istih, ali i ostalih jezičkih nivoa, a onda i jezičkih vještina (u prvom redu, govora i pisanja).

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FRAME APPROACH IN TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

Abstract: Despite the considerable amount of research literature available on the given subject, the problem of language means choice remains relevant for several reasons. The main one lies in the fact that there still doesn't exist any clear and systematized classification of factors which are likely to influence the selection of language means. It is also important to identify the mechanism of this choice since it contributes to the speakers' successful foreign language performance. Such identification can only become possible when **pragmatic aspects of communication** are taken into consideration in the process of foreign language teaching. Besides, compressing the material is essential not only for saving academic hours but also for improving the students' imagination and logical thinking. It also prevents the mechanical memorizing of the material. Its **relevance** stems from the scientific interest in investigation of different means of conceptual organization of knowledge (frames) in the process of production and interpretation of utterances. Thus, the **aim** of the paper is to reveal the mechanism of selection of language means as an important aspect in language teaching, especially at an advanced level. **Methodological basis** includes some theoretical propositions from recent Sperber & Wilson's Relevance theory and cognitive linguistics.

Key words: Frame, relevance, conceptual, proposition, interpretation, selection.

Faced with a choice of a linguistic form to express an idea, the speaker subconsciously takes into account a broad context (scenario or frame), against which the selected language expression will be interpreted. Thus, it is possible to define frame not only statically as a fixed framework or scheme but also dynamically as the combination of pragmatic features modelling the situation. In this respect, the open problem is what factors are involved in the frame organization: the observer or his perspective (Givon 1984), presupposition or our background expectations and assumptions (Luzina 1996), modality or the speaker's attitude towards the described situation, and reference or correlation of real-unreal situations. Reference thus, for example, implies the usage of the durative form when the utterance reflects the speaker's feelings, not the mere statements of the events (Fleishman 1995).

First we will turn to the process by which the proposition (a framework of a future sentence/expression) is formed. Let us suppose that a proposition itself is an amodal entity, so the speaker's choice and selection of the definite grammatical forms might take place on the stage of the verbalization of the proposition. Relevance (informative intention of the speaker to convey his idea to the hearer, to make a particular assumption strongly manifest), in its turn, is responsible for the selection of the language means under conditions of the verbalization of the proposition:

mental model (presentation) => formation of the proposition =>
verbalization of the proposition: selection of language means.

The idea of teaching a student how to discover what proposition was explicitly expressed by an utterance is a crucial one. Only when a language learner realizes how to decode the sense of the sentence uttered, assign reference to any referential expressions, and even restore any ellipsed material will he be competent

in choosing the right language means. Thus, teaching interpreting a foreign utterance is not a simple matter of linguistic decoding but a more complex process involving grasping the contextual assumptions, rejecting the false ones and conceiving those which are relevant to the given communicative situation.

It becomes especially important while teaching different connotations implied by the utterance. Implicatures inferred by the interpreter may contain negative emotions of the speaker (example *i*) or be neutral (example *ii*).

i) "Oh, bother!" she cried angrily. "It was simply awful to live with a lot of people, who *were always nagging and fussing* over trifles." (from *Modern English Stories* 1985:38).

ii) "He pulled up suddenly at the white gate, still gazing upwards at the landing window; while Yvette, who *was always clasping* her cold and mottled arms, still gazed abstractedly down at him, from the window." (D. Lawrence 1997:42).

What is interesting here is the same linguistic content (*Progressive* form + frequency adverb <always>) but different implicatures. In grammars for English learners the usage of a frequency adverb and a durative grammatical form in one sentence may be interpreted as an expression of irritation and even anger from the part of the speaker. But, judging by the previous examples this criterion is controversial. A student must be taught to interpret not only linguistic content of the utterance but the whole situation, trying to analyze the cognitive environment of the speaker, his communicative intention.

As an example, let us take structures with process verbs and punctual time adverbs, which present certain difficulties for the analysis:

(iii) "**At two a.m.** we *passed* Point Lazaro, one of the reputedly dangerous places of the world, like Cedros passage, or like Cape Horn, where the weather is always bad, even when it is good elsewhere." (J. Steinbeck 1978:111).

The action <passed> can be interpreted as completed (at two a.m. we left Point Lazaro behind us) or as durative: (at two o'clock we were passing Point Lazaro, i.e. Pragmatics: process phase!). So, it is often impossible to determine the full explicit meaning, characterizing the situation, without taking into account the external context.

Where frame becomes really indispensable are the most complicated topics of the English grammar, such as Aspect, Tense or Article. The main difficulty here is the lack of correspondence between Russian and English aspect systems. It turns out that the usage of this or that aspect form in a situation where both of them can be used presents a puzzle for the Russian students. Frame involves them in working with the standard scenarios contributing to their understanding of the situation from the point of view of the speaker. So, the main aim is not only to memorize grammar rules but also to get the idea of the mechanism of the language means choice.

This, in some way, psychological aspect greatly facilitates mastering the language. At the final advanced stage a student can be encouraged to build his own frames while working with lexical, grammatical and even audio material in English. The

Frame conventions:

1. If X doesn't remember the events of the previous day, his statements can't sound categorical.
2. If X had agreed with Y that his umbrella couldn't have been stolen, he would have used *Common* to describe the situation and confirm his confidence, however he is confused.
3. The choice of the durative form in this context may be explained by X's uncertainty, doubt.

