Zbornik radova
KROZ JEZIKE I KULTURE

Urednici/Editors
Igor Lakić
Nataša Kostić

Conference Proceedings
ACROSS LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Institute of Foreign Languages
University of Montenegro

Igor Lakić, Nataša Kostić (Urednici / Editors)

KROZ JEZIKE I KULTURE
ACROSS LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Zbornik radova sa Treće međunarodne konferencije Instituta za strane jezike (ICIFL3) i Treće međunarodne konferencije o interkulturnoj komunikacijii

Conference Proceedings from the 3rd International Conference of the Institute of Foreign Languages (ICIFL3) and the 3rd International Conference on Intercultural Communication

2013

Izdavač / Publisher: Institut za strane jezike / Institute of Foreign Languages

Tehnička priprema Technical preparation: Dejan Milovac

Štampa / Print: 3M Makarije, Podgorica, Crna Gora / Montenegro

Tiraž / Circulation: 200

SADRŽAJ/ CONTENTS

3. KNJIŽEVNOST / LITERATURE

6. INTERKULTURALNA KOMUNIKACIJA / INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

7. PREVODILAŠTVO / TRANSLATION STUDIES

Introduction

This collection of selected papers presented at the 3rd International Conference of the Institute of Foreign Languages (ICIFL3) “Across Languages and Cultures,” held in the Hotel “Plaža,”, Herceg Novi, Montenegro in June 2009, is published with a delay due to objective reasons. However, we are pleased to be able to finally publish the Conference Proceedings, having in mind the quality of the presented papers and the significance of the topic.

The Conference of the Institute of Foreign Languages, University of Montenegro, overlapped with the 3rd Conference on Intercultural Cooperation. The first conference on intercultural cooperation was organized in Koper, Slovenia, while the Institute of Foreign Languages was the host of the second and the third conferences in the beautiful setting of Herceg Novi, a town at the Montenegrin coast.

This joint event marked the 30th anniversary of the Institute of Foreign Languages, the leading Montenegrin institution in the field of foreign languages, linguistics, literature, translation/interpreting and methodology of teaching foreign languages. Now, after more than thirty years, the Institute is recognised not only as a teaching and research unit of the University of Montenegro, but also as an institution that has a specific cultural identity and prominent position in the country. We are therefore pleased that the event was attended by almost 200 participants from all over the world. Professors Michael McCarthy, Ranko Bugarski and Tatiana Larina were the plenary speakers, followed by 130 presenters.

This collection contains 72 selected papers approved by our reviewers. Due to a diversity of insights and approaches, it has been almost impossible to group the papers into coherent thematic sections. We have therefore decided to organise them into 7 general groups: 1. Plenary Papers; 2. Linguistics; 3. Literature; 4. Language for Specific Purposes; 5. Teaching Foreign Languages; 6. Intercultural Communication; and 7. Translation Studies. The papers are printed in the alphabetical order of the names of the authors.

The Conference Proceedings are published in an electronic form.

We hope you will find the papers in this collection interesting and useful.

Editors,
Igor Lakić and Nataša Kostić

1.
PLENARNA IZLAGANJA
PLENARIES

UDK 81’243

Ranko Bugarski

HOW FOREIGN ARE FOREIGN LANGUAGES?

Abstract: *The term foreign language is deeply embedded in its original context, institutional language teaching and will no doubt remain in use. However, the connotations of the concept behind it need reconsidering in a sociolinguistically and sociopsychologically informed era of globalisation, with all its implications for the shifting distribution and evaluation of languages. The simple traditional opposition native language/foreign language should be related to a wider range of concepts including also non-native, second, neighbouring, minority, regional, national, international, global ... language. The very notion of ‘foreignness’ as a well-defined categorical feature could then be mentally (if not institutionally) replaced with a continuum of familiarity, extending from ‘native’ (most familiar) to ‘exotic’ (least familiar). The major European languages, long taught and used here, while still technically foreign, are certainly much more familiar to educated Europeans than, for example, languages originating outside Europe. English is now the most familiar as the global language of our era, and can hence hardly be experienced and taught just like any other foreign language. The important question of linguistic identity likewise calls for some rethinking under the present circumstances, as its restriction to a mother-tongue community is no longer realistic. This highlights the relevance of language attitudes in the educational process, where teaching facts and training in proficiency should be complemented with developing positive attitudes. All of the above is fully consistent with the current European language and educational policies.*

Key words: *foreign language, native language, familiarity, English, linguistic identity, language attitudes, European language and educational policies*

1. Introduction: Some ways of regarding languages in a changing world

We have gathered here to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Institute of Foreign Languages, University of Montenegro. Given this occasion, and the fact that most of us are in one way or another concerned with foreign language teaching, I may perhaps be permitted to offer a brief critical analysis of the term and concept *foreign language* in a historical and theoretical framework. The term itself will undoubtedly survive as a time-honoured hallmark of institutional language teaching; yet some reconsideration of the underlying concept, with its connotations and hidden assumptions, seems to be in order in view of the fact that the world in which languages are taught has changed considerably over the last several decades. In particular, the ongoing processes of globalisation and of European integration carry with them sociolinguistic and social-psychological implications for the shifting distribution and evaluation of languages which cannot be ignored.

To begin with a quick historical overview, a few years ago I proposed a schematic chronology of ways of regarding languages and of the relations among them, mostly with reference to Europe, in terms of three overlapping models (Bugarski, 2005: 96-97). The first of these I called *modular*, because it implied a view of languages as coexistent autonomous and clearly delimited entities, larger or smaller but with assumed equal rights. This developed into the Romanticist and nationalist paradigm originating in the late 18th century and subsequently extolling the 'Holy Trinity' of language, nation and state. By the mid-20th century, this model was gradually replaced with an *expansive* one, affirming the advantages of the large and strong languages and justifying their spread at the cost of the small and weak, even to the point of exterminating these as 'unworthy'. Finally, about the turn of the present century an *interactive* model takes over, emphasising not merely parallel existence but rather the interaction and cooperation of diverse languages and their speakers, ideally as equal partners under a common European roof.

Let us now see how the notion of 'foreignness' in linguistic matters relates to this admittedly rough classification. In medieval times, predating our first model, when practically every town or small region had its own dialect, such a concept presumably carried little weight: people spoke more or less differently, and that was it. But with the advent of the nation state and its standardised national language, when all kinds of borders became important enough for full-scale wars to be fought over them, mutual animosities in the 19th century promptly erected walls between 'ours' and 'foreign' in terms of territory, possessions, affiliation – and language. Thus introduced, 'foreignness' was quickly compromised in the eyes of most agents in these developments. Needless to say, it remained in disrepute during the prevalence of the second model, largely owing to the all-pervading effects of the two world wars. So it was only after the third model set in, particularly under the aegis of European integrations, that real attempts were made to divest the concept of its negative connotations, or even – as we shall see later – to avoid the use of the term *foreign language* altogether.

2. A semantic note

Consulting the big dictionaries, such as the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Webster's Third New International,* supplies lexicographic support for the negative connotations noted above. The meanings of the adjective *foreign* as given there (here somewhat simplified) cluster into two main classes, glossed as follows:

I – of another place, belonging to or coming from another country or nation
II – alien, not one's own, extraneous, dissimilar, unfamiliar, strange, inappropriate, irrelevant

It is easy to see that while the former class can be characterised as neutral, the latter is clearly marked as potentially or actually negative in different degrees; on this evidence at least, nothing foreign can be positively evaluated! - Furthermore, there are extensions to notions of 'second-class' (cf. dated British usages like 'He doesn't know any better, being *only* a foreigner') or even 'suspicious, possibly harmful' (as in *foreign body* or, in misguided popular linguistics, *foreign words* as a potential menace to the inherently healthy native lexical stock). *Foreign* is thus typically an attribute of discredit for purists of every shade.

As applied to language, then, *foreign* may initially have meant simply 'different', perhaps 'incomprehensible', but was centuries later backed up and institutionalized within the framework of nation-state language and educational policy, coming to mean essentially 'language of another country taught as a school subject to a restricted number of a state's own citizens but not used as a medium of instruction or communication within it'. (A language fulfilling the latter functions would more properly be described as *second*).

3. Degrees of 'foreignness'

An important but conveniently overlooked point, however, is that 'foreignness' is – and has presumably always been – a matter of degree. Greek and Latin were hardly all that foreign to generations of learned men in medieval and early modern Europe, whose only means of mutual communication they were. Something similar could be said later on of German to scientists and philosophers, French to diplomats, and so on. And generally, the major European languages, long taught and used here, while still technically 'foreign', are naturally far more familiar to educated Europeans than, for example, languages originating outside Europe.

A special position is now occupied by English as the global language of our era, so familiar to a great many people across the world that it can no longer be experienced or taught just like any other foreign language. Pointing out such features as its ubiquity, large-scale informal acquisition before and along with institutionalised learning, and its pervasive influence on all languages in contact with it, Prćić (2004,2005) characteristically describes English as 'the nativized foreign language'. I have myself gone a step further by proposing the extension of the traditional tripartite division into native, second and foreign language by adding a fourth category, 'additional language', for English alone (Bugarski, 2004, 2007, 2009a). After all, to describe the most widely used international language as foreign to its learners seems rather contradictory in itself, especially in view of the fact that in this day and age, as distinct from earlier times, English tends to be used more often as a lingua franca in communication among non-native speakers worldwide than as a foreign language for communicating with its native speakers (cf. e.g. Jenkins, 2000 for an extended discussion of this important point, mainly with reference to teaching English pronunciation to international learners).

This line of thinking suggests that the simple traditional opposition *native language/foreign language* should be related to a wider range of concepts including also *non-native, second, neighbouring, minority, regional, national, international, global … language*. There is no need here to define these well-known concepts individually; all I intend to do by invoking them is to strengthen the argument that merely opposing 'mother tongue' to 'other tongue' just won't do any longer – the world has become far too complicated for that sort of thing! The very notion of 'foreignness' as a supposedly well-defined categorial feature could in this wider context be mentally (if not institutionally) replaced with a continuum of *familiarity*, extending from 'native' (most familiar) to something like 'exotic' (least familiar).

But this isn't the end of the story, since on a closer look 'foreignness' is seen to pervade our own languages as well: who among us knows 'the whole' of his or her 'native tongue' – all its varieties, registers and styles (dialects, sociolects, terminologies, jargons, etc.)? Much of this is unfamiliar, even incomprehensible to most 'natives', let alone the others. Think only of the film "Trainspotting", whose liberal chunks of Scottish slang had to be dubbed or subtitled for English-speaking audiences outside Scotland, or of similar procedures with parts of the dialogs in some American and Australian films. ("Trainspotting" is mentioned as an example in Jenkins, 2000: 14. Žanić, 2009 contains a principled discussion of such techniques as applied to feature films within 'the same' language area, motivated by the notorious episode of the subtitling of a linguistically challenging Serbian film into Croatian in 1999). – Incidentally, mentioning the Scottish case reminds me of a joke I heard during a lecture by an English academic at the World Conference of the English-Speaking Union in Edinburgh last year, whose topicality on this occasion you will no doubt appreciate. It goes like this: Q – What is the difference between the Sicilian mafia and the Glasgow mafia? A – The Sicilian mafia makes you an offer you can't refuse, but the Glasgow mafia makes you an offer you can't understand … Not bad, I should say!

4. Linguistic identity and language attitudes

The important question of linguistic identity likewise calls for some rethinking under the present circumstances, as its restriction to a mother-tongue community is no longer realistic. The concept of identity itself may be regarded on three levels of decreasing generality (here adapted from an anthropological classification going back to Kluckhohn/Murray, 1948: 35, and for our present purpose related to language, as follows):

1 – Identity as humanity (every person is like all other persons). Biological level, linguistic correlate: human language.
2 – Identity as collectivity (every person is like some other persons). Sociological level, linguistic correlate: *a* language or language variety.

3 – Identity as individuality (every person is like no other person). Psychological level, linguistic correlate: idiolect.

Now how does 'foreignness' relate to this scale? On Level 1 it is clearly ruled out by definition, as we are all the same there and speak one human language. On Level 3 it is theoretically possible but empirically absurd, as we are all different there and have different idiolects, so that if I am the measure then the speech of all other humans is foreign. This leaves us with Level 2 – the real home of 'foreignness', where variously defined groups with their different languages or language varieties are opposed to other such entities, potentially perceived as 'foreign'. However, members of such groups often share more than one language, and the prevalence of multlingualism on the world scale shows that man is biologically a multilingual animal; in fact, there is now some neurolinguistic evidence of a common 'language pool' in our brains, containing our entire linguistic knowledge, rather than some central mother-tongue compartment with (bits of) other languages arranged on its periphery. Hence it is both justifiable and more productive to describe one's linguistic identity (itself a component of a complex, multilayered and dynamic overall identity) as encompassing *all* the languages, language varieties and scripts one has some knowledge of, rather than being limited to a primary ethnic mother tongue.

From this it would follow that one's linguistic identity is largely a matter of attitude: my language is the idiom I accept as mine, under the name I deem appropriate; and if there are two or more such, they likewise 'belong' to me. As the late Dubravko Škiljan put it in an oral presentation shortly before his untimely death, "foreign languages once we have mastered them become ours". And more generally, this whole issue highlights the relevance of language attitudes, a crucial but until recently often neglected, if not entirely ignored, potential segment of language education. Let me just point out in this context that teaching facts and training in proficiency should be systematically complemented with developing positive attitudes to other ('foreign') languages, cultures and peoples, in a struggle to diminish or eliminate prejudice and negative stereotypes.

5. Conclusion: Linguistic 'deforeignization' in the new Europe

The orientation suggested above is fully consistent with the current language and educational policies recommended and in part carried out by the European Union and the Council of Europe, notably over the past quarter-century. As is well known by now, these institutions forcefully and on the whole successfully advocate developing true and wide-ranging multilingualism for Europeans, through learning more languages, more intensively, from earlier on and for longer years, than ever before in history. Moreover, since the appearance of a trend-setting Council of Europe document called the "Common European Framework of Reference for Languages", individual language-learning efforts have tended to cluster together as potential components of a unified programme of multilingual and intercultural education, encompassing most (or even all) language learning as one activity (cf. Byram, 2009: 16-17; also the characteristically titled Byram, 2008; more generally on European language policy, with further references, Bugarski, 2009b).

Initiatives like these are regarded as the best way of securing and further enriching the treasured linguistic and cultural heritage of European nations, as well as of advancing the communicative and creative potentials of the citizens of the new Europe. And on the symbolic level, it is expected that membership in the European Union will strengthen the various bonds among the member states, including linguistic ones, to the extent that their national languages - while naturally remaining distinct - will increasingly be felt to be related by a kind of family ties, as against those left outside. (This point was made quite recently in Škiljan/Erdeljac, 2009: 590). A reasonable prediction, given the trends surveyed, is that the whole notion of 'foreignness', linguistic or other, will weaken progressively. Hence it is no accident that the European institutions have for some time already tended to avoid the very adjective *foreign* with reference to languages (as suggesting that we are alien to each other, rather than working towards common goals) and to replace it wherever possible with *modern* or *European*, thus gradually 'deforeignizing' our continent in their efforts to promote its desired unification.

So to conclude, while *foreign language* will in all likelihood survive as a technical term, particularly in most school curricula and in the names of established institutions such as the one whose anniversary has brought us together here, we can expect it to be invested with a new understanding of its actual content in our changing environment. In this emerging world the traditional substance of 'foreignness' will, I think, lose weight as we all move from the deeply entrenched disjunction of Us *or* Them to the far more promising conjunction of Us *and* Them.

References

Bugarski, R. (2004) "Engleski kao dodatni jezik". **Philologia** 2, 7-13

Bugarski, R. (2005) **Jezik i kultura,** Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek

Bugarski, R. (2007) "What English means to us", u Jovanović, V.Ž (ur.) **Interkatedarska konferencija lingvističkih katedri Niš 2006**, Niš: Filozofski fakultet, 11-19

Bugarski, R. (2009a) "Šta nam znači engleski jezik". poglavlje III u Bugarski R., **Evropa u jeziku**, Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 57-75

Bugarski, R. (2009b) "European language policy between diversity and globalisation", u Granić, J. (ur./ed.) **Jezična politika i jezična stvarnost/Language Policy and Language Reality**, Zagreb: Hrvatsko društvo za primijenjenu lingvistiku, 629-640

Byram, M. (2008) **From Foreign Language Education to Education for Intercultural Citizenship**, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters

Byram, M. (2009) "Plurilingual, multilingual, pluricultural, intercultural and mediation: Some 'European' concepts for discussion", u Lakić I. i Kostić, N. (ur.) **Jezici i kulture u kontaktu/Languages and Cultures in Contact**, Podgorica: Institut za strane jezike, 12-17

Council of Europe (2001) **Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment**, Cambridge: CUP

Granić, J. (ur./ed.) (2009) **Jezična politika i jezična stvarnost/Language Policy and Language Reality**, Zagreb: Hrvatsko društvo za primijenjenu lingvistiku

Jenkins, J. (2000) **The Phonology of English as an International Language**, Oxford: OUP.

Kluckhohn, C./H.A.Murray (eds.) (1948) **Personality in Nature, Society and Culture**, New York: Knopf

Prćić, T. (2004) „Rethinking the status of English today: Is it still a purely foreign language?", **BAS/British and American Studies 10**, 303-307

Prćić, T. (2005) **Engleski u srpskom**, Novi Sad: Zmaj

Škiljan, D./Erdeljac, V. (2009) "Hrvatski na pragu Europske Unije", u Granić, J. (ur./ed.) **Jezična politika i jezična stvarnost/Language Policy and Language Reality**, Zagreb: Hrvatsko društvo za primijenjenu lingvistiku, 589-597

Žanić, I. (2009) "Titlovanje 'Rana' – pokušaj načelnog pristupa", u Badurina L, Pranjković I. i Silić, J. (ur.) **Jezični varijeteti i nacionalni identiteti**, Zagreb: Disput, 457-472

UDK 81'24:[811.111:811.161.1

Tatiana Larina

CATEGORY OF POLITENESS AND COMMUNICATION STYLE: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN TRADITION

Abstract: *Nowadays it is well-known that the knowledge of vocabulary and grammar does not guarantee successful intercultural communication and does not prevent speakers from communicative failures. Misunderstandings in intercultural communication stem from the fact that people in the course of their interaction do not only speak different languages but they use them in different ways. The goal of this paper is to show that communication differences can be systematized in the form of a culture-specific communication style which is shaped by politeness strategies based on cultural values and social organization. The study is based on the data collected through ethnographic observation, questionnaires and interviews held among English and Russian speakers. As English exits in different variants, I would like to clarify that mainly British English is an object of my research, although its dominant characteristics are also typical of the so-called Anglo English (term of A. Wierzbicka) which is based on Anglo culture (Wierzbicka 2006).*

Key words: *intercultural communication, communicative failure, politeness, politeness strategies, communication style, English communicative culture, Russian communicative culture*

1. Introduction

Numerous cross-cultural studies have shown that people do not only speak different languages but use them in different ways according to specific social and linguistic norms, values, socio-cultural conventions and their understanding of (im)polite behaviour. Nowadays it is well known that politeness, despite its universal character, is a culture-specific phenomenon (see Garcia and Placencia 2007; Hickey & Stewart 2005**,** Leech 2005, Scollon & Scollon 2001, Sifianou 1992,Wierzbicka 1999, 2003; Watts 2003 and many others) and people from different cultures do not always share ideas as to what is polite and what is not. The same verbal or non-verbal act of being polite in one culture may be perceived as inappropriate or even rude in another culture.

Politeness is a system of culture specific communicative strategies aimed at non-confrontational and efficient communication. Being used regularly, these strategies shape dominant communicative features which on the whole form a culture specific communication style. Communication style can be defined as a type of communicative behaviour shaped by culture and consolidated by tradition which becomes apparent in the choice and preference of particular strategies and means of communication (both verbal and nonverbal).

The paper is based on a questionnaire and interviews with English and Russian informants on politeness. It is an attempt to show how politeness is viewed in English and Russian cultures, what strategies are typical of English and Russian communication and how they tell about English and Russian communicative styles. I will conclude by illustrating how the proposed model could find its practical didactic application.