Thus, we can assume that the choice of grammatical form is determined by the speaker's uncertainty and his correlation of the described situation with the reality/unreality (his inferior or semi-conscious state). The access to this assumption is provided, in its turn, by the grammatical form of the utterance.

II. *Social context*: formal, official

Frame: Lawyers' conversation

"How are we going to deal with our client's confusing account of what the photographs were doing in his brief case?" (Kay & Fillmore 1999:24).

Frame structure:

- a) Functions: X: advocate-speaker/interpreter
Y: lawyer
- b) Properties: The photographs, mentioned in the speech, didn't have to be found in the suspect's brief case. X asks for Y advice of how to make the jury believe that there was nothing extraordinary about this fact.

Frame conventions:

1. If X and Y had no intention of hiding the incongruity of the fact that the photographs were in the brief case it would not be necessary to discuss it.
2. If X induces Y to discuss this problem he considers this state of affairs incongruous.
3. For the description of usual situation X will use *Common*.

Thus, incongruity of the described situation is derived from this scenario.

The choice of grammatical form is predetermined here by background knowledge (the speaker only implies this incongruity by using *Progressive*) and reference (he correlates the described situation with the proper state of affairs in the search for relevance).

The following frames will display how to explain the usage of *Perfect/Perfect Continuous*, the most complicated grammatical forms for the Russian students. The reason is simple – there are no such forms in Russian, and it is rather difficult to explain the peculiarities of their usage. The penetration into the speaker's cognitive environment will probably help here.

III. *Social context*: informal, private.

Frame: Scene in the hall.

“Baines was *urging, hoping, entreating, commanding* and the girl looked at the tea and the China pots and cried.” (from *Modern English Stories* 1985:59).

Frame structure:

- a) Functions: X - Baines
 Y - girl
 Z - observer

b) Properties: X tries to influence Y, though his attempts are vain. Perhaps, Y is very upset, she remains indifferent to all X's efforts.

Frame conventions:

1. If X finds difficulty in influencing Y then he would be trying to achieve result.
2. If *Common* form were used X's actions could have been perceived as single, successive, but this is in contradiction with frame convention 1. Z sees how unsuccessfully X tries to exert influence on Y.

The observer and his point of view influence the choice of grammatical forms. He tries to express all fuss made by X with the help of simultaneous actions perceived as ongoing process. The usage of *Common* would have made the described situation ambiguous.

Experimental data

The efficiency of the frame using was supported by the experiment with the number of students of the physico-mathematical class equal to 51. The two groups were tested parallelly, one having higher academic score than the other. However, the ascertaining experiment at the beginning revealed the low level of all respondents' knowledge of the English grammar.

Both groups were educated according to different methods (one was taught on the frame basis, the other according to the programme suggested by the curriculum). After five months a control experiment was carried. The procedure was as follows: the students were required to pass a written test which included the choice of the tense and aspect forms in the English discourse. Moreover, they were suggested to substantiate their choice. The average score was figured according to the following criteria: the language competence in choosing the right verb form in a given situation, the ability to give reasons for the choice.

The tasks	The average test score % (average/max-100%)	
	1 st group (control)	2 nd group
(experimental)		
1. aspect choice	60%	93,3%
2. tense choice	23%	87%
3. explanation	3,7%	74,3%
Number of respondents	24	27

Thus, the majority of the students of the control group failed to produce the right choice. What is more, when they were asked to express the given idea in English the results proved to be in favour of teaching by frames. The students of the control group had evident difficulty in formulating their ideas. They used graphic signs

(arrows) to show dependence and applied transliteration when they failed to find a suitable word; some honestly confessed that this task was too difficult for them.

The fact is a frame can form a mental structure (a framework, a proposition) in the head of a student. So, it facilitates his ability to construct sentences or even text fragments in the foreign language. He can make grammar mistakes, but his ability to express himself is undoubtful.

We suggest that the number of frames, which presuppose the language means choice, can be unlimited. Frame can be interpreted as a system of choice of different linguistic forms, which is based on the speaker's interpretive perception of the observed situation. The usage of elements of cognitive linguistics while teaching foreign language at the advanced level should be used in one way or another since it is sure to contribute to the students' better understanding of the mechanism of the selection of language means, which is significant for the competent language speaker. What is more, frame approach not only contributes to extending the students' knowledge at the advanced level, but is also helpful while working with those students who don't make a satisfactory progress. The reason is that frame develops the ability to build mental logical chains of concepts which allows the student to express himself, even if he does it on the primitive level. Teaching through situations helps to reveal the cognitive environment of the native speakers.

We also hope that the proposed methods of grammatical description will eventually lead to the development of the complex research methodology, capable of providing an account of the formal concept of interdependency of parameters, which characterize the components of the structures with grammatical forms as well as pragmatic factors which are involved in the process of language means selection, reflecting the result of natural processing of linguistic and non-linguistic data in the process of discourse production and interpretation.

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TEACHING DUTCH: A CROSS-SECTION BETWEEN FOUR LANGUAGES

Abstract: Slovene students of Dutch are usually competent in at least one or two foreign languages (second languages or L2s), which are either English or German, Dutch being their third language (L3). Various factors that affect learning an L3 are dealt with, especially the knowledge of the learner's L2 on his L3. Consequently, some ways of avoiding the negative transfer between the languages are shown. When using explanations for variable language phenomena in the Dutch language, the parallels can be drawn with the similar phenomena in the Slovene language. But for different reasons that is not always the case. Even more often those analogies and differences are drawn between English and German languages. In this way learning Dutch is very often a tour through four different languages and their cultures (Dutch, Slovene, English and German).

Key words: second language acquisition, third language acquisition, negative transfer, interference, grammatical, lexical and phonological shifts, proficiency, recency, typological similarity, etymological similarity.

Introduction

Slovene students of Dutch are usually competent in at least one or two foreign languages, which are either English or German. This implies that Dutch is usually their third and in some cases even their fourth or fifth language. In this situation, we are dealing with a polyglot. Languages that are acquired after the mother tongue are usually termed as second languages, of which a person may acquire one or more. In order to obtain a basis for discussing our situation of a polyglot, we will use the term L3 for the language that is currently being acquired, i.e. Dutch. The term L2 will refer to any other language that the person has acquired after the mother tongue or L1, i.e. Slovene. In our case, L2 is English and/or German; yet, Italian, French and Spanish are also possible, although less frequently. When using explanations for various language phenomena in Dutch, the parallels are, if possible, drawn between similar phenomena in the Slovene language. But that is, for different reasons, not always the case. Even more often those analogies and differences are drawn between English and German. In this way, learning Dutch is very often a tour through four different languages (Dutch, Slovene, English and German). We will have a look at how this “tour de languages” takes place at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, where Dutch has the L3 position.

Factors that affect learning an L3

Through time, I was becoming more and more aware of the fact that teaching Dutch as a third language differs from teaching it as a second language. All the students that took my classes already had some proficiency in at least one foreign language. Mostly their L2 had been English or German, or both. Gradually, I realized that L3 learners are more competent language learners than those learning an L2, since they are already experienced in learning a foreign language. Consciously or not, they apply other learning strategies in their L3 learning. Because of the different

nature of L3 acquisition, the teacher is faced with new opportunities of implementing different teaching methods.

According to Hufeisen (2000:214), professor at the Technische Universität Darmstadt, factors that affect learning an L3 are qualitatively different from those affecting L2 learning.

“First, familiarity with another foreign language exists, and second, specific experiences and strategies related to foreign language learning are now available in addition to general life and learner experience and general learning strategies. Thus, L3 learning is fundamentally different from L2 learning. With L4 learning, the addition of one more input or variable to the L4 language-learning process - in this case the knowledge of L3 - is not nearly as significant as the expansion of additional areas between L2 and L3.”¹⁸

Students of Dutch at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana have already gained an L2 experience and have acquired L2 learning strategies. Why are they different from L3 strategies? Because once a student starts learning an L2, the learning situation is completely new and unknown. Things must get a new name, texts must be decoded. Up to that moment his L1 could be applied as a communication medium in every situation. When the same student starts learning an L3, the learning situation is already known. He knows, for instance, that he cannot say everything straight, perhaps he has developed certain learning strategies and by applying them he can accelerate the learning process. He may become a more competent learner than an L2 learner and with every subsequent language that he might study, his learning strategies become more diverse.

In addition to the L2 learning experience and strategies some more factors should be taken into account. Britta Hufeisen (2000:215) discusses several important ideas about L3 learning and the factors that affect it. She mentions the following factors: universals (e.g. language learning ability), learning environment, life experience, L1, L2 learning experience and strategies, learner’s self-knowledge about personal learning style and L2¹⁹.

According to Hufeisen, one of the universals is e.g. the language learning ability. Furthermore, learning environment is important because it can either stimulate or impede foreign language learning. Hufeisen also takes into account the learner’s general life experience and his general learner experience and strategies, which do not apply only to language learning strategies. Another important factor is the mother tongue or L1.

The L2 learning experience and strategies are of paramount importance as well as the L2 itself, which can exert an enormous impact on learning an L3. The influence of L2 on L3 will be discussed in the following sections. Through gaining an L2 learning experience and strategies, a learner develops his own personal learning style and knowledge about himself. Subsequently, L3 learners are - in an ideal case - more confident learners, they are better at anticipating and recognizing possible difficulties, and they tolerate difficulties more easily.

¹⁸ Hufeisen, B. (2000) “A European perspective - Tertiary languages with a focus on German as L3”, in Rosenthal, J. W. (ed.) *Handbook of Undergraduate Second Language Education: English as a Second Language, Bilingual, and Foreign Language Instruction for a Multilingual World*, Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum, pp. 209-229.

¹⁹ idem.