2. Understanding of politeness by English and Russians

The way people act in particular situations depends on their understanding of (im)polite behaviour, which is culture specific. R. Watts (2003: 14) claims that even lexemes *polite* and *politeness* may vary in meaning and connotations associated with them. The comparison of English word *polite* and its Russian variant *vezhliviy* corroborates this statement. English and Russian dictionaries define these words differently: *polite* in English means *'showing consideration for others in manners, speech, etc.'* (CED), while *vezhliviy* ('polite'**)** in Russian means *'keeping to the rules of decent behaviour, being decent***'** **(**'sobliudayuschiy pravila prilichiya, uchtiviy') (DMRL). The fact that in the English definition we can see the word *'showing'* and in the Russian one *keeping, being* seems very important as it reveals an essential difference in English and Russian communicative behaviours. To be polite in English, one should make special efforts to show one's respect to other people, it is a communicative activity; to be polite in Russian, it is enough not to break rules and norms of behaviour. Demonstrative politeness is usually viewed in Russian communicative culture as overpoliteness and is perceived negatively.

The etymological differences of the two words are also worth mentioning. English *polite* is derived from the Latin *politus* 'polished'. As Watts (2003: 37) notes, "Polished behaviour was a metaphorical extension from polished silver and brassware; it had to shine, it had to be brilliant, it had to reflect the person who looked at it (i.e. it had to concern itself with the needs of the 'other'), it had to be admired, it had to be aesthetically pleasing, etc." Thus, in the English word there is a seme of activity, also revealed in the word combination *polished manners* and the proverb MANNERS MAKE THE MAN, which emphasizes the importance of manners in English communicative culture. The Russian word *vezhliviy* ('polite') is derived from the verb *vedat'* 'znat' ('to know') and in the Ancient Russian language it meant 'opytniy', 'sveduschiy' ('versed') (EDRL). Manners play much less essential role in Russian communication and are not valued as much. There are no such words as *well-mannered* or *ill-mannered* (important English characteristics of a person) in Russian, but there is a word *manerniy* ('mannered') which has negative connotation.

The results of my questionnaire and interviews, in which I asked English and Russian informants to say what politeness is, showed a lot of interesting differences in understanding of this phenomenon by Russian and English speakers which corroborate semantic differences of these words (in detail see Larina 2004). Here I will only touch upon some of them. First of all, they showed that English people have a very clear idea of politeness and, when defining it, most of them mentioned 3 important things: consideration for others (62%), showing good manners (50%), saying 'please' and 'thank you' (59%). The English answers were very similar. The most typical of them were *Politeness is showing consideration; saying 'please' and 'thank you' often in your conversation and having good manners / Politeness is being pleasant and courteous to people, showing them respect, having good manners, saying 'please' and 'thank you'.* Obviously, they corroborate the definition of politeness given in dictionaries and confirm that to be polite one should show good manners in communication (verbally and nonverbally) and demonstrate one's consideration and respect to others.

The answers of Russian informants revealed that their understanding of politeness is rather vague; they gave diverse answers which showed a lot of interesting cultural characteristics. One of them is particularly interesting: while the English informants emphasized the value of good manners and polite words, over 20% of Russian informants said the opposite: *Politeness should be shown in deeds rather than in nice words / The one who is really polite should be sincere and should behave without any special ceremonies / Polite people do not demonstrate their politeness but prove it by doing good things* etc. I am far from idealizing Russian people or characterizing them as more kind-hearted or human compared to English. What I want to point out here is that they do not care so much about good manners as English people do, they have other communicative values, such as sincerity, cooperation, interdependence and others which impact their communication style.

Because of differences in understanding politeness, English and Russian people in everyday interaction behave in a different way and use different politeness strategies. Scholars distinguish between 2 types of politeness – *negative* (avoidance based) and *positive* (which is a social accelerator) (Brown and Levinson, 1987). There is such a common opinion that negative politeness is typical of individualistic cultures, while positive politeness is more typical of collectivist cultures. My data challenge this statement and show that both types of politeness (at least those which where listed by Brown and Levinson) are more typical of English communication rather than Russian and this fact predetermines the differences in their communication styles.

3. Negative politeness and English vs. Russian communication style

Negative politeness strategies are used to keep ritual distance from the Hearer (H) and in this way to demonstrate the Speaker's (S) respect for the Hearer's right to privacy – one of the most important English values (see Fox 2005, Paxman 1999,Wierzbicka 2006). Negative politeness, called the 'heart of respective behaviour' (Brown & Levinson 1987: 129), corresponds to rituals of avoidance and prescribes to be conventionally indirect, ask questions, give H the option not to do the act, make minimal assumptions about H's wants, be pessimistic, minimize the imposition etc. Following these strategies, English people sound indirect, nonimposing and implicit:

Ex.1.1. *I don't suppose you'd know the time, would you?* (asking the time)

Ex.2.1. *It would be nice to have tea together, but I am sure you are very busy* (inviting to have tea)

Ex.3.1. *Would you kindly stop smoking please? Thank you* (a bus driver reprimands the passenger)**.**

Examples 1.1. and 2.1 are given by R. Scollon and S. Scollon (2001: 51) to illustrate the strategies *be pessimistic* (ex.1.1.) and *give the option not to do the act* (ex.2.1.). Ex. 3.1. illustrates almost all the negative politeness strategies.

For Russian speakers negative politeness strategies are less typical. As a result, they usually sound more direct and imposing. In the situations above they would say:

Ex.1.2. *Ne podskazhete, kotoriy chas?* or *Skazhite, pozhaluysta, kotoriy chas* ('Can you tell me the time, please?' or 'Tell me the time, please')

Ex.2.2. *Poshli popiyom chayu. Khvatit rabotat'* ('Let's go out for tea. You have worked enough).

Ex.3.2. *Nemedlenno prekratite kurit' !* ('Stop smoking immediately!')

Russian speakers often have difficulty in grasping the pragmatic meaning of English indirect utterances and it often leads to communicative failures. For example, conventional English request *would you like to read?* in a Russian classroom is often perceived by the students as a question about their preferences and may often elicit the response *no, I wouldn't* from students who have no intention of being rude. This peculiarity of Russian behaviour was noted by J. Thomas who gave it as an example of a pragmalinguistic failure (1983: 103). The point is that Russians are not used to being given an option if there is no real option. The direct and imperative utterance *Now you read* is the most appropriate in this situation.

The most striking difference between English and Russian politeness systems is revealed in the use of imperatives. Here are some figures from my data. In the situation 'ask the waiter to bring the menu' (the questionnaire contained dialogues with some missing utterances), 60% of Russian informants conveyed their request in the imperative form – *Prinesite, pozhaluysta menu* ('Bring the menu, please') while none of the English informants found it acceptable to be so direct. The strategy 'be conventionally indirect' was used by 98% of English informants and 40% of Russian ones. Another interesting detail is that practically all the English informants, in order to soften their imposition, used a Speaker-oriented utterance *(May / Can / Could I see the menu, please?),* while most of the Russian utterances were Hearer-oriented – *Ne mogli by vy prinesty menu* ('Could you bring the menu?'). In the situation 'mother asks her son to go to the shop', the disproportion of Russian and English imperative utterances was 80% to 6%. Majority of English parents preferred to be indirect (92%) – *Would you go down to the shop for me? / Will you run down to the shop, please? / Could you possibly go to the shop*? / *Would you mind popping down to the shop*. Russian speakers preferred to be direct and almost half of them did not use the word *pozhaluysta* ('please') – *Skhodi v magazin* ('Go to the shop) / *Skhodi, pozhaluysta, v magazin* ('Go to the shop, please)'.

Comparative analyses of English and Russian behaviour in various situations and speech acts showed that by demonstrating respect to everybody's privacy English people keep distance both using the space and the language. They soften imposition, avoid imperative forms, do not say directly what they want or what they mean, give options to the hearer, avoid giving advice especially when they are not asked to, do not ask private questions, do not intrude into conversation, do not interrupt the speaker, and so on and so forth. Their main communicative strategy is aimed at keeping distance and not touching people (literally and metaphorically) who are around them. As a result, English style of communication can be characterised as *distant, indirect, nonimposing, implicit, hearer-oriented* and *form-oriented.*

Due to cultural differences, Russian people, on the other hand, stand, sit, talk at a shorter distance, they say directly what they want and what they think using a lot of bare imperatives, tend to give advice without being asked, feel free to interrupt and interfere into conversation etc., i.e. they do not mind touching each other in the literal and metaphorical meaning of this word. Such behaviour does not arise from the lack of politeness but is rooted in cultural differences, primarily in Distance and Power (for more detail see Larina 2008, 2009). In various situations it is conventional and acceptable for Russians to approach the H directly and directness in this case does not mean impoliteness since in addition to indirectness there are other markers of politeness in Russian (*vy* form, patronymics, diminutives and others). It is also worth mentioning that due to cultural differences such speech acts as Request, Advice, Suggestion, and even Criticism and Reprimand are not as face-threatening and imposing in Russian culture as they are in British. As a result, Russian communication style can be characterised as *more tactile, direct, imposing, explicit, speaker-oriented*, and *message-oriented.*

4. Positive politeness and English vs. Russian communication style

Positive politeness strategies are also more conventional and typical of English communication rather than Russian one, at least the ones pointed out by Brown and Levinson (1987): notice, attend to H (his interest, wants, needs, goods); exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H); intensify interest to H; claim common point of view, opinions, attitudes, knowledge, empathy; seek agreement; avoid disagreement; be optimistic; give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation), be voluble, etc. In the framework of this paper it is impossible to analyze all the strategies, I will only give some examples to prove my observation.

The comparative analysis shows that English people do notice those who is around them (including strangers), regularly sending them their smile and greeting, saying *thank you* and *sorry* very often. For Russian speakers such behaviour is less typical. They neither smile nor say *hello* to strangers, and say *thank you* and *sorry* when there is an essential object of gratitude and apology. The strategy 'Notice or attend to H' is vividly revealed in greeting. As Hickerson (2000: 203) notes, people use greetings to establish or reaffirm social ties, to show that they are aware of and value one another. English people say *Hi, how're you* every time they meet each other within a day. The social function of this formula is much more significant than its literal meaning. It is a mere signal of acknowledgement, which is often not intended to produce self-revelation, it is not a 'serious request for information about the condition of one's health or the state of world affairs, rather the inquiry is an acknowledgement of one's existence and importance' (Hickerson, 2000: 203). The H is not required to answer this question and very often is even not given a chance to do that. In Russian culture, where a similar formula (*Kak dela?)* is also used widely, the H is supposed to answer it. One would be hurt not being given a chance to answer this question at least briefly. Though a brief answer is preferable, people very often understand this question literally as an invitation to conversation.

The answer to this greeting is a good example of another strategy – be optimistic. In English it is expected to be short and good rather than long and bad [Leech 1983: 198]. Despite the real state of the speaker, the most typical answers are *I'm well / I'm very well / I'm very well indeed / I'm fine / I'm great / I'm grand* (IrE). Even in the situations where it is quite obvious that a person is not well, s/he does not disclose his/her problems, e. g. (woman fell down in the street) *'Are you hurt?' – 'I'm perfectly fine'.* Such optimistic answers are usually accompanied by a cheerful smile and intonation. Russian answers to the question *Kak dela?* (How're you?) are more relevant to the reality and less optimistic: *Nichego /Tak sebe / Po vsiakomy / Kak vsegda* (which means *So-so / Not very good / As usual).* One would be surprised to hear *Otlichno* / *Prekrasno* or *Velikolepno* ('Perfect' / 'Great').

These communicative differences can also be explained through culture. In a distant English culture people are independent, they are not encouraged to disclose their problems and overload their interlocutors with them but to deal with them by themselves, to be self-controlled and optimistic. This communicative prescription is embodied into the proverb *"Laugh and the world laughs with you: weep and you weep alone".* In a collectivist Russian culture characterized by interdependency, the relationships are supposed to be sincere, people tend to disclose their problems to each other, expecting support or advice. This communicative rule is expressed in the Russian proverb *Luchshe gor'kaya pravda, chem sladkaya lozh* ('The bitter truth is better than a sweet lie'). Conventional English *'I'm fine'* can be also seen as a sort of a hedge, which prevents from further intrusion into one's private life, while less enthusiastic Russian answers often sound as an invitation to further conversation.

Another English strategy which illustrates English communication style is exaggeration. According to our data, it is an inalienable trait of English communication, which is used in different conversational situations: thanking, apologizing, expressing attitude, giving evaluation etc. The main function of this strategy is 'to create or to maintain solidarity between interlocutors', 'to make each other feel good'. Leech claims that exaggeration is 'a natural tendency of human speech' (1983: 147). My data show that this tendency is much more typical of English communication compared with Russian. Carter and McCarthy (1997) identify lexical hyperbole ('*it's absolutely unbelievable*') as a trait of spoken English, and it may be said that it is a dominant trait of English communication style. English people in their everyday interaction use a lot of superlative adjectives such as *great, excellent, perfect, gorgeous, wonderful, brilliant, superb, fantastic, fabulous, marvelous, divine, ravishing, stunning* etc. They are often used to evaluate insignificant things or achievements and are the so called 'communicative gifts' which are used 'to make the hearer feel good' and should not be taken literally as they may not correspond to reality:

Ex. 4.1. *Your rice is **terrific**. It looks **incredible*** (having dinner at the friend's).

Ex. 5.1. *That's an **absolutely splendid** example* (teacher to the pupil).

Ex. 6.1. *This has been a **smashing** evening, **truly remarkable. I enjoyed every minute** of it* (after the party).

Such exaggeration is not so typical of Russian communication where these utterances can be perceived as insincere and excessive. Russian speakers in such situations would sound more tempered and less expressive:

Ex. 4.2. *Ris ochen' vkusniy* ('The rice is very tasty').

Ex. 5.2. *Eto ochen' khoroshiy primer* ('That's a very good example').

Ex. 6.2. *Chudesniy vecher. Mne ochen' ponravilsia* ('A wonderful party. I liked it very much').

The explanation of communicative differences, concerning positive politeness strategies, is also rooted in culture. They are aimed at realizing the pragmatic meaning 'I want you to feel good' and are called a social accelerator. When the relationships between speakers are traditionally closer, there is no need for such an accelerator; and emphatic demonstration of positive disposition and solidarity seem to be less necessary. Due to this reason Russian people do not say *hello, thank you* and *sorry* as often as English people do, they do not exaggerate their interest to H or send each other their communicative gifts so regularly and so emphatically. As a result, English style can be defined *as emotive, demonstrative, expressive, hearer-oriented, form-oriented and voluble***;** Russian as *less emotive, less expressive, tempered, message – oriented* and *more taciturn.* Some illustrations:

a) thanking a friend for the gift:

Ex. 7.1. *'Oh my God, it's gorgeous. It's absolutely marvelous. I really love it.' - 'I'm thrilled you like it.'*

Ex. 7.2. *Bol'shoye spasibo. Eto chudesniy podarok* ('Thank you very much. That's a marvelous present'.) – '*Ne za chto. Ya rada, chto tebe ponravilos'*. ('Not at all. I am glad you like it').

b) inviting a friend to a birthday party:

Ex. 8.1. '*Would you like to come to my birthday party?' – 'I'd love to. That would be great. Thank you very much'.*

Ex. 8.2. '*Prikhodi ko mne na den' rozhdeniya'. – 'Khorosho, pridu. Spasibo'. –* ('Come to my birthday party'. – 'Ok. I will. Thank you').

5. Conclusion

Being a universal category aimed at effective and harmonious communication, politeness is a system of culture-specific communicative strategies which are prescribed by values and social organization of a society. These strategies as well as linguistic means used for their realization shape distinctive communicative features.

English people, as representatives of extremely individualist culture, value their privacy and keep distance both in nonverbal and verbal communication. Being vigilant in guarding one's personal space, they use negative politeness strategies with conventional regularity, which makes their communicative style *distant, nonimposing, indirect* and *subjective.* At the same time, they make special efforts to demonstrate their interest and sympathy to the people with whom they come in contact. Metaphorically speaking, their strategic (emotive) smile illuminates their verbal communication which abounds in compliments, positive evaluations, exaggerations and other communicative gifts. That makes their communicative style *emotive, demonstrative* and *expressive.*

Russians, who belong to collectivist culture and value solidarity instead of privacy, are more available and tactile in the process of communication. Keeping distance in many situations is perceived as hostility rather than politeness. That is why negative strategies are less typical of Russian communication; treating the H in a direct way is sociably acceptable and in some situations is a preferred strategy. Polite usage in Russian does not exclude bare imperatives. Therefore, their communicative style is more *tactile, direct* and *imposing.* Being traditionally closer to each other, Russian people do not need to demonstrate their positive disposition so emphatically either. They value sincerity in relations and are reluctant to demonstrate emotions if they do not feel them. That concerns both their smile and verbal communication and makes their style *less emotive* (though it is *more emotional*).

As in both negative and positive politeness, English speakers, since they are particularly considerate to Hearer's interests, pay special attention to the form of their utterances rather than their meaning. Thus, their style can be characterized as *implicit, form-oriented* and *Hearer-oriented*. It is also more *voluble* compared to Russian. The Russian style is more *explicit*, and can be called *message-oriented* and *Speaker-oriented.*

Summing up all the aforesaid, I would conclude the following. Culture influences the mentality of people, they behave in accordance with their social organization and cultural values which affect their understanding of (im)polite behaviour. They have their own set of politeness strategies based on their cultural values. When used regularly, these strategies shape dominant communicative features which, on the whole, form a culture specific communication style. These interdependencies could be arranged in the following way: *type of culture → socio-cultural relations → cultural (communicative) values → understanding of (im)politeness → politeness strategies → dominant features of communication → culture specific communication style.*

Such approach to communicative differences can find its practical didactic application. Understanding the consequence of these interdependencies, students of foreign languages can view communication differences not as a chaotic scope but rather as a logical system. It helps them feel and understand another culture and its people, explain their behaviour, develop cultural awareness and flexibility, overcome ethnocentrism and negative stereotyping. It promotes more successful and more conscious language learning and efficient intercultural communication.

References

Brown, P. and S. Levinson (1987) **Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage,** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Carter, R. and M. McCarthy (1997) **Exploring Spoken English,** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Fox, K. (2005) **Watching the English: The Hidden Rules of English Behaviour,** Hodder Paperback

Hickerson, N. (2000) **Linguistic Anthropology**, Harcourt College Publishers

Garcia, C. and M. E. Placencia (2007) **Research on Politeness in the Spanish-Speaking World,** Lawrence Erlbaum

Hickey L. and Stewart M. (eds.) **(**2005) **Politeness in Europe**, Multilingual Matters Series 127, Multilingual Matters LTD.

Larina, T. (2004) "Koncept vezhlivost' v kommunikativnom soznaniyi russkih y anglichan", in **Człoviek Świadomość Komunikacja Internet**, Warszawa, pp. 284-293

Larina, T. (2008) "Directness, Imposition and Politeness in English and Russian" in **Cambridge ESOL: Research Notes,** 33, pp. 33-38 http://www.cambridgeesol.org/rs_notes/rs_nts33.pdf

Larina, T. **(**2009) **Kategoriya vezhlivosty y stil' kommunikaciyi: sopostavleniye angliyskih y russkih lingvokulturnyh tradiciy**, Moscow: Yazyki slavianskih kultur

Leech, G. (1983) **Principles of pragmatics,** London and New York: Longman

Leech, G. (2005) "Politeness: Is there an East-West Divide?" in **Journal of Foreign Languages**. General Serial, 160, 6

Paxman, J. (1999) **The English: A Portrait of a People,** Penguin Group

Scollon, R. and S. Scollon (2001) **Intercultural Communication: A Discourse Approach.** 2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Sifianou, M. **(**1992) **Politeness Phenomena in England and Greece,** Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press

Thomas, J. (1983) "Cross-cultural pragmatic failure" in **Applied Linguistics,** 4, pp. 91 –112

Watts, R. (2003) **Politeness,** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Wierzbicka, A. **(**1999) **Emotions across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universality,** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Wierzbicka, A. **(**2003) **Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human** Interaction (2nd edn.), Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

Wierzbicka, A**. (**2006) **English: Meaning and Culture,** Oxford: OUP

2.
LINGVISTIKA
LINGUISTICS

UDK 811.163,4'276.6:34
UDK 347(497.16)

Ana Elaković-Nenadović

KONTRASTIVNA ANALIZA KLJUČNIH TERMINA U BOGIŠIĆEVOM SASTAVLJANJU *IMOVINSKOG ZAKONIKA ZA KNJAŽEVINU CRNU GORU*

Apstrakt: *U radu će biti podvrgnuti kontrastivnoj analizi ključni termini: zakon (νόμος), običajnost (œϑος) i običajno pravo. U tu svrhu ćemo razmotriti antičko izvorno značenje ovih termina i njihovo prevođenje i upotrebu u modernim evropskim, odnosno slovenskim jezicima. Drugi deo rada će istraživati uvođenje novih pravnih termina od strane Valtazara Bogišića prilikom sastavljanja Imovinskog zakonika za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru. Ovde ćemo razmotriti na koji je način Bogišić stvarao nove ili inkorporirao stare, već postojeće običajne izraze, u novi Zakonik. Posebno ćemo razmatrati metod kojim se ovaj pravnik služio prilikom poređenja pravnih izraza u latinskom, nemačkom, francuskom i slovenskim jezicima i njihovog uklapanja u jezički ambijent crnogorskog stanovništva. Na pojedinim primerima iz Zakonika ćemo istražiti do koje mere je Bogišić uspeo da pomiri običaje i narav crnogorskog naroda sa pravnim normama, često preuzetim, iz evropske pravne tradicije.*

Ključne reči: *Valtazar Bogišić, Imovinski zakonik za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru, pravna terminologija, običaji, pravne norme, moderna kodifikacija zakona, metodologija, lingvistika, kontrastivna analiza, neologizmi.*

1. Uvod

Opšti imovinski zakonik za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru, predstavlja najveće delo velikog pravnika i istoričara prava, Valtazara (Balda) Bogišića (1834-1908). Ovaj zakonik, između ostalog, predstavlja izrazit primer narodskog zakonika, u pravom smislu te reči. Crna Gora je tada imala potrebu za kodifikacijom građanskog prava, prava koje se do tada zasnivalo isključivo na običajnoj tradiciji. Za Bogišića je to bio veliki izazov i konačno ispunjenje njegove pravničke misije. Čitajući ovaj zakonik, može se primetiti izrazita tendencija i Bogišićevo upinjanje da ovaj zakonik ne sme da se udaljava od već postojećeg narodnog običajnog prava, ali i pravne narodne svesti, uopšte. To vidimo i osećamo i kroz njegovu ogromnu težnju i napor da običaje naroda i njihovu moralnost pretoči u zakonik, upotrebljavajući što vernije termine i izraze za pojedine pravne norme. Naravno, da je u novom zakoniku bilo prisutno i dosta toga na što nismo mogli naići u narodnom pravu, iz prostog razloga što su u crnogorskom društvu nastupale neke nove, moderne struje, čiji se sistem više nije mogao temeljiti na prostim običajima dotadašnjeg društva. I tu se Bogišić, razume se, koliko je to bilo moguće, trudio da približi narodnom duhu. Jedan od načina ovog približavanja je bila i njegova izuzetna posvećenost pravnoj terminologiji, putem koje je novonastali zakonik trebao da dođe do svesti naroda za kojeg je i pravljen. Odatle, i Bogišićev trud da što više narodnih pravnih običaja i narodnih izreka pretvori u pravne norme, kako bi oni bili što bliži narodu i njegovom poimanju pravnog poretka. Stoga, je ovaj zakonik predstavljao za širu evropsku pravnu javnost, značajan uzor u poštovanju narodnog etosnog karaktera prava.[1]

U ovom radu ćemo se baviti malo specifičnijim aspektom teorije prevođenja, budući da ovde nije reč o prevođenju nekog integralnog teksta, već naša analiza obuhvata pojedine pravne termine, koji se javljaju u Bogišićevoj redakciji pomenutog zakonika.

I sam Bogišić nam u svom *Pismu prijatelju filologu*, izlaže metodologiju svog rada.[2] On navodi da će uz bilo koji stručni naziv ili izraz, opisati, gde to bude potrebno, „sva svojstva stvari, posla ili odnošaja koga se izraz tiče".[3] Zatim će svakom od tih pojmova dodati i izraz iz rimskog prava, a uz njega i nazive tih pojmova u pravnom jeziku pojedinih evropskih naroda. Na kraju, Bogišić namerava da nabroji glavne nazive pojmova o kojima je reč, onih pojmova koje susrećemo u srpskom ili hrvatskom jeziku, kao i onih termina kakvim ih susrećemo u narodnom običajnom pravu i jeziku, a sve u svrhu da ti nazivi odgovaraju potrebama našeg naroda. Bogišić oštro podvlači razliku između pravne nauke koja se stiče u školama i gde će, kako on kaže, stručni nazivi koji su tu i nužni, iako na prvi pogled apstraktni, ipak, biti objašnjeni od strane nastavnika.

Za zakone, pak, vredi drugo pravilo budući da su oni, po svojoj prirodi i nameni, pisani za narod. To on poredi sa suprotnim običajima u zapadnom zakonodavstvu, gde su nazivi jednako uskostručni i u pravnim školama i u zakonima, koji su namenjeni za širu publiku, tj. za narod. Drugi bitan činilac u kreiranju zakona je, po Bogišiću, taj da zakoni ne samo da treba da zapovedaju, već treba i da poučavaju. Ako se uzme u obzir da zakon zapoveda, onda se Bogišić pita, a kako će on zapovedati, ako ih onaj kome je namenjen uopšte ne razume? Dakle, taj neko se može pravdati tj. „vaditi" na nepoznavanje zakona. Stoga, zakone treba da razume i narod, a ne samo pravnici. I to je, po Bogišiću, jedan od ključnih problema u kreiranju i preciznom prevođenju pojedinih pravnih termina i zakonskih regulativa na tzv. narodni jezik. Tu on povlači paralelu između Zapada i građanskog društva u njemu i našeg društva. Naime, Bogišić navodi kako je „naš narodni element, za razliku od evropskog građanskog elementa seljak i zbog toga treba sa velikom rezervom uzeti mogućnost definisanja i imenovanja pojedinih pravnih pojmova kao obrasca preuzetog sa zapada".[4] On dalje navodi da je naš seljak „po sreći čil i prirodom dobro obdaren, te nam za to ima biti najsvetija težnja da pazimo da dalji razvitak i obrazovanje tog najglavnijega dijela našeg naroda ne svrne sa normalnoga,

---

[1] Treba napomenuti da je ovaj *Zakonik* potvrđen i proglašen ukazom knjaza Nikole, 25.03.1888. godine.

[2] *Bogišić* 2004, 99.

[3] *Bogišić* 2004, 9.

[4] *Bogišić* 2004, 102.

prirodnoga puta. Jer, postane li naš seljak, uslijed našijeh pogrešaka, a osobito radi našeg majmunisanja, onako ograničen i tup, kao što uopšte postade seljak na Zapadu – našemu narodu je odzvonilo“[5]. Bogišić naglašava kako su se svi važniji pokreti i politički i društveni, koji su na Zapadu ponikli u gradovima, ovde porodili u selima (napr. Karađorđi, Miloši,Vučići itd.).

2. Analiza

Pre nego krenemo na analizu nekih od Bogišićevih terminoloških rešenja iz njegovog *Zakonika*, osvrnimo se kratko na samo poreklo termina „zakon“ i „običaj“, čije se suštine, kako ćemo videti, držao i sam Bogišić u sastavljanju svog zakonika. Dakle, kada je reč o zakonima i običajima, na njihovu suštinu upućuje grčka reč vÒμος, koja se javlja često, osim u pravnoj, još i u filozofskoj i retoričkoj terminologiji. Indoevropski koren ove reči je **nem* iz kojeg se razvila velika leksička porodica. Po E. Benvenistu[6] prvobitno značenje ovog termina je bila zakonita podela, isključivo takva koju nalaže zakon, običaj ili opšta saglasnost, a ne prozvoljna odluka. Iz toga se izdiferenciralo značenje grčkog glagola νέμω „dati, podeliti u skladu sa opštom saglasnošću ili zakonom“ (franc. attribuer, nem. austeilen), tako da grčka imenica *νόμος* ima značenje „zakon“„, tj. „zakonita dodela“. Reč *νόμος*, inače, u grčkom ima dvostruko značenje „pesma“ i „zakon“. Već je sam Platon, ali napr. i retor Likurg, govorio o svrsishodnosti postojanja i sprovođenja određenih zakonskih normi, kao uslova za postojanje države kao zajednice svih građana. Oni u tome idu i dalje, smatrajući da je krajnji cilj donošenja zakona postizanje celokupne vrline (*arete)*, kao najvišeg dobra jedne države (polisa).[7] Slično je i sa moralnim zakonima i kriterijumima koji su isprepleteni sa širim običajima i koji čine osnovu kasnije formiranih zakonskih principa i normi. Jeger u svojoj *Paidei* ističe da su utvrđeni običaji (*œθος* – „običaj“, „navika“) i navike (*Ãθος* – „zavičaj“; „ćud“, „narav“) važnije od pisanih zakona (νόμος).[8] Termin *œθος* je nastao od indoevropskog

---

[5] *Bogišić* 2004, 102.

[6] *Benvenist* 2002, 52.

[7] Inače, termin νόμος se u savremenim jezicima prevodi kao: franc. loi, nem. Gesetz, tal. legge, engl. law. Istog korena je i pridev νόμιμος „običan“, „zakonit“, koji se pridržava zakona. Imenica τὸ νόμιμον, koja se često javlja u pluralu τ¦ νόμιμα, takođe spada u kategoriju običajnih termina i prevodimo je kao „običaj“ ili „običajni zakoni“. U nemačkom prevodu Platonovih zakona K. Schöpsdau i H. Müller ovaj termin prevode kao Einrichtung (odredba), zatim kao gesetzlicher Brauch ili kao Satzung (zakon). U engleskom prevodu R.G.Bury termin νόμιμα prevodi kao „law“ ili još češće, kao „institution“. A Dies prevodi ovaj grčki termin na francuski kao „usage“. U italijanskom se ovaj termin prevodi kao „legge“, dok se u engleskom jeziku pojavljuju još i prevodi poput „custom“, „rite“, „cult“. Zakoni su svoj koren upravo imali u nepisanim običajima kao u nepisanim navikama i uzusima, koji prethode konačnoj formulaciji zakona koji se na njima faktički i temelje. Upravo ta uspostavljena običajnost u sebi sadrži supstancijalne navike i običaje jedne zajednice, koje pisani zakoni u celini nikad ne mogu obuhvatiti, a pogotovo ne u svim svojim suptilnim prelazima i nijansama.

[8] Jeger, V. (1991) *Paideia*, Novi Sad: Književna zajednica Novog Sada.

*suedh i sadrži u sebi povratnu zamenicu *sue „svoj“ i koren *dhe u značenju „činiti“, „postaviti“ (nem. Setzen, tun) odatle „prihvatiti nešto kao svoje“ u smislu prisvajanja (nem. sich zu eigen machen), doslovno, učiniti nešto svojim.[9] E. Benvenist navodi da je to bio prvobitno naziv društvene jedinice, čiji je svaki član svoju samobitnost, svoje ja, ostvarivao samo među svojima.

Da se vratimo na Bogišićevu kodifikaciju. On navodi da u crnogorskom društvu svako zna, po tradiciji, koje obaveze ima u svojoj kući i kako treba da ih ispunjava. Pritom, je bitno da svaki pojedinac uzima te običaje kao nešto što on u potpunosti razume i zna zašto ih ispunjava, jer su oni bili deo tradicije kojom je bio okružen. Po Bogišiću, osnovni problem leži u tome što, ako mi iz običaja stvaramo zakone, onda, da bi ih neki narod i asimilovao, taj novi zakon mora imati i sadržinu i naziv jednako razumljiv u narodu. Dakle, zakon treba da bude „potpuno u skladu sa tim što je narod iz života već naučio“.[10] Zakon ne treba da ima učene komentare jer to opterećuje psihu samog naroda, koji treba da ga razume i samim tim i da ga se pridržava. Dakle, po Bogišiću, zakon mora da bude deo narodnog života i da bude posmatran sa narodnog gledišta, a ne sa gledišta nekog specijaliste iz oblasti prava.

S druge strane, Bogišić ističe spremnost naroda da prihvati neologizme, pogotovo za ustanovu i odnose koji su se pojavili kao novi. Jedini preduslov za njihovu inkorporaciju u svest naroda, jeste da i ti neologizmi budu utemeljeni na dobrom poznavanju narodnog duha i jezika (napr. crkveni termini). Nije dovoljno da zakoni po svom sadržaju odgovaraju pojmovima, ubeđenju i potrebama naroda, već je potrebno da oni budu razumljivi i najprostijem umu. Dakle, te termine treba izvesti iz živog narodnog jezika, tj. iz svakodnevnog govora. Po tome se vidi da je cilj Bogišićevog formulisanja pravnih termina upravo njihovo dovođenje u sklad sa narodnim pravnim običajima, potrebama, duhom i životom tog naroda. Narod mora imati zakone koje razume i zbog toga što je ovo prvi put u njegovoj istoriji da imamo sistematski sastavljene zakone, što još nema određenih stručnih škola koje se bave njima i što ima vrlo malo pravnih stručnjaka koji bi tumačili te zakone. Bogišić stalno podvlači kako se bez razumevanja zakona, ne možemo njima ni koristiti. Zato je, po njemu, bolje da zemlja ostane i jos dvesta godina bez njih, nego da postoje pisani zakoni koji su potpuno nerazumljivi za narod, pa su samim tim i beskorisni. Ono što je veoma bitno u Bogišićevom razmatranju ove celokupne problematike je, njegova premisa, da je jezik glavno sredstvo za razumevanje zakona i da je pitanje o jeziku u zakonodavstvu jedno od najtežih, ako se želi da zakonik ostane sistemom i sadržajem na visini nauke, a da ga u isto vreme razume i celi narod. Po njemu je pitanje jezika potpuno zanemareno ne samo u zakonodavnoj teoriji već i u praksi. On navodi neke od teoretičara koji su, ipak,

---

[9] U modernim prevodima Platonovih zakona ovaj termin se obično prevodi kao nem. Gewohnheit, Sitte, ali i Eigenart (kao osobina) engl. custom ili habit i franc. habitude, coutume, ali i kao tradition, kako se obično prevodi i u engleskom jeziku, naše „tradicija“.

[10] *Bogišić* 2004, 102.

ukazivali na bitna svojstva zakona, a to su: *prostota*, *jasnost* i *određenost*[11] (napr. Bekon i Monteskje).

Bogišić govori i o metodu izlaganja različitih grupa zakonskih pravila, kojim redom i načinom treba izlagati pravila, kako onih koja su poznata, tako i onih, koja nisu poznata narodu, kako da se izlažu konkretniji, a kako složeniji, apstraktni pojmovi, ili, recimo, kako da se postupa prilikom objašnjavanja pojedinih kategorija. On smatra da opštoj teoriji zakonodavstva nije pošlo za rukom da reši čak ni najopštija pitanja o jeziku, dakle, stručnjaci nisu uopšte rešili pitanja tehničkih termina u zakonodavstvu. A od toga, po Bogišiću, zavisi razumevanje zakona. Izostala je saradnja sa lingvistima i filolozima. Bogišić navodi princip po kojemu, kada se dođe u situaciju da se imenuju neki pravni termini, koji su novi u zakonodavstvu neke zemlje, onda je potrebno da se oni tvore pozajmljivanjem, ili ugledanjem, ili stvaranjem novih termina. Pritom, se treba imati u vidu da tehničke termine ne izrađuju stručnjaci za stručnjake, već za narod. Obično se takvi problemi javljaju kad se donose neke uredbe koje nisu bile do tada poznate. Ima slučajeva kad jedan te isti termin znači iste stvari.

Osnovni postulat Bogišičevog promišljanja o ovome problemu bi bio:“Ako zakonodavac želi da bude razumljiv narodu, valja da se i služi njegovijem jezikom".[12] Iz toga on izvodi svoje novo pravilo: „čvrsto se držati narodnoga živog jezika; a kad je neminovna potreba odstupiti od toga: onda se čvrsto držati njegovog duha.“[13] Nema nikakve sumnje da Valtazar Bogišić ne bi nikad kreirao onako briljantan *Imovinski zakonik Knjaževine Crne Gore*, da ga nije utemeljio na običajnom pravu vekovima kristalizovanom u narodu. Štaviše, poznato je, kako je završavajući svoje remek-delo, to leto pozvao Sima Matavulja iz Herceg Novog da dođe na Cetinje, da mu bude pri ruci u završnoj redakciji rukopisa, kako bi mu pravnički termini sledili duh narodnih običajnosnih izraza i jezika.

Inače, sve pomenute kategorije termina se mogu podeliti u tri grupe: termini koji se nalaze u živom narodnom jeziku, termini koji su pozajmljeni, kao i termini, koji su u većoj ili manjoj meri, samostalno stvoreni. Međutim, i u okviru tih kategorija postoje posebni metodološki problemi. Na primer, u prvoj kategoriji, gde govorimo o terminima iz živog narodnog jezika, možemo uvideti da postoje termini koji nisu poznati u svim delovima, gde se taj jezik govori. Upotrebljava se samo onaj koji je svugde poznat, ali opet, ima termina čije je značenje opšte, ali postoje u određenim krajevima stanovite razlike u njihovom preciznom značenju. Tako, na primer, u Crnoj Gori reči *lukavstvo*, *lukav*, *lukavo*, imaju više značenje umešnosti i dopuštene hitrosti, a ne neku oštru negativnu konotaciju, kao u drugim srpskim i hrvatskim pokrajinama.

Takođe postoje i reči *lupež* i *krasti*, koje u plemenskim zavadama nisu imale tako negativan predznak, kao što to imaju u opštem jeziku.[14] Bogišić navodi i reči

---

[11] *Bogišić* 2004, 113.
[12] *Bogišić* 2004, 117.
[13] *Bogišić* 2004, 117.
[14] *Bogišić* 2004, 118

supona, *suponik*, koje označavaju osobiti, čisto seoski ugovor i one koji ih ugovaraju.[15] Ovi izrazi se upotrebljavaju samo u Crnoj Gori. On, čak, navodi kako reč *supona* Vuk Karadžić uopšte ne pominje u svom *Rječniku* živoga narodnoga jezika, dok je reč *suponik* naveo u sasvim pogrešnom obliku i značenju. Inače, zanimljivo je da se ovaj izraz pominje i u *Leksikonu obligacionog prava*[16], kao jedna od deset odrednica koja se poziva na Bogišićev *Zakonik*.[17] Takve reči, po Bogišiću, treba objasniti, kako bi njihovo značenje bilo pojmljivo i za druge narode. On nam navodi ove termine kako bi potvrdio opstanak tih reči i u kodifikovanom pravu, koje vredi za taj kraj u kojem se te reči i pojavljuju, ali su istovremeno praćene uz već pomenuto objašnjenje za druge narode. Često se dešava da se jedna ista stvar, odnosi ili pojam, koji postoje u različitim mestima, gde se govori isti jezik, ima različite nazive. Bogišić smatra da je najbolje uzeti onu reč koja je opštepoznata u celoj zemlji, a pored nje navesti i onu reč koja cirkuliše u određenoj sredini. Na taj način svi će biti upoznati i naučeni i novom terminu. Ovakve paralele jedino ne treba praviti u slučaju kad jedna paralelna reč u drugoj zemlji ima drugo značenje. Kao primer, Bogišić navodi reč *disciplina* koja u Vukovom *Rječniku* glasi *zapt.* Sinonim ove reči koji se koristi u Crnoj Gori je *stega.* Ali zapt u Crnoj Gori ima značenje sekvestracije, dok stega ima sasvim suprotno značenje u Srbiji[18]. Bogišić je poveden značenjem reči zapt na području Crne Gore, u svom *Zakoniku*, tu reč upotrebio kao dubletu za pojam sudske zabrane. Sledeća Bogišićeva primedba je ta da postoje slučajevi kad se u jeziku različite stvari, odnosi i pojmovi označavaju jednom te istom rečju. On navodi primer iz Napoleonovog zakonika, gde izraz *enfants naturels*, kad mu se nasuprot stavi *enfants legitimes*, označava nezakonitu decu, ali kad mu se nasuprot stavi izraz *enfants adoptifs*, ovaj pojam ima sasvim drugo značenje i to obične, zakonite dece.[19] Ove reči imaju više značenja u običnom jeziku, stoga se njihovim smeštanjem na posebno mesto u rečenici ili stavljanjem nasuprot nekoj drugoj reči, pravi jasna distinkcija u njihovom značenju. Tako je poznato da reč *pravo* ima u narodnom srpskom jeziku nekoliko značenja. *ius* (u smislu facultas - vlast), *iustum*, *directe*, *vere*.[20] U prvom slučaju je imenica, u drugom pridev, u trećem i u četvrtom prilog. Iako su im značenja srodna, opet po gramatičkim pravilima i po mestu gde se nalaze u rečenici, ove se reči međusobno razlikuju u svom značenju. Kao jedna od nedoumica za Bogišića javila se i reč *dužnik*, koja se u narodnom jeziku javlja i kao *debitor* i kao *creditor.* Tu takođe, postoji nesavršenost u pogledu precizne terminologije, gde se istom reču označava i

---

[15] *Bogišić* 2004, 118.

[16] *Babić,* I. (2008) *Leksikon obligacionog prava*, Beograd: Službeni glasnik.