The influence of L2 on L3

The transfer or interference

The following concerns the major factor, i.e. the influence of L2 on L3. First, it should be mentioned that the proficiency in L2 plays an important role in affecting an L3 learning. The higher the proficiency in L2, the lower the transfer in L3, and vice versa. For the language transfer, the term linguistic interference is also used. It denotes the influence of the speaker's mother tongue on the production or perception of his L2. But the transfer can also occur between the speaker's L2 and his L3. It is difficult to define the language transfer in a precise way, due to the complex nature of language interaction; therefore, there are numerous definitions of it. One of them derives from Dechert and Raupach (1988:xii) from the University of Kassel who see language transfer rather as a metaphor. "Unknown areas of language can be processed - and as such acquired - only on the basis of known areas of language or nonverbal knowledge sources. Transfer between known and unknown, old and new, verbal and non-verbal is the fundamental principle of human cognition."²⁰

In this paper, we will conform with one of the many definitions Gass and Selinker (1983:8,12) from the University of Michigan use for language transfer: "Language transfer is a technical term denoting the 'positive' interaction of two or more similar areas of language or languages resulting in 'correct' linguistic output (positive transfer) or denoting the 'negative' interaction of two or more similar areas of language or languages resulting in 'incorrect' linguistic output (negative transfer)."²¹

Proficiency, recency and L2 status

Recency and proficiency are two of the conditioning factors of L2's influence on L3, next to typological and etymological similarity and status of L2, which will be mentioned later on.

Proficiency means "that L2 influence is favoured if the learner has a high level of competence in the L2, and if the L2 has been acquired and used in natural situations."²²

Recency refers to the activation of L2, which occurs more easily if the speaker has used it recently and thus maintained easy access to it.

The chronological order of the acquisition of second languages is not really relevant when considering their proficiency and recency. An L2 that was once learned can become a language that is no longer used or spoken. Knowledge of languages is in a constant change, and learners do not have the same command of their languages at all times. Out of different reasons, the languages can fall into oblivion or become

²⁰ Dechert, H. W. and Raupach M. (eds.) (1988) *Transfer in Language Production*, Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation

²¹ Gass, S. and Selinker, L. (eds.) (1983) *Language transfer in language learning*, Rowley, MA: Newbury House

²² Hammarberg, B. (2001) "Roles of L1 and L2 in L3 production and acquisition", in Cenoz J., Hufeisen B. and Jessner U. (eds.) *Cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition: Psycholinguistic perspectives*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp. 21- 41.

obsolete. B. Hammarberg from Stockholm University has noticed that while L1 influence persists over a longer period of time, L2 influence tends to fade away twice as rapidly. He also came to the conclusion that there appears to be a general tendency to activate an earlier acquired secondary language in L3 performance rather than L1, due to its foreign language status.

The typological and etymological distance

Considering the influence of L2 on L3, another major factor is the perceived typological and etymological distance between the languages. Slovene learners perceive German as being more similar to Dutch than English. Therefore, the German impact on Dutch among my students is definitely stronger than the English one. With students whose L2 is Italian or French or Spanish, next to English and/or German, no or only a slight interference exists. Later on, we will have a closer look on some aspects of transfer from those languages. Generally speaking, the transfer from German into Dutch is by far the most influential one.

Another factor already mentioned that affects an L3 learning is the L1. The typological distance between an L1 and L3, such as between Slovene and Dutch, may be quite considerable. Therefore, the impact of transfer is less prominent. Without a doubt, a successful L3 acquisition also depends on L1 proficiency. The lower the proficiency in the mother tongue, the higher the transfer, and vice versa. The proficiency in L1 affects not only the transfer to L2, but also to L3. How are L1 and L3 interrelated? One of the researches performed by Hammarberg and Williams from Stockholm University dealt with the influence of L1 and L2 on L3. They conducted a case study of one adult polyglot learner of Swedish, whose L1 was English and who had a relatively high proficiency in French, Italian and German. They found out that the learner's main transfer basis was German. They argue that the reasons for this were not only recency and proficiency, but also the typological and etymological distance between German and Swedish. Even if the learner's competence of Italian or French was on a much higher level, they believe that these languages would never form a strong enough basis for transfer, due to their considerable typological and etymological distance from Swedish. Why did English, the learner's mother tongue, play such an insignificant role in his acquisition of Swedish? They assume that the decisive factor in favouring German as a transfer basis was its L2 status. German was, like Swedish, a 'foreign' language. Williams and the above mentioned Hammarberg (2001:38) suggest two possible reasons for this:

- 1) "a different acquisition mechanism for L2s as opposed to L1s, and hence a reactivation of the L2 type of mechanism in L3 acquisition
- 2) a desire to suppress L1 as being 'non-foreign' language and to rely rather on an orientation towards a prior L2 as a strategy to approach the L3. German outranks French and Italian on the basis of the criteria of typology, proficiency and recency, and thus becomes established as the standard alternative in the role of external supplier." ²³

In the following section, I am going to focus on the opportunities that this interaction of L2 languages, often independently of the L1, creates for the language instructor.

²³ idem.

The instructor's role in learning an L3

Allow me to explain the situation at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana. I teach Dutch at all levels, from absolute beginners to advanced students who can reach the proficiency of Dutch at a C1-level of the ERF (European Reference Frame). At early stages, the language transfer occurs very frequently. Many students often evoke an impression as if they are speaking German with some Dutch ingredients. They even have the same impression themselves. For some of them it is extremely difficult to tell the languages apart regarding grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, etc., though negative transfer gradually stops as proficiency in L3 increases.

How to avoid the negative transfer?