[17] Bogišićevo određenje ovog pojma u njegovom *Zakoniku* (član 892.) glasi: "Supona je kad nekoliko kuća svoju životinju ili dio nje izmiješaju, pa razdijelivši je na struke (mlad, ovce, koze, volove itd.), svakoj struci postave po pastira, te ih sve ujedno opreme na pašu, gdje sav gnoj pomiješane stoke biva za suponičku zajednicu."

[18] Bogišić navodi da se u Vukovom *Rečniku* riječ *stega* pojavljuje u značenju „verachärfte Polizei", „Cordon gegen die Pest" i sl.

[19] *Bogišić* 2004, 119, 137-147.

[20] *Bogišić* 2004, 119.

onaj koji je dužan i onaj kojemu se duguje. Bogišić kod ovih pojmova pravi kontrastivnu analizu, tako što navodi da je za romanske jezike bilo lako na osnovu svog porekla da naprave izraze po latinskom modelu, tako, na primer, u italijanskom imamo izraze *creditore* i *debitore*, dok se u francuskom javljaju izrazi *créancier*, *débiteur* itd. Kao dokaz nesavršenosti nemačke terminologije, Bogišić navodi pojavu da u nemačkom jeziku reč *Schuldner* označava i pojam *debitor* i pojam *creditor*, dok reč *Gläubiger* navodi kao primer „ropskog" prevoda latinske reči *creditor*, kao što je kod nas, na primer, prevedena italijanska riječ *firma* kao *tvrtka*[21]. Takođe, Bogišić navodi i englesko rešenje ovog terminološkog problema, tako što kaže da su oni usvojili latinski naziv u nepromenjenom obliku za *creditor*, a sa malom izmenom i riječ *debitor*, kao *debtor*. Kod nas on navodi primer prevoda ove reči kao *dužnik* za debitor i kao *vjerovnik i povjerilac* za creditor.[22]

Drugu veliku grupu termina, predstavljaju pozajmljeni termini. Bogišić se ovde zalaže za razložni purizam. Postoje slučajevi kad je narod primio sam neku reč iz tuđih jezika. Trebalo bi pažljivo proučiti da li postoji u narodnom jeziku neki koreniti sinonim za taj termin, ili ne. Po Bogišiću, narodnom jeziku bi trebalo dati prednost u odnosu na neki strani jezik. On navodi primer iz turskog jezika, gde svaka reč ima korenski slovenski izraz. Očigledno je da treba pronaći odgovarajući ekvivalent u srpskom, jer na Primorju sve vrvi od italijanizama, dok u drugim srpskim zemljama ima dosta turcizama i te dve regije se međusobno ne razumeju.[23] Reči rizik, kapara, interes, po njemu, mogu da ostanu takvima kakve jesu.

Kad su u pitanju reči koje se posuđuju, one mogu biti preuzete u tom obliku, ili prevedene, kao prevedenice, ili se stvaraju nove po tuđim obrascima. Narod ih obično uzima takve kakve su, dok književnici i pravnici teže da ih prevode. Nije dovoljno nekoj reči dati književni oblik, već je potrebno i da ona bude pojmljiva narodu. Tehnički se izrazi kao i ostale reči i izrazi živog jezika stvaraju pod uticajem istorijskih, događaja, ekonomskih prilika, verovanja, predanja, koja su, umnogome, različita od celog istorijskog života nekog stranog naroda, pa su, samim tim, i određenoj zajednici nepristupačni za njihovo poimanje. Apsurd u prevođenju ovih termina se javlja upravo onda kad ni sam prevodilac ne shvati pravo značenje neke reči ili termina. Bogišić navodi primjer riječi *laudemium*, gde je neki, misleći da dolazi od latinske reči *laudare*, prevode kao hvaljevina.[24] Bogišić, takođe, navodi primere kada se u romanskim jezicima latinskim pravnim terminima daje samo gramatički završetak živoga jezika, a sve drugo ostaje latinsko, napr.: *reivindicatio*, u engl. revendication ili u tal. rivendicazione. Te reči su narodu nerazumljive.[25] Nekad dolazi i do skraćenja pojedinih termina. Tako se, na primer, francuski termin *prescription*, tal. *Prescrizione*, zasniva samo na prvoj reči od

[21] *Bogišić* 2004, 120, 126.
[22] *Bogišić* 2004, 120.
[23] *Bogišić* 2004, 120.
[24] *Bogišić* 2004, 122
[25] *Bogišić* 2004, 122.

latinskog termina, koji bi u svom punom obliku glasio: *praescriptio longi temporis.*[26] Bogišić primećuje da se naši stručnjaci ustručavaju da formiraju termine iz staroslovenskih ili starosrpskih pismenih spomenika. I, naposletku, treću kategoriju predstavlja stvaranje termina, više ili manje, samostalno.

Kada prevodioci zakona više ne mogu da iznađu narodni termin, niti za njega mogu da nađu odgovarajući ekvivalent u nekom drugom jeziku, onda oni posežu za stranim izrazima i terminima. Oni tada, manje-više, stvaraju sami termine koji su im potrebni, ali treba zadovoljiti glavnu nameru, da je taj termin svakom pristupačan. Svaki narod gleda na neku stvar, pojavu ili odnos sa svoje tačke gledišta, tj. prema tome, koje je od svojstava dotične pojave u početku na njih ostavilo najjači utisak. Na primer, pojam čitanja se kod nekih naroda zasniva na pojmu sabiranja *(legere, lesen, brati).* Drugi su sastavljajući tu reč više mislili o brojanju (*čitati* itd.) Na primer, ako neko može nešto što je naučio i da ponovi, kaže se „znati na izust", kod drugih naroda bi to bilo „znati sa spoljašnje strane" *auswendig*, dok se u nekih to prevodi kao: „znati napamet" - *a mente, a memoria*, a u nekih, opet, „znati srcem" *par coeur.*[27] I ovde nam Bogišić daje svoje pravilo i metod: da svaki onaj koji tvori termine mora da ima poseban dar, sposobnost i spremu za samostalno stvaranje termina, a to, samo po sebi, predstavlja proročanski dar.[28]

3. Zaključak

Iz ovoga se može zaključiti da se Bogišić u pisanju svog *Zakonika* držao sledećih osnovnih postulata: a) novi termin se može objasniti u samom tekstu, tamo gde se prvi put nađe; b) sama rečenica u kojoj se najpre nađe neologizam, može biti sastavljena tako da, bi se polazeći od konkretnoga ka apstraktnom, od poznatijeg ka nepoznatijem, novi termini objasnili onim redom kojim reči dolaze jedna za drugom; c) svi neologizmi koji su ušli u zakon ili zakonik, mogu se objasniti na zasebnom i zato određenom mestu.[29]

Iz svega dosad rečenog možemo, povodeći se za Bogišićem, zaključiti da u prevođenju i u pravilnom odabiru pravnih termina, moramo poštovati sedeće postulate:

1.Potpuno razumevanje pravnih tehničkih termina

2.Pisati zakone za narod a ne za pravne stručnjake

3.Upotrebljavati što više izraza koji su već prisutni i uvreženi u narodnom predanju i običajnom pravu

4.Narod, da bi poštovao zakone mora i da ih razume

5.Ne treba praviti pogrešne paralele ili interpretacije pojedinih stranih izraza, što se često dešava i sa postavljanjem etimologija neke određene reči

---

26 *Bogišić* 2004, 122.

27 *Bogišić* 2004, 123.

28 *Bogišić* 2004, 123.

29 Bogišić kao primer pominje Justinijanove *Pandekte*, u čijoj poslednjoj knjizi on posvećuje posebnu pažnju upravo ovom problemu: *de verborum significatione*.

6.Greške se javljaju kad tvorac pravnih termina ne proniče ni u prirodu prava ni u prirodu jezika

Ovome još treba dodati i neophodnu saradnju pravnika, istoričara prava, lingvista i filologa. Bez te saradnje izostaće uspeh u kreiranju i razumevanju različitih pravnih termina, pa samim tim ni zakoni neće biti integrisani na pravi način u svest onih kojima su i namenjeni. Bogišić je i sam konsultovao najbolje hrvatske i srpske filologe (napr. Đuru Daničića) i tako je, kako on kaže, „rešetao" pojedine termine. Njegov je stav, u pogledu ovog pitanja bio da zakoni, osim što treba da *zapovedaju*, moraju i da *poučavaju*. Prema tome, čovek može znati samo ono što i razume, i stoga zakonodavac mora imati na umu, da njegove zakone mora svako razumeti, kako se neko ne bi mogao ispričati neznanjem tih zakona. Bilo bi, možda, interesantno proučiti do koje mere je na Bogišićevo poimanje običajnog prava i zakona, uticalo njegovo klasično obrazovanje, koje je on stekao kod katoličkog sveštenika Zafrona u Cavtatu, kao i u kojoj meri mu je to obrazovanje omogućilo dublje prodiranje u etimologiju pojednih grčkih i latinskih termina.

Literatura

Bogišić, V. (2004) *Izabrana djela* I-IV, Podgorica, Beograd: CID i Službeni list SCG

Luković, M. (2009) *Bogišićev Zakonik: priprema i jezičko oblikovanje*, Beograd: Balkanološki institute SANU

Babić, I. (2008) *Leksikon obligacionog prava*, Beograd: Službeni glasnik

Benvenist, E. (2002) *Rečnik indoevropskih ustanova,* Novi Sad, Sremski Karlovci: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića

UDK 811.163.4'367.623

Borko Kovačević

GROUP ADJECTIVES IN SERBIAN

Abstract: *This paper discusses behavior of group adjectives in contemporary Serbian. Group adjectives show characteristics of adjectives, but also some of nouns, especially in the domain of argument structure. The data shows that group adjectives in Serbian have characteristics different from group adjectives in other languages. However, their behavior does support the way that group adjectives are treated in the contemporary grammatical theory.*

Key words: *group adjectives, Serbian, argument structure*.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with so-called *group adjectives* (GAs). These are adjectives expressing nationality, ethnicity or provenance/origin, or any collection or group of individuals sharing a specific characteristic (Alexiadou & Stavrou 2002). This characteristic can be ideological, sociological, geographical and similar, e.g.: *democratic, communist, conservative*, etc. The set is illustrated by examples in (1):

(1) a. *the **American** invasion of Vietnam*
b. *i **Italiki** isvoli* (*stin Alvania*) (Greek)
the Italian invasion (to Albania)
c. ***Italiansko** napadenie* (Bulgarian)
Italian attack
d. ***Francusko** okupiranje* (Serbian)
French occupation

Group adjectives modify process nouns, nouns that have an argument structure.[30] It is hence very important to differentiate them from formally identical adjectives that modify common nouns. Adjectives that modify common nouns, as illustrated in (2), are not 'group' adjectives in the intended sense but ordinary descriptive adjectives:

[30] According to Grimshaw (1990) there is difference between result and event (simple and complex) nouns. Only the second type of nouns (more precisely complex event nouns) has an argument structure. This distinction is more often recognized in the literature (Zubizarreta 1987, Borer 1991, Alexiadou 2001) as the difference between *process* (argument-taking) and *result* (no argument-taking) nouns.

(2) a. His Italian watch is on the table.
b. John's communist book is sold.

Group adjectives are derived from nouns, and they belong to *denominal adjectives*, which also are called *pseudoadjectives*.[31] Because these adjectives are entity-denoting elements, Giorgi & Longobardi (1991) call them *referential adjectives*.[32] They are morphologically related to nouns, and they show some characteristics of nouns (in the first place a potential argument), but they are still adjectives. This hybrid nature of the category gives it the status of a mixed category: a category between noun and adjective.[33]

This paper has two objectives. The first is to examine behavior of group adjectives in Serbian, comparing them with those in other languages (English and Greek). The second objective is to account for the nature of group adjectives as a mixed category cross-linguistically. The main goal is to check characteristics of the category in Serbian, and see whether the data from Serbian fit into the picture that is offered by the contemporary grammatical theory, or they can change the current theoretical explanations.

2. Adjectival nature of GAs

As it has been already mentioned group adjectives represent a subclass of so-called pseudoadjectives. This means that they are not like *ordinary* adjectives. They have some characteristics that have other adjectives, but they still lack some characteristics that adjectives usually have. Followings are characteristics that distinguish group adjectives from common adjectives.

Group adjectives cannot appear in predicative position (Alexiadou & Stavrou 2002):

(3) a. *The invasion of Vietnam was American
b. *i epemvasi stin Kipro itan amerikaniki (Greek)
the intervention in Cyprus was American

These adjectives in Greek cannot be coordinated with predicative adjectives, they cannot be modified, and they cannot appear in the determiner spreading construction (Alexiadou & Stavrou 2002):

[31] According to Alexiadou & Stavrou (2002) these adjectives were first studied by Bartning (1976) and Levi (1978).
[32] About nominal nature of these adjectives see also Zubizarreta (1985) and Kayne (1984).
[33] The term *mixed category* refers loosely to major lexical categories (noun, verb, adjective) which show morphological or syntactic properties of one of the other categories (Spencer 2002).

(4) a. *i amesi /grigori/pithan ke amerikaniki anamixi
the immediate/quick/possible and American intervention
b. *I poli/pio amerikaniki epemvasi
the very/more American intervention
c. ? i amerikaniki i epemvasi
the American the intervention

Group adjectives thus differ from predicative gradable adjectives. These adjectives can appear in predicative position, they can be coordinated with predicative adjectives, they can be modified, and they can appear in the determiner spreading construction:

(5) a. to vivlio itan endiaferon
the book was interesting
b. i politelis ke endiaferusa ekdosi
the illustrated and interesting edition
c. ena poli/pio endiaferon vivlio
a much/more interesting book
d. to endiaferon to vivlio
the interesting the book

Group adjectives in Serbian cannot appear in the predicative position. Instead of group adjective, it is better to use the construction *od strane* + GEN (equivalent of the English *by*-phrase) in predicative position:

(6) a. !intervencija na Kipru je bila američka
intervention in Cyprus was American
b. intervencija na Kipru je bila od strane Amerikanaca
intervention in Cyprus was by Americans
c. !napad je bio komunistički
attack was communist
d. napad je bio od strane komunista
attack was by communists

They cannot be coordinated with predicative adjectives, and they cannot be modified:

(7) a. *trenutno/brzo/moguće i američko okupiranje
immediate/quick/possible and American occupation
b. *veoma američko okupiranje
very American occupation

As in the case for English and Greek, group adjectives in Serbian lack some of adjectival characteristics: they cannot appear in predicative position, they cannot be coordinated with predicative adjectives, and they cannot be modified.

3. Nominal nature of GAs

Group adjectives appear to be assigned an external theta-role:

(8) a. the invasion of Vietnam by the Americans
b. the Americans' invasion of Vietnam
c. the American invasion of Vietnam

There is a distributional and interpretational connection between group adjectives and agents. This connection is manifested by the complementary distribution of these adjectives with genitive and *by*-phrase (Postal 1969):

(9) a. *the French invasion of America by Portugal
b. *France's French invasion of America

The connection between group adjectives and agents is also manifested by the fact that the deletion of a complement sentence subject when co-referential with a subject in a higher construction runs parallel with genitive and group adjectives (Postal 1969):

(10) a. America's attempt to attack Cuba at night
b. the American attempt to attack Cuba at night

A number of scholars have suggested (e.g. Kayne 1984, Zubizarreta 1985, Grimshaw 1990, Alexiadou 2001, Alexiadou & Stavrou 2002) that group adjectives can encode only an external role, never internal, as demonstrated in (11). This means that group adjectives have a defective argumental character in comparison with nouns. They can only be external, not internal arguments:

(11) *the Austro-Hungarian disappearance from the political scene

Group adjectives in Serbian can be also only external, not internal arguments of argument taking nouns. This is proven by ungrammaticality of examples with an external argument:

(12) *Napoleonovo francusko sakupljanje
Napoleon's French collecting

Francusko ('French') here is an ordinary descriptive adjective, not an adjective with a theta-role. The example in (12) is not an equivalent of the sentence *Napoleon skuplja Francuze* (*Napoleon is collecting French*).

Distributional and interpretational connection between group adjectives and agents in Serbian is manifested by the complementary distribution of group adjectives with the construction *od strane* + GEN (equivalent of the English *by*-phrase), as illustrated in (13a). Deletion of a complement sentence subject when co-referential with a subject in a higher construction is also allowed (13b):

(13) a. *američka kritika Irana od strane Kineza
American criticism Iran-GEN by Chinese
b. komunistički pokušaj da osvoje Moskvu
Communist attempt to conquer Moscow

Group adjectives have reduced referential capacity. The nominal underlying group adjective is not accessible to rules of outbound anaphora. Lexical items are anaphoric islands (Alexiadou & Stavrou 2002):

(14) a. *the American proposal to the UN reveals its/her rigid position
b. ??i amerikaniki epemvasi sto Kosovo tus exethese diethnos
the American interference to Kosovo them exposed internationally

Group adjectives cannot bind an anaphor (Alexiadou & Stavrou 2002):

(15) a. the Albanian destruction (*of itself) grieved the expatriate community
b. *i germaniki katastrofi tu eaftu tus
the German destruction the self-GEN they

According to Markantonatou & Oersnes (1999) implicit argument control is not allowed:

(16) *the Egyptian$_i$ humiliation of Ceasar in order to PRO$_i$ become the most powerful nation

In Serbian, group adjectives cannot bind an anaphor, but they can provide an antecedent for a pronoun, and implicit argument control is allowed:

(17) a. *srpsko uništenje sebe
Serbian destruction themselves-GEN
b. Američko okupiranje Iraka je otkrilo njihove namere.
American occupation Irac-GEN revealed their intentions
c. nemačko$_i$ okupiranje Grčke sa namerom da PRO$_i$ zauzmu Atinu

German occupation Greece-GEN in order to conquer Athens

As in Greek and English, group adjectives in Serbian have defective argument capacity. They can only be external, not internal arguments. Group adjectives in Serbian also have reduced referential capacity. However, they can provide an antecedent for a pronoun, and implicit argument control is allowed.

4. Conclusion

The data show that group adjectives in Serbian in general behave like group adjectives in English and Greek, i.e. they behave as asserted in the literature. They are a mixed category between adjective and noun, with some adjectival, and nominal characteristics.

However, although group adjectives in Serbian have reduced referential capacity, this capacity is less reduced than that in English and Greek. As already shown, group adjectives in Serbian can provide an antecedent for a pronoun, and implicit argument control is allowed. They have stronger anaphoric character than those in English and Greek. The fact that implicit argument control is allowed also means that group adjectives in Serbian have stronger argumental character. In terms of Grimshaw (1990) they are more like ’real’ arguments, not only ’argument adjuncts’. What these peices of evidence suggest is that group adjectives in Serbian are closer to nouns than group adjectives in English and Greek.

Concerning some theoretical implications, the behavior of group adjectives in Serbian supports the way that this category is treated in the contemporary grammatical theory. More nominal nature of the category makes a stronger support for the current opinion (Postal 1969, Alexiadou 2001, Alexiadou & Stavrou 2002) that group adjectives are syntactically derived from nouns, using some transformations. They have defective anaphoric and argumental character because at the surfice structure they appear as adjectives, not as ’real’ nouns from which they are derived.

References

Alexiadou, A. (2001) **Functional Structure in Nominals: Nominalization and Ergativity**, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins

Alexiadou, A. & Stavrou, M. (2002) “Group Adjectives as pseudo-adjectives: a case study in syntax-morphology interaction”, http://www.uclm.es/congresos/cgg/abstracts/abstract_alexiadou_stravou.pdf

Bartning, I. (1976) **Remarques sur la Syntaxe et la Semantique des Pseudo-Adjectifs denominaux en français,** Institut d'Etudes Romanes de l'Université de Stockholm

Borer, H. (1991) “The Causative-Inchoative Alternation: A Case Study in Parallel Morphology”, **The Linguistic Review** 8, pp. 119-158

Giorgi, A. & Longobardi, G. (1991) **The Syntax of Noun Phrases**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Grimshaw, J. (1990) **Argument Structure**, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press

Kayne, R. (1984) **Connectedness and Binary Branching**. Dordrecht: Foris

Levi, J. (1978) **The Syntax and Semantics of Complex Nominals**, Academic Press

Markantonatou, S. & Oersnes, B. (1999) “Group adjectives”, Paper presented at **The syntax meeting of the University of Thessaloniki**, January 1999

Postal, P. (1969) “Anaphoric islands”, **Papers from the fifth regional meeting of Chicago linguistic society**, University of Chicago, pp. 205-239

Spencer, A. (2002) “Typology of Mixed Categories”, in Orgun, C. O. & Sells, P. (eds.) **Morphology and the Web of Grammar**, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Zubizarreta, M.L. (1985) “The relation between Morphophonology and Morphosyntax: The Case of Romance Causatives”, ***Linguistic Inquiry*** 16, pp. 247-289

Zubizarreta, M. L. (1987) **Levels of Representation in the Lexicon and in the Syntax**. Dordrecht: Foris

UDK 811.111'42:001.813

Branka Živković

THE DISCOURSE OF RESEARCH ARTICLE ABSTRACTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Abstract: *In the world of science and technology a number of research articles is published every day. In the contemporary academic reality, an abstract, as a concise and condensed genre, helps readers to decide whether a certain research article is of interest to them. This paper presents an analysis of research article abstracts in English written by academic writers. The analysis is based on abstracts taken from British journals in the field of political science. The focus is on their rhetorical structure, identified using Bhatia's model* (1993: 78-79)*, and the analysis goes further to explain linguistic features of such patterns. The results suggest that the model proposed by Bhatia should be supplemented with two additional moves. As a conclusion, this paper can be useful in teaching writing abstracts as an type of written discourse.*

Key words: *research article abstracts*, *genre*, *model*, *discourse*, *written discourse*

1. Introduction

The English language is the international language of science and technology, especially in research articles. They enable new information in the mentioned fields to become available to various discourse communities. Since the exchange of information has to be done rapidly and efficiently, it is necessary to take into consideration the abstract, a genre that provides us with the review of a research article. It helps readers to decide whether to pay their attention to the chosen article or not.

Many linguists have offered similar definitions of this genre. Lancaster (2003: 100) defines abstract as "a brief but accurate representation of the contents of a document". Niggermeyer views it as "a short coherent text which has to inform a user about the essential knowledge conveyed by a document" (in Lancaster 2003, 100). Apart from these understandings, Swales (1990: 179) points out that the abstract functions as an independent discourse. These perspectives have helped us to give the definition of the abstract as well. It is a condensed and short form providing the information about the content and organisation of a higher form of written communication, that is, the research article. In other words, it is a discourse in discourse.

2. Coprus

This paper presents an analysis of 16 research article abstracts in English, written by academic writers. The analysis is based on abstracts randomly chosen from two British journals in the field of political science: 8 were taken from *Journal of Social Policy* (Cambridge University Press - UK) and the second half from *Global Social Policy* (Sage publications - UK).

3. Methodology and model

Our analysis focuses on the rhetorical structure of research article abstracts, identified using Bhatia's model (1993: 78-79). Besides, it is aimed at exploration of linguistic signals of each move respectively. According to Bhatia (1993: 78-79), the structure of abstracts consists of four moves:

1. **Introducing puprose**
2. **Describing methodology**
3. **Summarising results**
4. **Presenting conclusions**

Using the aforementioned model as a starting point in our analysis, we have found two more moves. Therefore, our model includes six moves. They are:

1. **Background**
2. **Introducing puprose**
3. **Describing methodology**
4. **Summarising results**
5. **Presenting conclusions**
6. **Key words**

The following abstract illustrates a 6-move model:

Move 1: Background	*Participation and attendance in the arts can foster social capital, economic regeneration and skill acquisition. For these reasons, encouraging greater arts participation and attendance among disadvantaged groups became part of the New Labour strategy to promote neighbourhood renewal and tackle social exclusion. It is, however, far from clear what policies are best suited to achieve the aim of greater involvement in the arts. One policy option is to award subsidies to lower admission fees.*
Move 2: Introducing puprose	*The article examines whether lower prices stimulate attendance at live performances overall and among low-income groups in particula,*

Move 3: Describing methodology	*using 14 years of data from the UK Family Expenditure Surve.*
Move 4: Summarising results	*Findings indicate that while ticket prices influence attendance generally, the response of different income groups is similar, with a 10 per cent increase in price accompanied by a 9 per cent drop in demand.*
Move 5: Presenting conclusions	*This means that, while price controls may be effective in increasing overall attendance levels among all groups in the population, including among low-income groups, they may not prove adequate whenever the main aim is to reduce the gap in participation across social groups.*
Move 6: Key words	*arts • policy • attendance• low-income groups*

Table 1 – An example of a 6-move model (FRANCESCA BORGONOVI from *Journal of Social Policy,* Volume 37, Issue 01, January 2008, pp. 81-102.)

4. Move 1 - Background

Background represents the first move that we have found in the analysed abstracts. It introduces the readers into the subject, that is, it situates the topic in a suitable context. It accounts for 50% of analysed abstracts.

Move 1 consists of the following steps:

Step 1: Topic - centrality:
a. by interest
or b. by comparing or contrasting
or c. by using the pattern "*general-specific*"
or d. by indicating a gap in the previous research
Step 2: Stating Key Characteristics

As it is suggested, the authors can present the topic using different steps. **Step 1a**, found in 12.5% of cases, is characterised by the use of the noun phrases *a central place* and *this centrality* functioning as the signals of researchers' interest in the topic, like in the example that follows:

(**1**) *The individual's commitment to work has occupied* ***a central place*** *in much welfare state research.* ***This centrality*** *relates to beliefs that welfare system design influences the ways in which people come to value employment...*

Step 1b introduces the topic using comparison or contrast. It appears in 12.5% of abstracts as well. In the example (2) this step is marked by the use of the connector *while* and the negative verb phrase *has not* (*received*):

(**2**) ***While*** *the Chilean pension reform has received considerable attention, its emulation in Nigeria* ***has not****.*

The authors use the pattern "***general – specific***" as **Step 1c** to draw the readers' attention to the issue of the research. McCarthy (1991: 158) argues that it begins with the introduction of general statements, continues with detailed descriptions or specific statements and finishes with the repetition of the general statement. The difference with our pattern is that the general statement is not repeated. This is justified because **BACKGROUND** represents the first move. Therefore, the topic cannot be finished with the general stratement. This pattern is used in 37.5% of instances. The example (3) can serve as an illustration:

(**3**) (***general statement***) *In an attempt to counter changes in family structures, a number of nation states are designing policies to make men fit into families. (**specific statement 1**) In the case of the USA, decision makers view fatherhood and marriage as the cure for poverty among African Americans. (**specific statement 2**) To assert that training these men to be better fathers and husbands will help them improve other dimensions of their lives (particularly poverty) is a good idea, but it is also simplistic. (**specific statement 3**) Decision makers rely on an intra-group, which privileges an individualistic and cultural approach, in their development of policies.(**specific statement 4**)This approach tends to ignore that other subsystems, such as previously existing policies, can have an impact on the effectiveness of marriage and fatherhood promotion.*

The authors can form the context of the topic using **Step 1d** - **indicating a gap in the previous research**. There are 12.5% occurrences of this step. In the example below it is distinguished by the use of the negative quantifier *little* with the noun *attention*:

(**4**) *In the debate on 'flexicurity', relatively* ***little attention*** *has been paid to how responsive traditional areas of social security have been to increasing flexibility in the labour market.*

Step 2 – **Stating Key Characteristics**, as its name suggests, refers to the key characteristics of a topic. It appears in 25% of abstracts. Step 2 is represented by the verb *highlight* and the noun phrase *a number of issues*, such as in the example:

(**5**) *The study of EU social policy **highlights a number of issues** especially well, among them the unfolding institutionalisation of a social field in EU politics and policy, and the changing nature of economic and social governance in Europe.*

As it can be seen, the frequency of occurrence of **Step 1c – pattern "*general – specific*"** is the highest in the analysed abstracts within **Background** move. **Step 2 – Stating Key Characteristics** is the second most used step.

5. Move 2 - Introducing purpose

Introducing purpose is the second move identified in our corpus. It relates to the authors' intentions, problems or subjects of the research, theses, hypotheses, purpose, objective or goal. Move 2 occurs in all abstracts.

During the analysis of this move, we have identified several steps:

Step 1: Describing the Present Research
Step 2: Indicating Aim/Purpose
Step 3: Question-Raising
Step 4: Filling the Gap in the Previous Research

Step 1 - **Describing the Present Research** gets the readers acquainted with the attitudes, theses, hypotheses and problems stated in the research article. It is very significant, which is proved by the fact that it is used in 93.75% of abstracts.

The most frequent signals marking this step are:

1. determiners *the/this* used with the inanimate nouns *article* and *study*, like in the examples that follow:

(**6**) ***The article** examines the human capacity and personal characteristics that have an impact on refugee employment.*
(**7**) *A unique aspect of **this study** is our focus on perceived employment discrimination.*

2. first person pronouns – *I* or *we*. When the authors use the first person pronoun *I*, they want to "promote" themselves throughout the text. In the example (6), apart from the pronoun *I*, the author uses the verb *hypothesise*, as a hedging device, in order to mitigate the responsibility for his/her claims:

(**8**) ***I hypothesise** that the effectiveness of fatherhood and marriage promotion is limited because of their interaction with other policies*.

In instances when the authors use the pronoun *we*, their intention is to emphasise both themselves, as researchers, and the audience as well:

(**9**) ***We*** *investigate the association between the residential concentration of Chinese in Toronto and discrimination as experienced and perceived by Chinese immigrant residents.*

Step 2 - Indicating Aim/Purpose is the step where the authors outline the aim of their study. It is characterised by the use of the noun phrase *the aim* and the past participle *aimed*, such as in the examples that follow:

(**10**) ***The aim*** *is to identify development over time, to review progress critically and to offer some explanation for events*.
(**11**) *The article explores the implications for gender roles and relations in Nicaragua of implementing a Conditional Cash Transfer programme* ***aimed*** *at improving the situation of the extreme poor.*

When the authors want to attract the readers' attention, they use **Step 3 - Question-Raising**. It is signalled by the use of *direct* and *indirect questions*:

(**12**) *The article does not research this apparent paradox, but* ***asks the empirical question of whether poverty was a prime concern and reflected in arguments used in favour of universal old age pension when such programmes were introduced historically. What were the pro-arguments?***

Step 4 - Filling the Gap in the Previous Research is the final step within the move **Introducing purpose**. The authors aim at filling the gap outlined in Move 1 – **Background**. The main lexical signal is the noun phrase *this gap*. At the same time the authors tend to use the verb phrase *try to fill*, which is the marker of a tentative statement, like in the following example:

(**13**) *This article* ***tries*** *to fill* ***this gap*** *by focusing on the Belgian pension system.*

6. Move 3 - Describing methodology

Describing methodology represents the third move which provides answers to questions about what the authors have done and how they have carried out their study. Therefore, it is concerned with the methods, procedures, techniques and materials exploited. This move is found in 81.25% of instances.

Describing methodology comprises the following steps:

Step 1: The Method of Conducting the Research
Step 2: The Method of Data Analysis
Step 3: Materials and Data

Step 1 - The Method of Conducting the Research, as its name indicates, states the way in which the authors carried out their research. It is used in seven out of 16 abstracts (43.75%). It is signalled by the use of ***present participle***, as it is illustrated by the example (14):

> (**14**) ...***using*** *a comparison of IO participation in the social insurance policy making process in Mexico in the 1940s and 1990s.*

Step 2 – The Method of Data Analysis is the second most frequent step, accounting for 36.5% abstracts. It briefly denotes what methods or strategies are used in the research article. Lexical signals marking this step are the nouns: *model*, *strategy*, *method* and the verbs *present* and *model*. The following example can serve as an illustration:

> (**15**) *It* ***presents a method*** *for estimating chronic poverty using cross- sectional data...*

Step 3 - Materials and data points to what materials and data are the basis of the research analysis. It apperas in 18.75% of abstracts. Step 3 is mainly indicated by the use of the noun *data* preceded by the verb phrase *draw on*, such as in the given example:

> (**16**) *This article* ***draws on data*** *from a survey of 400 refugees...*

7. Move 4 – Summarising results

Summarising results is the next move identified in our analysis. It informs the readers of the main results of the research article. Move 4 is present in 93.75% of abstracts. In contrast with the previous moves, this move does not comprise steps. It simply reveals the findings. It is distinguished by the following signals:
1. inanimate nouns functioning as subjects: *findings*, *results* and *article*. The example below is the illustration of the former:

> (**17**) ***Findings*** *indicate that while ticket prices influence attendance generally, the response of different income groups is similar, with a 10 per cent increase in price accompanied by a 9 per cent drop in demand.*

2. third person sg pronoun *it* having *anaphoric reference*. It functions as a subject only after the authors have introduced Move 2 and Move 3, as in this example:

> (**18**) ***This article*** *is the first in-depth analysis of the Nigerian reform.* ***It*** *suggests that the Nigerian authorities failed to learn the lessons of Chile.*

3**.** reporting verbs: *suggest*, *indicate*, *show*, *find*, *argue* and *claim*. The authors use them to put a strong emphasis (eg. *claim* or *argue*) or weak emphasis (eg. *suggest*, *indicate*) on the results or just to show the findings (eg. s*how* and *find*).

> (**19**) *The results **show** that part-time employment results in a lower first-pillar pension, while other forms of temporal flexibility such as career interruptions and temporary unemployment do not.*

4. *that clauses* preceded by an evaluative main clause. The authors use them to give the major details of their results or they allow the authors to be more specific about their main findings:

> (**20**) *The results show **that part-time employment results in a lower first-pillar pension...***

8. Move 5 - Presenting conclusions

Presenting conclusions is the fifth move found in the analysed abstracts. Whereas the first move – **Background** has as its function to highlight the importance of the topic, **Presenting conclusions** emphasises the significance of the research or study. In Move 5 the authors interpret their results, point to how they can be applied or indicate whether hypotheses or theses, stated in **Move 2 – Introducing purpose**, are accepted or refused. It appears in 93.75% of abstracts.

Unlike **Summarising results**, the move **Presenting conclusions** is composed of the following steps:

Step 1: Explicit Announcements of Conclusion
Step 2: Interpretation of Results
Step 3: Recommendations and Suggestions

Step 1 - Explicit Announcements of Conclusion is marked by the use of the noun phrases *a conclusion, a key conclusion* and the verb *conclude,* both preceding *that clauses*:

> (**21**) ***A conclusion** drawn is that, while social exclusion has provided an innovative focus within an EU context, the process as a whole is timid and key elements are weak.*
> (**22**) *The article **concludes** that strategies need to focus on individual employability as well as measures to overcome personal and structural barriers to the labour market.*

Step 2 - Interpretation of Results is the next step identified in Move 5. The authors expose details, intepret results and provide possible implications. It is the prevailing step and can be found in 40% of abstracts. Step 2 is marked by the use of the verb phrase *be consistent with*, the reporting verbs: *mean*, *suggest*, *indicate* and the noun *implication* followed by *that clause* as well. The instance that follows can be taken as an illustration:

(**23**) *This **means** that, while price controls **may** be effective in increasing overall attendance levels among all groups in the population, including among low-income groups, they **may not** prove adequate whenever the main aim is to reduce the gap in participation across social groups.*

In this example the author uses the modal verb *may* simultaneously in order to make a cautious interpretation.

Step 3 - Recommendations and Suggestions is signalled by the use of the modal verbs *should*, *must* and *might*. The authors exploit them to suggest recommendations (eg. should), sometimes strong advice (eg. must) or a slight hesitation (eg. might).

(**24**) *The socio-economic and cultural reality faced by African American men **must be incorporated** into the decision-making processes in order to identify the most effective policies.*

9. Move 6 – Key words

Move **Key words** is the last one found during the analysis of our corpus. We included this move in our model since it can be found in 50% of abstracts. Move 6 denotes the most important words used in the research article. Thus, key words capture the essence of the article. In this way the readers, interested in certain topics, are able to look for and find those issues.

Considering the number of key words, our analysis demonstrates that there are six words in 25% of abstracts, five in 50% of abstracts and rarely there are only three or four words.

10. Conclusion

We have identified a 6-move model in the majority of abstracts. Our model is based on Bhatia's pattern (1993: 78-79). The difference is that we have found two additional moves – **Background**, placed in the initial position, and **Key words** taking the final position. On one hand, this can be ascribed to the fact that our corpus was chosen from the field of political science and on the other, the policy of one journal can impose certain rules regarding the structure of the abstract. Apart form that, the choice of the authors, referring to the moves and appropriate steps, proves to be one of the significant factors influencing the structure of the abstract. The analysis of our sample has shown that these moves are obligatory.

Regarding frequency, Move 2, 3, 4, 5 are found in almost all abstracts, whereas Move 1 and Move 6 are used in half of the abstracts. Move 1 (Background) has the freequency ofr 50%. Move 2 (Introducing purpose) appears in all abstracts (100%). There is even occurence of Moves 4 (Summarising results) and Move 5 (Presenting conlcusions), with 93.75% each. Move 6 (Key words) can be found in 50% of abstracts.

The study of research article abstracts has also revealed that the aforementioned moves and their steps are characterised by certain linguistic signals. It proves that correlation between the rhetorical structure and its form can be found in the abstract as well, as a type of written genre.

References

Bhatia, K. V. (1993) **Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings**. London and New York: Longman

Borko, H. and Bernier C. L. (1975). **Abstracting Concepts and Methods**. New York: Academic Press Inc.

Cleveland, B. D. and Cleveland A. D. (1990) **Introduction to Indexing and Abstracting**. Englewood, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited Inc.

Cremmins, T. Edward. (1982) **The Art of Abstracting**. Virginia: Information Resources Press

Day, R. A. (1994) **How to Write and Publish a Scientific Paper**. Phoenix: The Orynx Press

Dahl, T. (2004) “Some Characteristics of Argumentative Abstracts”, in Fløttum, K. (ed.) **Akademisk Prosa**, UiB : Faculty of Humanities: Department of Foreign Languages, Vol. 2, pp. 49-67

Dudley-Evans, T.and St John, M. J. (1998) **Developments in English for Specific Purposes: A Multi-disciplinary Approach**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Lakić, I. (1999) **Analiza žanra: diskurs jezika struke**. Podgorica: Institut za strane jezike, Univerzitet Crne Gore

Lancaster, F.W. (2003) **Indexing and Abstracting in Theory and Practice**. Michigan: Thomson-Shore Inc.

McCarthy, M. (1991) **Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Promsin, P. (2006) “An Analysis of Moves and Modality in English Engineering Abstracts”, **NIDA Language and Communication Journal**, NIDA Research Center, pp. 43-61

Swales, J. (1990) **Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings**. Cambidge: Cambridge University Press

UDK 811.163.42'42:070.485

Daniela Matić
Nataša Stojan

RODNE OZNAKE U OGLASIMA ZA POSAO

Apstrakt: *U radu se na primjerima oglasa za posao objavljenima u dnevnome tisku u Hrvatskoj tijekom posljednjeg tjedna ožujka/travnja 1997., 1998., 2002., 2007., 2008. i 2009. (Slobodna Dalmacija, Večernji list i Jutarnji list) analizira kako se žanr oglašavanja slobodnih radnih mjesta mijenjao u odabranome razdoblju. Pozornost ćemo usmjeriti na nazive radnih mjesta i rodne oznake koje se kreću od generičkih muških ili puno rjeđe ženskih oznaka do primjera u mješovitim oglasima u kojima se pravi razlika između „muških" i „ženskih" radnih mjesta (npr. „direktor" ali „čistačica"). Osvrnut ćemo se i na nazive radnih mjesta koji se učestalo pojavljuju na engleskome jeziku dolaskom stranih tvrtki na hrvatsko tržište rada.*

Ključne riječi: *oglasi, rodne oznake, kritička diskurzivna analiza*

1. Uvod

Javna je komunikacija jedan od vidova jezične djelatnosti jedinke u društvu, stoga odaberemo li kao predmet proučavanja neku jezičnu pojavu koja se realizira u konkretnom vremenskom i prostornom (time i društvenom) kontekstu, ona se može u potpunosti shvatiti samo ako se promatra unutar tog konteksta (Meyer, 2001). Kad određena društvena zajednica kao što je država prolazi kroz ekonomske, društvene i kulturne promjene uzrokovane i potpomognute transformacijom iz jednog uređenja u drugo te globalizacijskim procesima, mogu se očekivati, uz nastanak novih institucija i organizacija, i promjene u javnoj komunikaciji.

Oglasi ili natječaji za posao imaju odlike javne komunikacije – to su poruke koje se objavljuju, između ostalih, u tiskanim medijima jedne društvene zajednice na standardnome jeziku koji razumije najveći dio primatelja tih poruka. Pošiljatelji poruka dobivaju povratnu informaciju u vidu dolaska primatelja poruke na razgovor ili primanja njegove molbe za posao. U hrvatskome tisku pojavljuju se i oglasi na engleskome jeziku i rjeđe na njemačkome, a namijenjeni su onim primateljima poruke koji te jezike razumiju, čime pošiljatelji odmah vrše selekciju kandidata.