The negative transfer occurs when the student confuses an L3 with an L2. Trial and error has been a constant learner's strategy, but less efficient when trying to avoid the negative transfer between languages which are typologically close, such as Dutch, German and English. Students should be made aware of it in a very explicit way. For this purpose, I use a lot of examples from German or English to illustrate the similarities and differences between the languages and alert the students of the possible pitfalls.

Once again, I will mention my own situation. Dutch used to be my third language as well and I went through the same process of acquiring it, as most of my students do now. We also share the same L1 and L2s (English and German), although on different levels of proficiency. It is therefore easier to step into the students' shoes and either predict or track the interferences. So I know exactly where the faults come from and which are the underlying lexical or grammatical structures in their L2s which cause the incorrect use of Dutch. I do not follow any particular method in trying to prevent them from making these kinds of mistakes. Sometimes I tell them in advance where the pitfalls may lie, e.g. when explaining a new grammatical construction. I always try to make them aware of their mistakes and which structure from another language, be it an L1 or an L2, could lie underneath. I also draw their attention to the pitfall after the mistake has already occurred, always comparing either an L1 and/or L2 and an L3. For the teacher, the mistakes are much easier to exemplify by means of the L2 they derive from, rather than by the L1. Likewise, students understand them more easily. But the language of instruction, in the early L3 stages is the L1, which is then gradually being replaced by an L3.

It is important for the student to realize that his mistake is a consequence of an interference and that he can trace it back to his L1 or his L2. If he is susceptible to such instructions, he may be able to do discern between his L2 and L3 more easily, consequently decreasing such interferences.

In the following section, we can find some examples of negative transfers from L2 (German or English) to L3 (Dutch), made by students in writing or speaking. They are divided into grammatical, lexical and phonological shifts.

Shifts

For the purpose of this paper, I use a provisional term shift in a sense of a negative transfer from a certain aspect of L2 into L3. On the basis of students' most common mistakes illustrated in this paper I discern three types: grammatical, lexical and

phonological shifts. The spelling mistakes as a result of a negative transfer are also very common but they will not be treated in the present paper.

Grammatical shifts

Mistakes where the transfer is made on the basis of the similar grammatical construction in an L2 and L3 are very common.

a) Students often form a false finite verb form with the 1st person singular in the present tense because they are influenced by the German conjugation pattern:

Dutch: *Ik studere Duits.

instead of: Ik studeer Duits.

German: Ich studiere Deutsch.

English: I study German.

There should be no -e-ending at the end of the Dutch finite verb.

b) In the imperfect tense of a modal auxiliary *kunnen* (to can), a similar transfer from German can occur:

Dutch: *Ik/Hij konde niet komen.

instead of: Ik/Hij kon niet komen.

German: Ich/Er konnte nicht kommen.

English: I/He could not come.

Also here, there should be no -e-ending at the end of the Dutch finite modal verb.

c) The use of the German tense and passive auxiliary *werden* (*wurde, ist geworden*) and its Dutch counterpart *worden* (*werd, is geworden*) can be confusing. Among some students the interference seems to be so strong that they are not able to tell them apart. To express the future tense, sentences like the following frequently emerge:

Dutch: *Ik werde later komen.

instead of: Ik zal later komen.

German: Ich werde später kommen.

English: I will come later.

In passive sentences they use a German structure, which does not apply in Dutch:

Dutch: *Hij is gisteren geopereerd worden.

instead of: Hij is gisteren geopereerd.

German: Er ist gestern operiert worden.

English: He has undergone an operation yesterday.

d) The German suffixes, like *-in* for female nouns denoting persons, are transferred to Dutch. This may sometimes be correct, but sometimes not. A common mistake is the use of a word such as **studentin*, instead of *studente*, adding an *-in* to the stem instead of an *-e*.

e) Students easily confuse the Dutch comparative conjunction *dan* with the German *als*.

Dutch: *Ze is groter als haar zus.

instead of: Ze is groter dan haar zus.

German: Sie ist grösser als ihre Schwester.

English: She is taller than her sister.

f) Some irregular comparisons in Dutch seem to cause persistent difficulties.
Dutch: weinig - *weïniger - *weïnigst
instead of: weinig - minder - minst
German: wenig - weniger - wenigst
English: little - less - least

g) Students who are not proficient in German and whose L2 is only English have difficulties with the word order in subordinate clauses, i.e. placing the finite verb form or the verbal group at the end of a sentence.

Dutch: *Ik moet weg omdat het is al heel laat.
instead of: Ik moet weg omdat het al heel laat is.
German: Ich muss weg weil es schon sehr spät ist.
English: I must leave because it is already very late.

h) The following example illustrates a false transfer from German. It occurs among students who are familiar with the word order in subordinate clauses. The same rule is applied in Dutch and German. In both languages the finite verb form should be placed at the end of the subordinate sentence. E.g.:

Dutch: Hij zei dat hij vanavond laat terugkomt.
German: Er sagte dass er spät am Abend zurück kommt.
English: He said that he will return late in the evening.

But when there is more than one verb in a subordinate sentence, the word order in the Dutch sentence differs slightly from the one in German. The finite verb form is not placed at the very end of the sentence, but at the beginning of the verb constituent. Students have difficulties in mastering this rule. E.g.