2. Teorijski okvir

Osnovna jedinica komunikacije u kritičkoj diskurzivnoj analizi, koja je podloga ovome radu, jest diskurs, koji se shvaća u nešto širemu značenju nego u isključivo lingvističkoj analizi, budući da promatramo interakciju jezika i društva. Diskurs, kao jedan od vidova društvene prakse, utječe na društvo te može imati bitan ideološki učinak dok god doprinosi održavanju odnosa moći i dominacije jedne skupine nad drugom (Fairclough, 2001a). Ideologije opstaju u društvima u kojima je prisutna dominacija određenih društvenih grupacija, a koja je stvorena na rasnoj, nacionalnoj, spolnoj, kulturološkoj, pa čak i zdravstvenoj osnovi (Fairclough, 1992). Ideološke natruhe određene upotrebe jezika te odnosi moći često su skrivene, stoga kritički pristup diskursu može ukazati na takve odnose (Fairclough i Wodak, 1997) i podići razinu društvene svijesti o nekome problemu. Moć se može pokazati ne samo prisilom nego i mnogo suptilnijim načinima, poput dobrovoljnog pristanka na postojeće odnose (Mumby i Clair, 1997; Van Dijk, 1997). Hegemonija je jedan od načina uspostavljanja dominacije tako da se neko stanje predstavi kao nepromjenjivo i jednom zadano ili se uvjeri podređenu ili deprivilegiranu skupinu da odnose dominacije uzme kao prirodne (Van Dijk, 1997). Danas se mnoge takve skupine ne smatraju inferiornima već pružaju otpor onima koji svojom moći nastoje na njih djelovati mijenjanjem ustaljene društvene prakse ili zadržavanjem postojećeg stanja koje te skupine stavlja u deprivilegirani položaj (Chilton i Schäffner, 1997).

U današnje vrijeme u kojemu se nastoji postići ravnopravnost rodova[34] (mada se još naziva ravnopravnošću spolova), postoji sve veća potreba da se za svako zanimanje stvori naziv i u ženskome rodu kako bi se mogla dokinuti dominacija naziva u muškome rodu. Prema Matas Ivanković (2006:35) imenice muškoga roda prevladavaju u odnosu na imenice ženskoga roda kojima se označavaju zanimanja, za što postoje i jezični razlozi, jer imenice muškoga roda imaju i generičku funkciju, i izvanjezični razlozi, jer su mnoga zanimanja ranije obavljale samo muške osobe. Kako smatra Romaine (2000[1994]:105), odraz biblijske priče o nastanku žene iz tijela muškarca vidljiv je i u jeziku, pa je tako u hrvatskome jeziku većina naziva za zanimanja u ženskome rodu izvedena iz naziva u muškome rodu mocijskom tvorbom, npr. učitelj/učiteljica, političar/političarka, itd., jer su to bila tipično muška zanimanja kojima se žene isprva nisu bavile. Ipak, društvene promjene sve više utječu na stvaranje novih naziva, bilo da su potaknute praktičnom potrebom „odozdo“, bilo da ih se uvodi zakonima, dakle „odozgo“.

3. Istraživanje

Kao predmet istraživanja odabrale smo oznake roda u tradicionalnome načinu oglašavanja slobodnih radnih mjesta u dnevnome tisku. Tisak ima svoj diskurs, ali oglasi mu ne pripadaju jer oni ne izražavaju stavove tog medija, nisu proizvod novinara i uredničke politike, a medij je tu tek posrednik. S druge strane, stavovi koje neki tiskani

[34] Rod je društvena i kulturološka odrednica koja pripadnike ljudske vrste dijeli na muški i ženski rod, ali ne prema spolnim karakteristikama (Romaine, 2000[1994]:103-104).

medij izražava, njegova čitanost ili popularnost mogu utjecati na poslodavca u donošenju odluke da oglas objavi ili ne objavi u određenome mediju.

Obrađeni oglasi potječu iz triju hrvatskih dnevnih listova, *Večernjeg lista, Jutarnjeg lista* i *Slobodne Dalmacije* (u daljnjem tekstu VL, JL i SD), i to iz VL i SD iz posljednjeg tjedna ožujka 1997. i JL iz prvog tjedna travnja 1998. kad je počeo s izlaženjem, te iz posljednjeg tjedna ožujka 2002., 2007. i 2008. Oglasi iz posljednjeg tjedna ožujka 2009. pripadaju „kontrolnom" periodu. Nismo obrađivale oglase koji se u cijelosti pojavljuju na engleskome jeziku, ali jesmo one u kojima su samo nazivi radnih mjesta oglašeni na engleskome jeziku. Obrađeni oglasi objavljeni su u različitim društveno-političkim i ekonomskim periodima kroz koje je prolazilo hrvatsko društvo – u periodu nedugo nakon završetka rata (1997/98.), periodu nakon političkih promjena (2002.) i u recentnome periodu u kojemu na Hrvatsku utječu globalne ekonomske promjene i u kojemu je Hrvatska otvorena dolasku stranih tvrtki.

3.1 Cilj istraživanja

U radu želimo utvrditi: a) je li se upotreba jezika u nazivima radnih mjesta i oznakama roda u mijenjala od 1997/98 do 2009.; b) koji su mogući uzroci promjena. Fairclough predlaže sljedeću analizu (Fairclough, 2001:92), s obzirom da će se najveći broj primjera naći na leksičkoj razini: 1) Kako riječi predstavljaju svijet? Kako su ideološke razlike uklopljene u vokabular nekoga teksta?; 2) Kakve relacijske vrijednosti imaju riječi, kakve društvene odnose stvaraju i kakav je govornikov izbor izraza koji pomaže stvoriti odnose među sugovornicima?

3.2 Analiza i interpretacija

U analizi smo razdvojile oglase ustanova i institucija koje su u državnome vlasništvu od oglasa tvrtki u privatnome vlasništvu. Oglasi ustanova u periodu koji smo istražile nisu se značajno promijenili ni u obliku ni u sadržaju. Brojčani podaci mogu se pratiti u *Tablicama 1* i *2.*

Ustanove

U periodu između **1997/98.** i **2002.** svi su nazivi u muškome rodu koji se može shvatiti kao generički, osim naziva „medicinska sestra" koji je generički naziv i norma za takvo radno mjesto. Promjena se zbiva između **2002.** i **2007**., jer u **2007.** i **2008**. godini, iako je broj naziva radnih mjesta u muškome rodu veći, ipak se javljaju prvi primjeri mocijske tvorbe u samome nazivu radnoga mjesta. Tako nalazimo mocijske parnjake „pedagog-pedagoginja", „učitelj/ica", „knjižničar/ka", „odgojitelj/odgojiteljica". Drugi je slučaj da je naziv radnoga mjesta u muškome rodu, ali je posebnim leksemom s mocijskim sufiksom naznačeno da se mogu prijaviti i osobe ženskog spola (npr. „učitelj matematike – 1 izvršitelj/ica"). Treći je slučaj naziv radnoga mjesta u muškome rodu s naznakom (m/ž), a četvrti način je rečenica uklopljena u tekst oglasa kojom se naglašava da je oglas pisan za osobe oba spola („na oglašeno mjesto mogu se javiti osobe oba spola“, „na natječaj se, pod ravnopravnim uvjetima, imaju pravo javiti osobe oba spola“), jer naziv je radnoga mjesta i dalje u muškome rodu.

Tvrtke

Period između **1997/98.** i **2002**. ne pokazuje velike razlike. Gotovo svi nazivi radnih mjesta u muškome su rodu, osim jednoga u **1997/98**. („poslovna tajnica“) koji sadrži ograničenje po dobi („od 25 do 35 godina“), ali i ograničenje po spolu. U **1997/98** imamo 2 primjera mocijske tvorbe sa sufiksom ik/ica, 1 primjer naziva u muškome rodu s naznakom m/ž, dok takve primjere nismo našle u **2002**. U **1997/98**. godini nailazimo i na nazive radnih mjesta oglašene na engleskome jeziku gdje se uglavnom radi o generičkim i rodno neutralnim nazivima („networking specialist“, ali „account manager“, „copywriter“, a u istom oglasu nalazimo naziv na hrvatskome „grafički dizajner“).

U **2002.** godini u ženskome rodu nalazimo 2 oglasa za 2 radna mjesta („tajnica“, „magistra farmacije“), jedno ograničenje po dobi i spolu (traže „komunikativnu, simpatičnu mladu djevojku“). U jednome slučaju naziv je u muškome rodu („službenik u administraciji“) s ograničenjem po spolu („ženska osoba 30. godina“). U oglasu za „slobodne trgovačke zastupnike“ naglašava se da nema nikakvih ograničenja po spolu („vi ste čovjek odnosno žena za nas“), ali primjer pokazuje da se izraz „čovjek“ ne shvaća kao generički izraz. U ovoj godini 3 su oglasa s nazivima na engleskome jeziku za 6 radnih mjesta, 1 ograničenje („mlade, samostalne dinamične osobe“), a traže se „sales manager“, „helpdesk administrator“, „Lotus Notes/Domino Developer“. I ovdje se radi o nazivima koji su uglavnom rodno neutralni i iz kojih se ne izvode imenice u ženskome rodu niti imaju mocijske supletive.

U **2007**. i dalje je najveći broj oglašenih radnih mjesta u muškome rodu - 33 oglasa, 100 radnih mjesta; 3 ograničenja po dobi („starost od 25 do 40 godina“, „do 35 godina starosti“), ali u dva slučaja naglašeno je da se očekuju „kandidatkinje i kandidati“ ili „idealni kandidat/kinja“. Samo su dva oglasa u ženskome rodu – 2 oglasa, 3 r. mjesta („djelatnice za rad na baru“, „agentica (agent) za nekretnine“, „mlađa tajnica“). Primjera mocijske tvorbe, ik/ica („tajnik/tajnica“, „voditelj/voditeljica“, „investicijski savjetnik/savjetnica“), ima tek 6 za 6 radnih mjesta, a s nazivom u muškom rodu i naznakom m/ž nalazimo 15 oglasa s 22 radna mjesta, što se znatno povećalo u odnosu na prethodni period. Nazivi na engleskome jeziku su nešto učestaliji i uglavnom su rodno neutralni; u 3 oglasa oglašeno je 8 radnih mjesta, od toga na engleskome 3. Dakle, u jednome oglasu zajedno se oglašavaju radna mjesta na dva jezika (4 radna mjesta na hrvatskome, 1 na engleskome („tool pusher“) i 1 hibrid („manager platforme“)). U drugome slučaju radno je mjesto isključivo na engleskome, „product manager“, a u trećemu imamo naziv na hrvatskome i u muškome rodu te u zagradama engleski termin „voditelj produktne linije (brand manager)“

U **2008**. veći je broj oglasa u muškome rodu: 43 oglasa, 85 r. mjesta. Nema ograničenja po spolu i dobi, na 3 oglasa mogu se prijaviti osobe oba spola, što je posebnom rečenicom naglašeno. U ženskome rodu samo su 2 oglasa za 2 radna mjesta („djelatnice za rad u trgovini pekarskim proizvodima“, „asistentica managera/voditeljica ureda“). Jedno je radno mjesto u muškom rodu s naznakom ik/ica („knjigovođa – djelatnik/ca“). Naziv radnoga mjesta s mocijskim sufiksom ik/ica nalazimo u 3 oglasa za 3 radna mjesta („regionalni prodavač/prodavačica“, „pomoćnik/pomoćnica voditelja ekspanzije“, „grafičar/grafičarka“). Broj oglasa s nazivom u muškome rodu i naznakama m/ž, ž/m, m/f bitno se povećao: 26 oglasa, 41 radno mjesto; 36 s naznakom m/ž, 4 ž/m, 1 m/f. Po prvi put nailazimo na oznaku m/f, a ne javlja se uz naziv na engleskome jeziku. Prema dosadašnjem iskustvu zaključujemo da je generički poredak m/ž, no iz poretka ž/m ne možemo iščitati radi li se o preferenciji kandidatkinja ili možda diskriminaciji prema kandidatima. Broj naziva na engleskome se također povećao, pa u 4 oglasa oglašeno je 9 radnih mjesta, 6 na engleskome („sales coordinator“, koji se nalazi uz nazive na hrvatskome, „brand manager“ i „brand manager-junior“ oba s naznakom m/ž te „key account manager“).

Oglasi koje smo nazvale „mješovitima“ (*Tablica 2*) oni su oglasi u kojima je oglašeno više radnih mjesta od kojih su jedno ili dva isključivo u ženskome rodu, a ostala u muškome rodu (npr. „natječaj za radna mjesta 1. predavač u školi 2. tajnicu škole 3. servisera hardware-a“, „natječaj za popunu upražnjenih radnim mjesta 1. nastavnik francuskog jezika 2. spremačica“). Radi se o radnim mjestima u ženskome rodu za koja je potrebna niža ili srednja stručna sprema te društveno niže rangiranim zanimanjima, dok su u muškome rodu radna mjesta koja imaju viši društveni status ili su pak zahtjevnija („poslovni direktor“, „voditelj poslovnice“, „robno-financijski knjigovođa“). Možemo reći da je kontekst oglasa u kojemu se pojavljuju oglašena radna mjesta u ženskome rodu taj koji nas upućuje na to da ipak postoji podjela na muška i ženska radna mjesta. U svakome se primjeru određena zanimanja stereotipno povezuju sa spolom, pa se implicitno podrazumijeva da će „tajnica“ biti žena, a „direktor“ muškarac. Kad bi nazivi radnih mjesta u muškom rodu bili rodno neutralni, mogli bismo naići na nazive kao „spremač“, „čistač“ ili „tajnik“, no to nije bio slučaj. „Tajnik“ se može pojaviti u nekim prestižnim institucijama i organizacijama, kao npr. „tajnik UN“, „državni tajnik“, ali nismo naišle na oglas u kojemu se traži „tajnik u uredu direktora“. Napominjemo da takve „mješovite“ oglase ustanove po prvi puta izdaju u **2008**. godini.

U **1997/98.** u 4 oglasa tvrtki oglašeno je 20 radnih mjesta, od toga 4 radna mjesta u ženskome rodu, 16 u muškome (npr. „poslovna tajnica u uredu direktora“ uz „financijskog direktora“, „samostalnog referenta uvoza“, „projekt managera“, a „prodavačice u parfumerijskom odjelu“ uz „komercijalista-pripravnika“, „djelatnika u marketingu“, „grafičkog designera“).

U **2002**. u 5 oglasa tvrtki oglašeno je 19 radnih mjesta, 5 ženskih („medicinska sestra“ se javlja uz „fizioterapeuta“, „apotekara“ i „ribara“, „odgojiteljica“ je uz „ravnatelja“ i KV-kuhara“), 1 ograničenje po dobi za tajnicu („starosna dob od 25 do 35 godina“).

U **2007.** u 8 oglasa tvrtki oglašeno je 36 radnih mjesta; 10 radnih mjesta u kojima se ili isključivo traže ženske osobe („spremačica" i „prodavačica" su uz „pekarskog radnika", „vozača" i „slastičara" a „knjigoveška radnica" se javlja uz „offset strojara" i „komercijalista") ili se daje naznaka da se mogu prijaviti osobe oba spola, ali samo za jedno odabrano radno mjesto („poslovni asistent-tajnica" se javlja uz „poslovnog direktora", „direktor prodaje i komercijalnih poslova", „regionalni direktor", „tehnički direktor", „prodavač/ica" je uz „poslovođu", „dipl.ing.građ. m/ž" je uz „voditelja gradilišta" i „projektanta konstrukcija" i „knjigovođa salda kontija (ž/m)" uz „tehnologa" i „poslužitelja CNC tokarilice").

U **2008**. u 3 oglasa ustanova oglašeno je 11 radnih mjesta, od toga 3 u ženskome rodu (3 puta „spremačica" uz „nastavnika francuskog jezika", „učitelja matematike", „stručnog suradnika knjižničara", „liječnika specijalista interne medicine", „fizioterapeuta", „stručnjaka zaštite na radu"). U 2 oglasa tvrtki oglašeno je 14 radnih mjesta, od toga 2 u ženskom rodu („čistačica" se javlja uz „voditelja poslovnice", „referenta prodaje", a „domaćica vila" uz „predstavnika za odnose s gostima", „recepcionera").

Između **1997/98** i **2002**. nema promjena u rodnim oznakama jer u većini su slučajeva u muškome rodu. Zbile su se tek nakon **2002**. godine te su možda uzrokovane donošenjem Zakona o ravnopravnosti spolova iz **2003**. godine i novoga Zakona (NN 82/08) u kojima izričito stoji da „prilikom oglašavanja potrebe za zapošljavanjem radnika u oglasu mora biti jasno istaknuto da se za oglašeno radno mjesto mogu javiti osobe oba spola". Prema uvjetima navedenima u natječajima često nema razloga zbog kojega na određenome radnom mjestu ne bi mogla raditi ženska odnosno muška osoba. Ipak veliki je broj tvrtki i ustanova koje taj Zakon ne poštuju. Možemo primijetiti da su se u društvu dogodile određene promjene, no jezične promjene kasne za društvenima. Tome doprinosi i činjenica da su u tada važećoj Nacionalnoj klasifikaciji zanimanja radna mjesta isključivo u muškome rodu te da su zanimanja i titule u svjedodžbama i diplomama također u muškome rodu. Nova Nacionalna klasifikacija zanimanja koja je stupila na snagu 27. 10. 2008. godine (NN 124/08) trebala bi tek doprinijeti ravnopravnosti spolova na način da sva zanimanja budu iskazana i u muškome i ženskome rodu. Iz tih razloga prikupile smo oglase i iz posljednjeg tjedna ožujka **2009**. godine.

Godina **2009**. je posebna u prvome redu po znatno manjem broju oglasa, ukupno 37, u odnosu na sva prethodna razdoblja. S druge strane primjećujemo da je broj oglasa ustanova kroz sva razdoblja relativno stabilan te da i u ovome periodu ne odstupa bitno od broja u prethodnim godinama (ukupno 19). Značajno je opao broj oglasa i radnih mjesta koje oglašavaju tvrtke, što vjerojatno možemo pripisati trenutno lošoj ekonomskoj situaciji u zemlji i svijetu kad se radna mjesta gase, a radnici otpuštaju i tvrtke smanjuju troškove gdje god mogu. Ipak, ono što nas zanima s jezičnoga stajališta jest jesu li se nazivi radnih mjesta promijenili s obzirom na primjenu Nacionalne klasifikacije zanimanja. Prema *Tablici 1* možemo ustanoviti da se broj oglasa i radnih mjesta ustanova oglašenih isključivo u muškome rodu izrazito smanjio, a povećao se broj oglasa s naznakom m/ž. Kao zanimljiv slučaj izdvajamo i oglašeno radno mjesto „poslovni tajnik (m/ž)“ u jednoj tvrtki, zanimanje koje se u dosadašnjim slučajevima oglašavalo isključivo u ženskome rodu. Broj oglasa s mocijskim parnjacima relativno je stabilan i nepromijenjen u odnosu na godinu prije donošenja Klasifikacije, što bi značilo da se odredbe ne poštuju u potpunosti. Dva su oglasa isključivo u ženskome rodu i u kojima se traži „medicinska sestra“ i „spremačica“. *Tablica 2* sadrži samo dva „mješovita“ oglasa, i to oglasa ustanova, gdje se traže „defektolog“, „psiholog“, „instruktor“, ali „njegovateljica“ i „spremačica“ te „profesor matematike“, „profesor povijesti“, ali „spremačica“, što znači da se pristup oglašavanju nije promijenio te da se i dalje neka zanimanja doživljavaju kao „ženska“. Što se zanimanja izraženih u muškome rodu tiče, ne možemo sa sigurnošću znati je li sastavljači oglasa njih doživljavaju kao generičke nazive za zanimanja ili se njima implicitno izražavaju neka ograničenja po spolu.