Dutch: *Ik weet niet wat ik eigenlijk doen moeten zou.
instead of: Ik weet niet wat ik eigenlijk zou moeten doen.
German: Ich weiss nicht, was ich eigentlich tun sollte.
English: I do not know what I should actually do.

i) The next example illustrates a negative transfer from English. A great majority of students initially make the same mistakes when using the Dutch that-sentences. They simply copy the English syntactic structure, on the assumption that it is also applied in Dutch.

1- Dutch: *Toon hoopt Anneke komt morgen naar het feestje.
instead of: Toon hoopt dat Anneke morgen naar het feestje komt.
English: Toon hopes Anneke comes to the party tomorrow. / Toon hopes that Anneke comes to the party tomorrow.
2- Dutch: *Ik denk je hebt gelijk.
instead of: Ik denk dat je gelijk hebt.
English: I think you are right. / I think that you are right.

In Dutch, however, a that-word cannot be omitted, unless in an informal speech.

Lexical shifts

Students sometimes invent words which do not exist in Dutch or which are used in different contexts, but are very similar to those in their L2. In the following cases we may speak of false friends.

a) Students use the word *spraak* a lot, especially at the beginning of L3. They derive it from the German word *Sprache* which means language.

Spraak does actually exist in the Dutch language but it is used in another context, meaning 'ability to speak'. For the word 'language', Dutch has the word *taal*.

b) Similarly, instead of the Dutch word *bell*, which means 'call over the telephone', they use *roepen*, deriving it from the German verb *rufen*.

c) One of the very frequent false friends among the students are the interrogative pronouns *wie* and *hoe*, meaning who and how respectively. Instead of the pronoun *wie*, the pronoun *hoe* is used, which resembles the English *who*. A similar mistake is often made when using the pronoun *wie*, in the sense of *how*, which occurs under the influence of German. Instead of it, the pronoun *hoe* should be used.

d) The following shift is influenced by English. Students tend to use the word *magazijn* when they want to speak about a magazine. But *magazijn* in Dutch means a warehouse, a repository. The proper word for a magazine in Dutch is *tijdschrift*. Although being very close to the German word *Zeitschrift*, even the students of German make a false shift from English. It has never occurred that they would make a right shift from the German.

e) Another common mistake which can be derived either from German, English or Slovene is the use of the verb *to live*, in the meaning of *to reside*, *to dwell*. In Dutch, the verb *leven* would be its counterpart, but it is not used in exactly the same context. In this very particular meaning, the verb *wonen* is used. As a result, awkward sentences are formed, such as:

Dutch *Hij leeft sinds drie jaar in Amsterdam.

instead of: Hij woont al sinds drie jaar in Amsterdam.

English: He has lived in Amsterdam since three years.

In my classes, I encounter numerous examples of such lexical shifts made under the influence of an L2. The one's I have chosen for this article only illustrate some of the most frequent shifts, as a consequence of a negative transfer.

Phonological shifts

a) Dutch took over some English words, together with the same morphological structure (e.g. their plural form). The only thing that differs from English, is pronunciation. Here students should be drawn attention to the different pronunciation, because they tend to use the English pronunciation throughout:

English: drugs [drʌɡz]

Dutch: drugs [drʏɡz]

There are a number of such words in Dutch like e.g. *bus*, *pub*, *drum* etc.

b) The combination of the letters *sch* forms an [ʃ] -sound in German, but in Dutch it is pronounced differently. At the beginning or in the middle of the word, it is pronounced as [sx]. At the end of it, it is pronounced as [s]. The students automatically relate the *sch*-combination with the German pronunciation. E.g. they pronounce the Dutch word *romantisch* with an [ʃ] sound at the end, instead of an [s].

Similarly, the combination of *sch*, can be pronounced by students as [sk], e.g. in school, instead of [sx]. Also the double vowel tends to be pronounced as in English, that is as an [u:] sound, instead of a long [o:] vowel.

c) The combination of letters *st* also poses problems for the students. They tend to pronounce it as in German [ʃt] instead of [st], like in the Dutch words *stad*, *station*, *steen*, *sterven* etc.

d) They also confuse the pronunciation of the Dutch initial consonants [z] and [s] with the German pronunciation. Whereas the letter *s* at the beginning of the word can only be pronounced as an [s], students confuse it with the German [z], e.g. *samen* *[za:mən] instead of [sa:mən].

The same confusion occurs with the initial *z* like in *zwart*, which some students pronounce as [ts], as in German, whereas the correct pronunciation is [z].

When explaining pronunciation in Dutch, I often draw analogies with English or German, if possible, especially in the cases where no such sound in Slovene exists. Examples of such sounds would be a short *i* [ɪ] and a nasal sound [ŋ]. If students can pronounce them correctly in English, they can do the same in Dutch, like in working [workɪŋ].

Conclusion

In this paper, we tried to show that the knowledge of an L2 can exert a considerable influence on the learner's L3. Proficiency, recency, the typological and etymological similarity and the status of L2 play an important role in this process. However, mastering an L2 as well as an L3 also depends on L1 proficiency. It is essential for students to be aware of the mistakes they make and of their origin. In this way, they can avoid them more easily in the future and, by means of generalization, trace more cases of negative transfer themselves. It should be expected that the negative transfer occurs more frequently between typologically more closely related languages, such as Dutch, English and German. The negative transfer from the L1, Slovene, also occurs, but to a lesser extent. It was, however, not the subject matter of this presentation. The influence of an L2 on an L3 is thus not merely an interesting phenomenon for future studies. The awareness can have a positive effect on learning and teaching Dutch. Not only does it make Dutch more attractive for students, at least according to their own sayings, but it also makes it easier to master. In the same way, the use of L2s in an L3 teaching makes it easier for the teacher to explain certain language constructions or peculiarities, on the grounds of what the students already know.

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THE ROLE OF GENDER IN TEACHING ENGLISH TO ARCHITECTURE STUDENTS

Abstract: The paper deals with one of the elements of human diversity - gender, and advocates that patterned distribution of students in relation to gender exists at a school of architecture, which could have effects on the process of English teaching there. The idea is to provide fairer environment for educating two genders by investigating this diversity factor. In other words, the paper is to contribute to answering the question whether behavioral, cultural and psychological differences of architecture students in relation to gender are relevant in the process of teaching English.

Key words: gender study, foreign language teaching, architecture school curriculum.

Introduction

The idea that women and men think differently has traditionally been used to justify subjugating one to the other. It is not strange that the women's movement of the 1960s and '70s rejected the idea of psychological differences between women and men. Feminist thinkers have reconsidered the matter, however, and some have concluded that women do think differently than men. Nevertheless, women's thinking is not inferior to men's. If some differences between two genders are recognized in this paper, it is not to suggest that any of them deserves the inferior status. On the contrary, the aim is to provide equal conditions for educating students of both genders by recognizing their differences and trying to fulfill their different needs.

Another reason for dealing with diversity factors at the University of Belgrade, School of Architecture, is linked to the introduction of a new teaching curriculum according to the Bologna convention there. Learner-based cognitively stimulating approaches to teaching should be applied in this newly introduced curriculum. In such 'student-oriented approach', individual traits of students are to be recognized on the part of the teacher if teaching is to be successful. All kinds of relevant differences, therefore, are to be carefully inspected in order to ensure a democratic approach to teaching.

Gender, therefore, as one of such obvious differences, is studied in this research. Any pointing out to biological differences of people, however, may be a slippery field, but my idea was that raising awareness on the issue might contribute to the aim of both genders reaching equal rights in the process of teaching. As I have already said, only if differences are carefully studied (and it is obvious that men and women are different in different respects), possible ill effects of diversities relevant for teaching English (if there are any) can be observed and a better approach can be undertaken in teaching.

The paper is organized in such a manner that first it advocates the possibility of existence of some kind of patterned male/female distribution at the school of architecture at different referential time points such as the time when students enroll in the 1st year and the time of graduation. Then, the research on gender that I have carried out from 2001-2005 is presented. Finally, some limitations of the

present study, perspectives of such investigations in the future, as well as implications for some other areas of research are pointed out.

Is there a regular female/male distribution pattern at a School of Architecture?

My first assumption was that the professional field in some way regulates the women/men ratio in the profession. If it is really so, the school of architecture can be a suitable place for studying gender relations, architecture being attractive both to men and women compared to some other schools where either male or female students predominate, such as schools of engineering in Serbia - which have always been considered to offer education in male professions, or humanities - where female students outnumber their male colleagues. So, if there is a regular pattern, it could become most easily recognizable at an architecture school. Another argument can be that according to widely accepted perception of many, architecture demands rational and emotional elements as attributes of its practitioners (a widespread notion is that men and women differ in that respect). Jokes can be based on such arguments representing an ideal architect being 'a cyborg', cybernetic organism, a half-rational and half-emotional being.

But, first, I would like to say a few words about the School of Architecture of the University of Belgrade, where the study was undertaken. This is a state-owned academic institution, the top-ranking one for studying architecture in Serbia. Since its founding, it has always been an elite school admitting only 1/3 of all students applying to the first year of studies. Therefore, the best students of Serbia wishing to study architecture have been traditionally admitted there, and approx. 250-300 of them each year were successful in their attempt to enroll. My assumption at the time of doing the study presented here was that the number of students is high enough to provide a reliable basis for conclusive reasoning on gender issues.

In order to inspect if there is any patterned distribution of female/male students, I inspected the issue at the School of Architecture, Belgrade at two time points:

1. at the time when students enrolled in the 1st year,
2. at the time when students graduated

Table1. Male/female counts from 1997 to 2002 in students enrolled in the 1st year of studies

Time of enrollment in the 1 st year	Totals of students admitted to the 1 st year	Boys	Girls
Sept.1997	303	108 (28%)	195 (72%)
Sept.1998	303	110 (28%)	193 (72%)
Sept.1999	311	130 (24%)	181 (76%)
Sept.2000	232	95 (24%)	137 (76%)
Sept.2001	249	100 (25%)	149 (75%)
Sept.2002	266	112 (24%)	154 (76%)
TOTAL	1664	655 (25%)	1009 (75%)

If there is a constant male/female distribution pattern of students when they enroll in the 1st year of studies, it should have become obvious during inspecting it for sufficiently long time. It proved right for a 6 year long period from 1997 to 2002, with male/female student ratios being very similar - 25% for boys and 75% for girls on the average.