Tabela 1

Elementi oglasa	**1997./98.** (79 oglasa)		**2002.** (65 oglasa)		**2007.** (80 oglasa)		**2008.** (102 oglasa)		**2009.** (35 oglasa)	
	Ustanove 17 o.	Tvrtke 62 o.	Ustanove 15 o.	Tvrtke 50 o.	Ustanove 21 o.	Tvrtke 59 o.	Ustanove 23 o.	Tvrtke 79 o.	Ustanove 17 o.	Tvrtke 18 o.
naziv r.m: - m. r.	16 o. (31 r.m)	56 o. (100 r.m)	15 o. (25 r.m.)	45 o. (69 r.m.)	16 o. (22 r.m.)	33 o. (87 r.m.)	13 o. (22 r.m)	43 o. (85 r.m.)	3 o. (3 r.m.)	8 o. (8 r.m.)
- ž. r.	1 o. (1 r.m.)	1 o. (1 r.m.)	0	2 o. (2 r.m.)	0	2 o. (3 r.m.)	0	2 o. (2 r.m.)	2 o. (2 r.m.)	0
naziv r.m.i naznaka: - m/ž	0	1 o. u m.r	0	0	1 o. u m.r.	14 o.(21 r.m. u m.r).	3 o.(4 r.m. u m.r.)	22 o. (36 r.m. u m.r.)	6 o. (9 r.m. u m.r.)	8 o. (20 r.m. u m.r.)
- ž/m -	0	0	0	0	0	1 o. u m.r.	0	3 o. (4 r.m. u m.r.	0	0

m/f								)		
- mogu oba spola	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 o. (1 r.m. u m.r.)	0	0
	0	0	0	1 o. u m.r.	4 o. u m.r.	0	5 o. u m.r.	3 o. (3 r.m. u m.r.)	2 o. (2 r.m.)	0
naziv r.m. u m.r. i naznaka ik/ca, telj/ica	0	0	0	0	1 o. (1 r.m.)	0	2 o. (2 r.m.)	1 o. (1 r.m.)	1 o. (1 r.m.)	0
naziv r. m. i naznaka ik/ca, ač/ica, telj/ica	0	2 o. (2 r.m)	0	0	3 o. (5 r.m.)	6 o. (6 r.m.)	5 o. (8 r.m.)	3 o. (3 r.m.)	3 o. (3 r.m.)	2 o. (6 r.m.)
jezik r. m. osim/pored hrvatskoga (engleski)	0	2 o. (4 r.m)	0	3 o.(6 r.m.)	0	3 o. (3 r.m.)	0	4 o. (9 r.m.)	0	0
izričita ograničenja:	1	18	0	11	0	5	0	0	0	0
- dob - spol	1	18	0	11	0	5	0	0	0	0

Tabela 2

Elementi oglasa	**1997./98.**	**2002.**	**2007.**	**2008.**		**2009.**	
	Tvrtke: 4 o., 20 r.m.	Tvrtke: 5 o., 19 r.m.	Tvrtke: 8 o., 36 r.m.	Ustanove: 3 o., 11 r.m.	Tvrtke: 2 o., 14 r.m.	Ustanove: 2 o., 10 r.m.	Tvrtke: 0 o.
naziv r. m: - m.r.	16	14	26	12	8	7	0
- ž. r.	4	5	6	2	3	3	0
naziv r. m. i naznaka m/ž	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
naziv r.m.u m.r. i naznaka ik/ica, ač/ica, telj/ica	0	0	1	0	3	0	0
jezik r. m. osim/pored hrvatskoga (engl.)	0	0	11	0	0	0	0
Izričita ograničenja: - dob	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
- spol	4	5	6	2	3	0	0

Kao odgovor na prvo pitanje Fairclougha možemo zaključiti da nazivi zanimanja predstavljaju svijet kroz izraze muškoga roda i kroz podjelu na „muška" i „ženska"zanimanja; kad bi izrazi bili generički, koristili bi se bez iznimke i za žene i muškarce u svim slučajevima, ali upravo slučajevi kao „medicinska sestra", „tajnica" i „spremačica" govore o nedosljednoj praksi i postojanju podjele. Prema Fowleru (1991) društvo postavlja posebne uloge za žene, odnosno „ženska" radna mjesta i to prethodi jeziku i ne ovisi o njemu, no diskurs često učvršćuje stereotipe. Kao odgovor na drugo pitanje Fairclougha o društvenim odnosima i govornikovom izboru izraza koji stvara odnos sa sugovornikom možemo potvrditi i da same žene često naziv svoga zanimanja navode u muškome rodu pa se pretpostavlja da će žene znati da se smiju javiti na natječaj u kojemu je oglašeno radno mjesto u muškome rodu i da to nije potrebno posebno naglašavati, jer bi se u protivnome javljale samo na natječaje gdje su oglašena mjesta u ženskome rodu. S druge strane postavlja se pitanje hoće li muška osoba znati može li se prijaviti na natječaj u kojemu je oglašeno radno mjesto u ženskome rodu, npr. „spremačica", „tajnica". Većina naziva za zanimanja u ženskome rodu izvedena iz naziva u muškome dodavanjem mocijskih sufikasa, što znači da je muški rod osnova. Norma je npr. „odgojitelj", a „odgojiteljica" je označen izraz. Ipak u praksi „odgojitelj" će privući gotovo isključivo žensku populaciju koja se najčešće i obrazuje za ovo zanimanje, što znači da ovaj izraz u stvarnosti ne diskriminira žene. Naznaka „mogu se prijaviti oba spola" u ovome slučaju bi značila da se mogu prijaviti i muškarci. U drugome slučaju „medicinska sestra" je norma, jer je to zanimanje rezervirano uglavnom za žene, pa je tako „medicinski tehničar" označeni izraz, ali nije izveden iz naziva u ženskome rodu.

4. Zaključak

Prema ovome istraživanju možemo zaključiti da su se nazivi radnih mjesta u obrađenome periodu mijenjala u pravcu češće upotrebe izraza u ženskome rodu, najčešće mocijskih parnjaka ili pak izraza u muškome rodu s obaveznom naznakom ženskoga roda u nekom obliku. Fairclough (2003) smatra da diskurs može promijeniti društvenu praksu, društvene strukture i društveni život u cjelini, ali i da okoštalost institucija i ustaljene navike ljudi mogu odbiti ili bitno usporiti promjene. S obzirom na činjenicu da se prve promjene primjećuju tek nakon prvoga Zakona o ravnopravnosti spolova, ovdje bi se moglo raditi prije o revnosti institucija države, no i sporosti promjena koje kreću „odozdo". Možda namjera govornika koji upotrebljava određeni jezični oblik nije diskriminacijska, ali učestala upotreba izraza koji se odnose samo na muški ili ženski rod pojačava određene podjele na način da ih predstavlja kao općeprihvaćene i zdravorazumske.

Literatura

Analiza oglašavanja potreba za zapošljavanjem u natječajima objavljenima u dnevnom tisku u razdoblju 1.-30. rujna 2008. http://www.prs.hr/docs/analiza_rujan_nacionalni_2008.doc (pristupile 20.05.2009.)

Chilton, P., Schäffner C. (1997) "Discourse and Politics", u van Dijk, Teun A., (ur.) **Discourse as Social Interaction**. London-Thousand Oaks-New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd., str.206-230

Fairclough, N. (1992) **Discourse and Social Change**, Cambridge: Polity Press
Fairclough, N. (1995) **Media Discourse,** London: Hodder Arnold
Fairclough, N. (2001a) **Language and Power,** Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.
Fairclough, N. (2001b) "Critical discourse analysis as a method in social scientific research", u Wodak, R., Meyer, M., (ur.) **Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis**, London-Thousand Oaks-New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd., str.121-138
Fairclough, N. (2003) **Analysing Discourse**, Abingdon-New York: Routledge
Fowler, R. (1991) **Language in the News**, Abingdon: Routledge
Izmjene i dopune Nacionalne klasifikacije zanimanja (Narodne novine 124/08) http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2008_10_124_3556.html (pristupile 20.05.2009.)
Matas Ivanković, I. (2006) „Kada su prvi put u hrvatskom rječnicima zabilježene imenice za ženska zanimanja", **Jezik**, 53., str.33-35
Meyer, M. (2001) "Between theory, method, and politics: positioning of the approaches to CDA", u Wodak, R., Meyer, M, (ur.) **Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis**, London-Thousand Oaks-New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd. str.14-31
Mumby, D. K., Clair, R. P. (1997) "Organizational Discourse", u van Dijk, Teun A., (ur.) **Discourse as Social Interaction**, London-Thousand Oaks-New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd., str. 181-205
Romaine, S. (2000[1994]) **Language in Society. An Introduction to Sociolinguistics,** Oxford: OUP
Silić, J., Pranjković, I. (2005) **Gramatika hrvatskoga jezika za gimnazije i visoka učilišta,** Zagreb: Školska knjiga
Zakon o ravnopravnosti spolova (Narodne novine 82/08) http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2008_07_82_2663.html (pristupile 20.05.2009.)

UDK 811.131.1:070.16

Deja Piletić

JEZIČKE OSOBINE SENZACIONALISTIČKIH NASLOVA U ITALIJANSKOJ DNEVNOJ ŠTAMPI

Apstrakt: *Senzacionalistički naslovi su danas najizraženija karakteristika svih italijanskih dnevnih listova. Prisutni su u manjoj ili većoj mjeri u gotovo svim rubrikama dnevnog lista, a „obavezni" na njegovoj naslovnoj stranici i na stranicama crne hronike. U osnovi ovih naslova stoji težnja da se „napumpavanjem" događaja i podizanjem tenzije ostvari što snažniji utisak na čitaoca i time privuče njegova pažnja. Ovaj rad nastoji da opiše neka jezička (gramatička i stilistička) sredstva kojima se postiže efekat senzacionalnosti u novinskim naslovima italijanskih dnevnih novina.*

Ključne riječi: *novinski naslov, senzacionalistički naslovi, stil, jezik, italijanska dnevna štampa.*

1. Uvod

Jezik novina spada u posebnu vrstu jezika, tj. u jezike komunikacija. U njemu se ukrštaju i stapaju književni, stručni i razgovorni jezik. Predstavlja mješavinu raznih registara budući da se njime prenose novosti iz svih oblasti života, a uz to zadržava i svoju originalnost. U jeziku novina se ogleda trenutno stanje kao i razvojne tendencije standardnog jezika.

Promjenljivost u vremenu kao jedna od bitnih osobina prirodnog ljudskog jezika ne nedostaje ni jeziku novina. Jedna od najizraženijih karakteristika savremenog jezika italijanske dnevne štampe jeste težnja ka spektakularizaciji[35], koja se može shvatiti kao posljedica uticaja televizije na štampu. Ona se ogleda kako na vizuelnom, tako i na jezičkom planu. Na prvom se postiže različitim modelima preloma stranice i sve obimnijom upotrebom raznovrsnih ilustracija, a na drugom se odražava najviše na nivou sintakse i leksike (naglašene rečenične konstrukcije, naglašena interpunkcija, upotreba riječi visoke konotativne vrijednosti, metafore...).

[35] »La spettacolarizzazione è indotta da una parte dalla contaminazione con le logiche della tv, sempre più definite dalle forme dell'infotainment (di quel genere di trasmissioni, cioè, che vogliono unire l'informazione e entertainment, trattando la prima con gli schemi della seconda), dall'altra dalle caratteristiche della narrativizzazione crescente, che comporta una forte drammatizzazione e insistenza sugli aspetti più emotivo-passionali degli eventi, che si nutre di grandi episodi (e di qui la ricerca e la creazione di scoop e finti scoop) e di veri e propri Personaggi." (Lorusso 2004: 9).

Jezik novinskih naslova predstavlja poseban segment novinskog jezika. On objedinjuje osnovne karakteristike jezika novina i samo sebi svojstvene osobine koje ga i čine posebnim u odnosu na novinski jezik. Bekarija (1973: 67) navodi da se karakteristike novinskog jezika najbolje ogledaju upravo u novinskim naslovima i dnevnoj hronici budući da je za ove djelove dnevnih novina zadužena redakcija lista pa ih karakteriše prilična ujednačenost u jeziku i stilu.

2. Novinski naslov

Novinskim naslovima pripada posebno mjesto u organizaciji dnevnog lista. Od njih zavisi sudbina članka i generalno gledano sudbina novinske kuće. Preko novinskih naslova čitalac ostvaruje prvi kontakt sa dnevnim novinama, a od njihove sposobnosti da potaknu čitaočevu znatiželju zavisi da li će se ovaj kontakt nastaviti i produbiti kroz zainteresovano čitanje članaka koje ovi naslovljavaju i uvode.

Suština značaja novinskog naslova u modernim italijanskim dnevnim novinama najbolje je, čini se, sadržana u sljedećim riječima Đanija Faustinija (2000: 92):

> "Dobar naslov može da uveća vrijednost članka, čak i da identifikuje njegovu potencijalnu ciljnu grupu. Novinski članak, u velikoj mjeri, svoju sudbinu (tj. svoju sposobnost da obezbijedi sebi čitaoce) duguje privlačnosti naslova. U praksi, naslov može da funkcioniše kao smjernica koja ima sposobnost da usmjeri čitaoca- slušaoca ka jednom načinu tumačenja njegovog smisla, umjesto ka nekom drugom".

Oblik i funkcija novinskog naslova vremenom su se mijenjali prilagođavajući se, kao i jezik novina, zahtjevima društva i potrebama i očekivanjima čitalaca. Potrebe savremenog čitaoca određene su vremenom u kome živi, a to je vrijeme televizije, *reality-show*-a, CNN-a, BBC-a, vrijeme Interneta, vrijeme direktnih prenosa događaja u svijetu. Vijesti su vrlo lako dostupne, praktično na dohvat ruke, na pritisak tastera. I pored svega toga, dnevne novine opstaju. Prilagođavajući se zahtjevima savremenog društva i eri televizije one se bore za svoje mjesto i, uprkos snažnoj konkurenciji, uspijevaju da se održe, velikim dijelom zahvaljujući naslovima "u prvim borbenim redovima". Naslovi dnevnih novina nam sa kioska mame pogled i privlače pažnju naglašenim izgledom i bombastičnim sadržajem koji se najvjerovatnije odnosi na neku vijest već poznatu, objavljenu na televiziji ili radiju, ali ovih nekoliko riječi sadržanih u naslovu obećava opširnije objašnjenje, tumačenje, komentar, ili neku novu informaciju vezanu za istu tu vijest ili događaj.

Prvi utisak na čitaoca naslov ostvaruje izgledom koji stvara određeni efekat. Nije svejedno kakvim je slovima ispisan, krupnijim ili sitnijim, masnim ili običnim, iz koliko je djelova sastavljen i kakav je njihov odnos i raspored, da li se nalazi na naslovnoj strani, u vrhu stranice, u centralnom ili u donjem dijelu, u kakvom je odnosu sa ostalim naslovima sa kojima dijeli stranicu, da li uz njega stoji i neka fotografija ili ne, itd. To su sve vizuelni podsticaji, koji prije nego što se upustimo u čitanje članka, u našoj svijesti stvaraju određena očekivanja u vezi sa značajem njegovog sadržaja. Onda nastupaju jezički mehanizmi kojima se ne samo zadovoljavaju tri osnovna kriterijuma (informativnost, sažetost i efektnost) koje novinski naslov mora da zadovolji, već se može postići i mnogo više. Tu već možemo govoriti o različitim namjerama koje stoje iza novinskog naslova. Činjenica da se novinskim naslovom danas želi postići više od pukog prenošenja informacije čitaocu i uvođenja u sami članak, posljedica je spomenutog trenutnog „rasporeda snaga” na polju masovnih medija.

3. Vrste novinskih naslova

Ne postoji neka jedinstvena i terminološki ujednačena klasifikacija novinskih naslova[36]. Uopšteno, mogli bismo govoriti o četiri osnovne podjele novinskih naslova i to:

Prema mjestu u dnevnim novinama:
- naslovi naslovne stranice[37],
- naslovi ostalih stranica.

Prema sadržaju:
- „hladni“ (informativni, hronistički, indikativni, denotativni) čiji je osnovni cilj da prenesu jedan ili dva glavna podatka vezana za novost i
- „vrući“ [38] (impresivni, dramatični, emotivni, konotativni) čiji je osnovni cilj da, koristeći se prevashodno leksičkim i sintaksičkim instrumentima jezika, privuku pažnju čitalaca.

Prema načinu na koji se prezentuje informacija:
- „procjeniteljski“ koji stavljaju informativnost u drugi plan i, na manje ili više eksplicitan način, koristeći se određenim strategijama i jezičkim sredstvima, prenose komentare i procjene novinara (novinske kuće) u vezi sa određenim događajem ili određenom temom i
- „neprocjeniteljski“[39] koji koristeći se pretežno deskriptivnom funkcijom jezika teže da čitaocu pruže informaciju bez ikakvih komentara.

Prema sintaktičkoj strukturi[40]:
- „Šturi naslov” (*titolo asciugato*)[41] sastavljen iz dva dijela odvojena zarezom ili dvijema tačkama, rijetko samo tačkom, pri čemu imenska tema prethodi glagolskoj ili imenskoj remi,

[36] O raznim klasifikacijama naslova vidi: Faustini 2000: 92-98.
[37] Vidi Magistretti, 1980: 9-22.
[38] Murialdi, 1975: 15.
[39] Bonomi, 2003: 140.
[40] Bonomi 2003: 140.

- **Imenski naslov** sa svojim mnogobrojnim podvrstama,
- **Naslov u formi glagolske rečenice**,
- **Naslov sa upravnim govorom.**

Navedene podjele su, u cilju racionalizacije prostora, grube i uopštene posebno u slučajevima u kojima broje po dva člana koji u drugoj i trećoj po redu podjeli predstavljaju dvije krajnosti među kojima postoje mnogobrojne nijanse i varijacije.

3.1. Senzacionalistički naslovi

Senzacionalistički naslovi su nastali pedesetih godina XX vijeka, sa prodorom radija i televizije**,** a danas predstavljaju najizraženiju karakteristiku svih italijanskih dnevnih listova. «Obavezni» su na naslovnim stranicama i na stranicama crne hronike, a prisutni su i u gotovo svim ostalim rubrikama.

U osnovi senzacionalističkih naslova stoji težnja da se „napumpavanjem" događaja i podizanjem tenzije ostvari što snažniji utisak na čitaoca i time privuče njegova pažnja. Efekat senzacije postiže se odgovarajućom kombinacijom jezičkih i vizuelnih komponenti o kojima je gore već bilo riječi.

U odnosu na klasifikaciju novinskih naslova navedenu u prethodnom poglavlju, senzacionalističke naslove možemo svrstati u «vruće» ili impresivne naslove kada je u pitanju sadržaj, kada je riječ o mjestu u dnevnim novinama, već smo napomenuli da prvenstveno pripadaju naslovnoj stranici i stranicama crne hronike; u pogledu odnosa prema informaciji mogu biti procjeniteljski i neprocjeniteljski, a prema gramatičkoj strukturi odgovaraju im sve navedene vrste naslova, s tim što se u nekim oblicima javljaju češće nego u drugim.

Kako bismo lakše mogli analizirati jezičke osobine senzacionalističkih naslova[42] mi smo ih podijelili u tri grupe u odnosu na osnovni efekat koji se njima želi postići:

1. Senzacionalistički naslovi koji kod čitaoca nastoje da izazovu tugu, saosjećanje i sažaljenje;
2. Senzacionalistički naslovi koji prije svega nastoje da stvore tenziju i izazovu zabrinutost ili strah kod čitaoca
3. Senzacionalistički naslovi koji nastoje da izazovu čuđenje ili nevjericu kod čitaoca.

U prvom i u drugom slučaju srenzacionalnost se postiže stereotipnim imenicama i imenskim sintagmama koje svojom vrlo često nerealnom upotrebom vode hiperboli. Novinski naslovi sa naslovne strane i sa stranica dnevne hronike svakodnevno govore o*:* vanrednom stanju *(stato d'emergenza)* o riziku od haosa *(rischio caos*), o

---

[41] Beccaria, 1988: 183.

[42] Kao korpus za našu analizu poslužilo je nekoliko italijanskih dnevnih listova (*La Repubblica*, *Corriere della Sera*, *La Stampa, Il Messaggero, il Giornale, l'Unità, Libero, Liberazione*) iz perioda od 2004. do 2008. godine. Prilikom odabira dnevnih novina za korpus vodili smo se prevashodno njihovom dugogodišnjom tradicijom i velikim tiražom.

alarmu, uzbuni *(allarme, allarmismo, allerta)*, kakvom hitnom slučaju (*emergenza)*, umalo izbjegnutom pokolju (*sfiorata la strage)*, masakru *(strage)*, katastrofi *(catastrofe)*, teroru *(terrore)*, hororu *(orrore)*, drami *(dramma)*, košmaru *(incubo)*, prijetnji *(minaccia)*, ili pak o haosu (*caos)*, slomu, rasulu, *(sfascio)*, paklu *(inferno)*, tenziji *(tensione)*, skandalu *(scandalo)* ili krimiću (*giallo*), čak i onda kada prenose trivijalne informacije iz svijeta šou biznisa poput ove:

t: LECCISO A SANREMO/ SCOPPIA IL <u>GIALLO</u>/ SULLA PARTECIPAZIONE
gdje se imenicom *giallo* (koja obično upućuje na neki zagonetni kriminalni slučaj ili na neko neriješeno ubistvo) definišu događaji vezani za učešće atraktivne druge supruge poznatog italijanskog pjevača Al Bana na prestižnom muzičkom festivalu u Sanremu.