Table 2. Students who graduated in the 2005/2006 school year-304 of them with their enrollment years and female/male ratio

The enrollment year in the 1 st year of studies	students who graduated in 2005/2006 (total 304)	Women/men ratio 201 (66.1%)/ 104 (34.2%)
before 1997	84 (27.6%)	
1997	61 (20%)	
1998	75 (24.7%)	
1999	61 (20%)	
2000	23 (20%)	
2001	-	
2002	-	

These results suggest that female/male ratios were gradually being changed in favor of boys from the point of their entering the school in the 1st semester (when there were 75% of girls/25% of boys) to their graduation in 2005/2006 (68%of girls/32%of boys).

The gender study based on the results of the English exam

The gender study in relation to the subject called the English language was undertaken in June 2005. It was a by-product of another investigation having been carried out as part of the PhD thesis research of mine.

Just a few words to explain the position of English as a subject in the curriculum at the time of study (June 2005). At that time, it was an obligatory subject for all the students of the School of Architecture, which was positioned in the 3rd and 4th year of studies (it, therefore, lasted 4 semesters). It means that students finishing the 4th year of studies could take the exam. According to my experience with the students (because I carried out all the exams myself), they frequently left English to be their last exam before taking the graduation exam. The reason is of a psychological nature, they wanted to pass all other ‘relevant’ exams (from ‘the main-core’ architecture curriculum), and then to pass English. The period from November 2001-June 2005 was examined, and I noticed certain intriguing data on the gender issue, which are reported in the table below.

Table 3. Male/female ratios of students from November 2001-June 2005 in relation to their success at the final exam in English (only related to those who got the highest score -10)

Observation period	students who passed the English exam	Female/male ratio	students with the highest score (10)	Female/male ratio
From November 2001 to June 2005	534	348 (65%)/ 186(35%)	140	112(80%)/ 28 (20%)

What is unusual in the results shown above?

A total of 534 students passed the English exam from November 2001 to June 2005, 348 of girls (65%) and 186 of boys (35%). It roughly corresponds to the ratio at the time of graduation during the 2005/2006 school year (Table 2). Of all students who passed the final exam in English during the period from November 2001 to June 2005, of 140 students who got the highest possible score (10), **112 were girls (80%), and only 28 (20%) were boys.**

Discussion

According to the Tables 1 and 2, there is a regular pattern of female/male distribution at the time when students entered the School of Architecture and when they graduated. If there is such a regularity, it can be important for all the subjects of the school curriculum - in this research only English as a subject is considered.

The results on the relation of male/female distribution and success at the English exam, however, can be interpreted differently.

From one point of view, it seems that boys are discriminated in the process of teaching (testing) English in a way, as their scores are significantly lower compared to the girls (from 2001 to 2005 only 20% of boys got the highest mark in English out of 140 students who got 10). The justification for girls getting 80% of best marks in comparison to boys can be that English as a subject is more suited to the skills of (the majority of) girls. This can be problematic, according to some opinions, since at a school of architecture all students should learn English as much as they can, irrespective of their talent for languages (their talent in the main core architecture subjects should be what matters and learning foreign languages is to help them become more successful in the architecture subjects). In teaching English, which is not the main core curriculum subject, awarding talent in English is not what was meant by the process of teaching, according to such opinions. It means that the methodology of teaching should be devised in which boys should be given the same chance as girls to get a proportional number of best marks in English.

The other conclusion is that girls are those who are discriminated at the general level of the school curriculum, because their respective representation is lower at the time when they graduate than at the time when they entered the school. If the male/female ratios are inspected at the time of entering the School of Architecture, Belgrade, with 75% of girls compared to 25% of boys (Table 1) and the time of their graduation with 66% of girls compared to 34% of boys (Table 2), it seems that the school curriculum in a way favors male students in comparison to girls. If that is so, no harm is done if the girls have such good results in English when compared to the boys. If the methodology of teaching changes in those areas where girls are more successful, such as English, then the position of girls would be even worse at the general level of all the subjects' averages.

Conclusion

This data suggests that the gender factor may play a role in the process of teaching and testing English at a school of architecture. Whatever reasoning on the gender issue might be, it appears that the need for the school curriculum reform was obvious, in the teaching of English and at the general level of all subjects. My results support the conclusion of those who decided to undertake a reform at the

School of Architecture in September 2006 according to the Bologna Convention, offering a possibility of introducing a more balanced curriculum which would take into consideration individual and group characteristics of students. The need for a reform in teaching and evaluating English was also obvious, to provide more balanced results of students at the exams in respect to gender issue.

What seems indisputable to me is that similar studies to this one could be useful for all the subjects which are included in the school curriculum. The picture on the gender issue could be clearer then.

Of course, I am aware of the flaws of this study. There are other issues that should have been investigated to make it complete. The gender of the teacher, her attitude towards students of the same and different gender, the type and structure of exams undertaken (e.g. whether they favor oral or written skills), etc. are also necessary to investigate and clarify the whole issue. Some further studies, therefore, are obviously needed to prove the assumptions suggested by this paper.

Nevertheless, for the purpose of this paper such a broad investigation was not feasible. The results shown here, however, were intriguing enough to point them out at this conference, even if they were presented in this obviously 'rough' and 'unpurified' manner.

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