Ovakve naslove karakteriše najčešće imenski stil (upotreba imenica i imenskih sintagmi umjesto predikata u ličnom glagolskom obliku) i implicitne konstrukcije u kojima preovladava upotreba prošlog participa.

Bezličnost i atemporalnost koje se na ovaj način postižu stvaraju utisak nedorečenosti i namjernog prikrivanja podataka, što doprinosi snažnijem efektu naslova.

Sintaktička struktura ovih naslova svedena je na najjednostavniji oblik (isključene su sve riječi koje nijesu neophodne za razumijevanje teksta), tako da imenice sa snažnim konotacijama "štrče" sa šture sintaktičke podloge i postižu željeni efekat u odnosu na čitaoca.
Ilustrovaćemo to sljedećim primjerima[43]:

t: <u>ORRORE</u> IN VIDEO: <u>DECAPITATO</u> UN OSTAGGIO
(n: <u>Horor</u> na video-snimku: <u>odrubljena glava</u> jednom taocu)
t: MOTORE <u>IN FIAMME</u> AL DECOLLO, TRE MINUTI DI <u>TERRORE</u> A FIUMICINO
(n: <u>Motor u plamenu</u> prilikom polijetanja, tri minuta <u>terora</u> na Fiumičinu)
t: <u>TRAGEDIA</u> SULLA ROMA-CASSINO
(n: <u>Tragedija</u> na autoputu Rim-Kasino)...

Osim toga, kada je u pitanju druga navedena vrsta senzacionalističkih naslova, u glavnom naslovu, pored imenica koje same po sebi stvaraju tenziju (*allarme*, *allerta rischio*, *caos*...), često nailazimo i na neku nepotvrđenu informaciju, naučnu hipotezu, izjavu sažetu ili istrgnutu iz konteksta najčešće bez navodnika, koje imaju za cilj da kod čitaoca izazovu strah ili zabrinutost. Ovakvi su naslovi sami za sebe nepotpuni i vrlo često nejasni, a djelimično objašnjene je dato u nadnaslovu i podnaslovu.

Kada je riječ o njihovoj sintaktičkoj strukturi, najčešće su u obliku glagolske rečenice sa predikatom u prezentu indikativa koji, u ovom slučaju, lažno ukazuje na

[43] Prilikom navođenja primjera novinskih naslova koristićemo se italijanskim skraćenicama: t (titolo), spt (soprattitolo), stt (sottotitolo), kojima odgovaraju naše: n (naslov), nn (nadnaslov), pn (podnaslov).

iznošenje tvrdnji i činjenica ili u prezentu kojim se izražava radnja čije je ostvarenje izvjesno u bliskoj budućnosti (*presente pro futuro*):

t: LA TERRA HA MENO LUCE. IN EUROPA ITALIA PEGGIO DI TUTTI
spt: Allarme degli studiosi Usa: la luminosità diminuita del 10% in 30 anni. Colpa dello smog
(n: *Zemlja ima manje svjetlosti. U Evropi Italija u najgorem stanju, pn: Američki naučnici dižu uzbunu: jačina svjetlosti se smanjila za 10 procenata u 30 godina. Krivac smog)*;
t: ALLARME DALL'AMERICA: I MOTORI DI RICERCA UCCIDONO LA MEMORIA
spt: L'uso del web rende superfluo il ricordo delle informazioni
(n: Uzbuna iz Amerike: Pretraživači ubijaju pamćenje, nn: Upotreba web-a čini suvišnim pamćenje informacija);
t: «SECESSIONE», BELGIO NEL CAOS
stt: Falso annuncio in tv: la gente ci crede, allarme nelle ambasciate
*(n**:** «Secesija», Belgija u haosu*; *pn: Lažna najava na TV-u: ljudi povjerovali, uzbuna u ambasadama)*
Primijtićemo da u ovom primjeru glavni naslov prenosi senzacionalnu informaciju za koju tek u podnaslovu shvatamo da nije istinita.
t: «LI UCCIDIAMO COL FAVORE DI DIO»
stt: Gli ostaggi stavano per essere giustiziati. Scelli e Strada: è stato pagato un riscatto
(n: «Ubićemo ih uz Božiju pomoć», pn: taoci bili pred pogubljenjem. Scelli i Strada: Plaćen otkup.)
Glavni naslov nam prezentuje zastrašujuću prijetnju avganistanskih terorista-otmičara italijanskih vojnika, a tek u podnaslovu vidimo da njihova zlokobna namjera nije ostvarena, i da je štoviše, događaj srećno zaključen otkupom plaćenim u posljednjem trenutku.

Nevjericu ili čuđenje kod čitaoca senzacionalistički naslovi izazivaju na dva načina: iznošenjem neke naizgled nevjerovatne informacije u glavnom naslovu ili isticanjem nesklada između uzroka i posljedice u informaciji koju prenose Kada su u pitanju ovi naslovi sintaktička komponenta ne igra veliki značaj u postizanju željenog efekta:

t: OMERO ERA UNA DONNA. E SCRIVEVA FICTION
spt: Il linguista Andrew Delby riscopre una tesi dell'Ottocento
(n: Homer je bio žena. I pisao je beletristiku, nn: Lingvista Andrew Delby otkriva jednu tezu iz devetnaestog vijeka)
t: BERTINOTTI ROSSONERO TIFA PER BERLUSCONI
stt: «Faccia il presidente del Milan e non quello del Consiglio: sarebbe un bene per la squadra e per il Paese»
(n: Crveno-crni Bertinoti navija za Berluskonija, pn: Neka obavlja posao predsjednika Milana, a ne predsjednika Vlade, to bi bilo dobro i za klub i za državu)

Duhovit naslov u kome su dva politička protivnika stavljena u neobičan odnos navijača i njegovog favorita, u podnaslovu dobija svoje pojašnjenje.
t: L'AMORE DI PASCOLI SFUMÒ PER IL MIGNOLO DI UN PIEDE
stt: La sorella Mariù aveva detto al poeta che la cugina non sopportava quel difetto
(n: Paskolijeva ljubav propala zbog malog prsta na nozi, pn: Sestra Mariù je rekla pjesniku da rođaka ne podnosi tu manu);
t: UCCISO A COLTELLATE PER UN COLPO DI CLACSON
spt: Milano, lite dopo il sorpasso. L'amico ferito: l'assassino era ubriaco, continuava a colpire
(n: Izboden nožem jer je zatrubio nn: Milano, svađa nakon preticanja. Ranjeni prijatelj: ubica je bio pijan, nije prestajao da udara nožem);
t: "LA CENA NON È PRONTA?", E LA FERISCE CON L'ACCETTA
(n: Večera nije spremna? I ranjava je sjekirom)...

3.1.1. Metafora u senzacionalističkim naslovima

Senzacionalističke naslove veoma često karakteriše upotreba metafora kreiranih prvenstveno oko termina medicinskog registra, termina koji označavaju atmosfersko-meteorološke nepogode, termina sportskog registra kao i onih koji se tiču vojske i rata: groznica *(febbre)*, kolaps (colasso), eutanazija *(eutanasia)...* deklasirati *(declassare)*, nokaut (*k.o., knock out*), presing *(pressing)...* mećava *(bufera)*, poplava *(diluvio)*, studen, mraz *(gelo)*, zamrznuti, slediti *(gelare)*, kiša *(pioggia)*, sijevati, pogoditi munjom, zgromiti *(fulminare) ...* ići u napad *(andare all'assalto)*, rat *(guerra)*, ofanziva *(offensiva)*, oštriti sablje, pripremati oružje *(affilare le armi)...*

Nasuprot ovim stereotipnim metaforama koje su svojom prečestom upotrebom izgubile svoj prvi efekat, mnogo snažniji utisak postiže se, inventivnim, kreativnim metaforama koje nerijetko zadivljuju čitaoca.

Ovakvi naslovi često su u formi glagolske rečenice sa predikatom u istorijskom prezentu što doprinosi postizanju veće slikovitosti i živosti u prenošenju informacija

t:<u>UNA MEDEA</u> IN BELGIO/ <u>SCANNA</u> I SUOI CINQUE FIGLI
(n: Belgijanska <u>Medeja</u>, <u>zaklala</u>[44] svoje petoro djece)
Belgijanka koja je ubila svoje petoro djece metaforički se dovodi u vezu sa junakinjom iz grčke mitologije poznatom po istom okrutnom zločinu.
t: L'ITALIA RICOMINCIA A <u>NUOTARE NELL'ORO</u>; Stt: Vittorie di Bremilla, della staffetta 4x100 sl e della Cagnotto nella piattaforma
(n: *Italija opet zaplivala u zlatu*)
Metafora *<u>nuotare nell'oro</u>* (*plivati u zlatu*) savršeno u sebi spaja vijest o zlatnim medaljama sa plivačkom disciplinom u kojoj su osvojene.

---

[44] Istorijski prezent u italijanskim novinskim naslovima odgovara upotrebi krnjeg perfekta u novinskim naslovima naše dnevne štampe.

t: SHEVCHENCO FULMINA SUBITO LA ROMA
(n: Ševčenko začas zgromio Romu);
t: L'OPPOSIZIONE VA ALL'ASSALTO DEL PREMIER
(n: Opozicija krenula u napad na premijera);
t: LA CRISI DELL'ALITALIA, EUTANASIA/ DI UNA COMPAGNIA DI BANDIERA
(n: *Kriza u Alitaliji, eutanazija jedne nacionalne kompanije*)...

3.1.2. Neologizmi u senzacionalističkim naslovima

Neologizmi su oduvijek bili i ostali sastavni dio novinskog jezika. Osim što predstavljaju tipičan «proizvod» novinskog jezika i glavne inovatore na polju standardnog jezika, njihovom upotrebom u novinskim naslovima postiže se snažan efekat. Kada su u pitanju senzacionalistički naslovi dominiraju imenice dobijene uz pomoć prefiksa i sufiksa koji po svojim naglašenim vrijednostima najbolje odgovaraju naglašenom novinskom registru. Riječ je najvećim dijelom o tzv."prigodnim riječima" (*occasionalismi*), čije je značenje lako dokučivo, a koje najčešće ne ulaze u rječnike, već traju određeno vrijeme dok traje pojava na koju se odnose.

Navešćemo nekoliko primjera: *maxi-* (*maxitruffa*, *maxi-ritardi*, *maxiemendamento*), *mini-* (*minielezioni*, *minipensioni*, *mini-condanna*), *super-* (*supertestimone*, *superispettore*, *superfiera*, *super-raffineria*, *super-agenzia*, *superservizio*, *superstar*, *supermanager*, *supercomputer*, *superlavoro*), *-mania (razne vrste manija, pomama), -mane (cocainomane, mitomane),- issimo (fimissimi, governissimi, segretissimo...), -poli* (*paparazzopoli*, *bancopoli*, *parentopoli*, *calciopoli*, *roulottopoli...)*

t: TUTTI PAZZI PER IL MISTER/ ORA È PRANDELLI-MANIA
(n:Svi ludi za misterom (trenerom)/ vrijeme je Prandeli-manije)
t: SIENA, TREVISO E BOLOGNA FAVORITISSIME[45]
(n: Sijena, Trevizo i Bolonja najveći favoriti)
t: FOLLA A TERMINI/ FRA TRENI SOPPRESSI E MAXI-RITARDI
(n:Gužva na željezničkoj stanici Termini/ otkazani vozovi i maksimalna kašnjenja)
t: CODICE ETICO/ ALL'UNIVERSITÀ /ECCO LE REGOLE/ PER FERMARE/ PARENTOPOLI[46]

---

[45] Sufiks *–issimo/a* koji se dodaje na pridjeve da bi se dobio oblik elativa, u novinskom jeziku, sredinom sada već prošlog vijeka, počeo je da se dodaje i na imenice, što je, u prvo vrijeme svojom neobičnošću privlačilo pažnju čitalaca. Ova „moda" je zahvatila i govorni jezik, pa se osim: *governissimi*, *segretissimi*, *campionissimi*, *filmissimi*, koji su sa naslovnih strana dnevnih novina dozivali čitaoce, na televiziji gledao šou *Canzonissima*, sa izloga prodavnica obećavali *saldissimi*, a na stadionu propuštala *occasionissima*. Danas ovaj sufiks više nije tako produktivan, kao da se od silne upotrebe istrošio. Ipak, tu i tamo nađe se po neki naslov koji ga iskoristi u znak sjećanja na prošla vremena.

[46] *-poli* je sufiksoid nastao od grčke riječi *polis*, u originalnom značenju „grad", a kojemu je jezik novina dao jednu sasvim novu konotaciju od kada ga je Devedesetih godina upotrijebio u kovanici

(n: Etički kodeks/ na Univerzitetu/ Evo pravila/ kako stati na kraj/ nepotizmu)

4. Zaključak

Savremenu italijansku dnevnu štampu karakterišu senzacionalistički naslovi, koji spadaju u «vruće», impresivne, emotivne ili konotativne naslove (u zavisnosti od toga kako ih različiti autori nazivaju). Oni predstavljaju nezaobilazni dio naslovnih stranica svih dnevnih novina, karakterišu stranice crne hronike, a mogu se naći i u svim ostalim rubrikama. Senzacionalnost se u naslovima postiže spregom vizuelnih i lingvističkih elemenata kojima se želi privući pažnja čitalaca i pobuditi njihova radoznalost. Jezik senzacionalističkih naslova karakterišu imenice snažnih konotacija, neologizmi i metafore, ogoljena sintaktička struktura, imenski stil i istorijski prezent. Senzacionalistički naslovi su nabijeni emocijama, slikoviti, često neobičnog sadržaja. Izazivanjem emotivnih reakcija poput čuđenja nevjerice, straha , tuge, sažaljenja senzacionalistički naslovi intrigiraju čitaoca, zaokupljuju njegovu pažnju i navode ga da osnovnu informaciju koju mu pružaju produbi zainteresovanim čitanjem članka koji uvode.

Literatura

Bonomi, I. (2003) "La lingua dei quotidiani", in: I. Bonomi, A. Masini, S. Morgana (a cura di), **La lingua italiana e i mass media**. Roma: Carocci, pp. 127-163

Beccaria, G.L. (1988) **Italiano. Antico e nuovo**, Milano: Garzanti

Faustini, G. (2000) (a cura di) **Le techniche del linguaggio giornalistico**, Roma: Carocci

Murialdi, P. (1975) **Come si legge un giornale**, Roma-Bari: Laterza

Magistretti, S. (1980) "Le ipotesi e il discorso". In: G. Richeri (a cura di) **Un quotidiano "popolare"?**, pp. 9-12

Perović, S. (2004), "Naslov kao tekst", u Perović, S. i Bulatović, V. (ur.) **Lingvisticke analize**, Zbornik u čast 25 godina Instituta za strane jezike, Podgorica: ISJ, str.1-67

---

tangentopoli da označi aferu koja je izbila oko razotkrivanja korupcije u političkim krugovima. Do danas se ovaj sufiksoid u jeziku novina pokazao veoma produktivnim, a gotovo uvijek upućuje na korupciju ili neki nelegalan posao

UDK 811.131.1'42:070.485

Gordana Bojičić

RETORIČKA ANALIZA JEZIKA REKLAME U ITALIJI

Apstrakt: *Retoričkom analizom jezika reklame lingvisti su se počeli baviti sredinom dvadesetog vijeka. Još od Aristotela pa do pojave moderne psihologije, retorika je predstavljala u zapadnoj misli glavnu disciplinu određenu za analizu i sprovođenje mehanizama ubjeđivanja. Uprkos velikom prisustvu najrazličitijih retoričkih figura u reklamnim tekstovima, interesovanje lingvista za ovaj aspekt jezika reklama do sada je bilo minimalno, ili nedovoljno u odnosu na njegovu važnost. U radu ćemo dati kratak pregled retoričkih sredstava koja se koriste u diskursu reklame kada je u pitanju italijanski jezik i ukazati koliko njihova upotreba doprinosi da se tekst reklame učini prijatnijim i interesantnijim. Posebnu pažnju posvetićemo shemama, tropima, figurama riječi, figurama misli i figurama stila.*

Ključne riječi: *jezik reklame, retorička analiza, retoričke figure*

1. Uvod

Osnovna osobina savremenog italijanskog jezika je paralelni razvoj naizgled suprotnih fenomena: na jednoj strani imamo proces jezičke unifikacije na nacionalnom planu a na drugoj izdvajanje sektorskih jezika kojima se služe pojedine grupe društva. Jedan od najaktivnijih sektorskih jezika je jezik reklame. Pronalaženje i otkrivanje pravila koja upravljaju reklamom, načina na koji ona djeluje na svijest svih nas kao i elemenata koje koristi kako bi postigla svoj cilj predstavljalo je pravi izazov za mnoge stručnjake kao i predmet mnogih istraživanja: antropoloških, psiholoških ili socioloških. Reklami se može prići i iz čisto lingvističkog ugla kada se proučava jezik koji je u njoj upotrebljen, jezik koji, kao i svi sektorski jezici, koristi standardni jezik ali i posjeduje sopstvene termine.

Retoričkom analizom jezika reklame lingvisti su se počeli baviti sredinom dvadesetog vijeka. Mc Quarrie i Mick (1996: 1) otkrivaju da je, uprkos velikom prisustvu najrazličitijih retoričkih figura u reklamnim tekstovima, interesovanje proučavaoca za ovaj aspekt jezika reklama do sada bilo minimalno ili nedovoljno u odnosu na njegovu važnost. Oni definišu retoričku figuru kao svojevoljnu formalnu devijaciju norme izvršenu nad određenim jezičkim izrazom i tvrde: “A rhetorical figure occurs when an expression deviates from expectation, the expression is not rejected as nonsensical or faulty, the deviation occurs at the level of form rather than content, and the deviation conforms to a template that is invariant across a variety of contents and contexts” (Quarrie i Mick, 1996: 1). Ova definicija donosi standard u odnosu na koji devijacija mora biti procijenjena i upoređena (očekivanja primaoca poruke), stavlja granice na tip prihvatljivih odstupanja (besmisleni ili netačni izrazi nijesu retoričke figure, već prosto greške), postavlja odstupanje na nivo formalne strukture teksta i zahtijeva da neko specifično odstupanje uđe u jednu generalnu kategoriju retoričkih figura koja ima iste karakteristike (postoji, naime, klasifikacija koja obuhvata ograničen broj retoričkih figura). Termin „odstupanje" očigledno upotrebljen sa potpuno neutralnom vrijednošću, ne sadrži nikakav negativan ili pejorativan sud. Želi se samo istaći da zahvaljujući ovom pomjeranju norme, retorička figura uspijeva da učini čudnim, a samim tim i interesantnijim, sve ono što nam je inače poznato.

2. Retoričke figure u jeziku reklama

Retoričke figure se obično dijele na sheme i trope, koji odgovaraju dvijema različitim načinima formalog odstupanja: sheme daju tekstu višak reda i regularnosti u odnosu na uobičajeni jezik; s druge strane, tropi doprinose tome da se tekst učini manje regularnim i sa slabim formalnim redosledom. U pitanju su, dakle, dva dijametralno suprotstavljena efekta, ali oba „devijantna" u odnosu na normu.

Sheme se mogu shvatiti kao devijantne kombinacije, kod kojih, putem ponavljanja određenih zvukova ili riječi, biva narušena važeća konvencija standardnog jezika prema kojoj su zvuci obično irelevantni za značenje nekog jezičkog iskaza. U njih možemo svrstati rimu, aliteraciju i ponavljanje.

Rima koja podrazumijeva potpuno ili približno glasovno podudaranje prvenstveno na kraju dva ili više stihova ili polustihova nalazi se u brojnim reklamnim spotovima:*"Latte Frescoblu. La pura freschezza che dura di più"*[47]; *"Se Energizer combacia... La fortuna ti bacia"*[48]; *"Ho preso una cotta per la crema di ricotta."*[49]; *"Inblu, mi basti tu"*[50].

Aliteracija je stilski postupak u vidu ponavljanja istih glasova ili slogova u nizu riječi, naročito u inicijalnom položaju. Pogledajmo sledeće primjere iz jezika reklama: *"Deox. Pulito per ore senza odore di sudore"*[51];*"Vanish. E la macchia svanisce"*[52].

Ponavljanje: Riječ je o pretjerivanju koje se ogleda u ponavljanju nekog elementa riječi ili rečenice ističe jezički iskaz odvajajući ga od razgovornog jezika. Ujedno se iskaz i lakše pamti. *"Meglio la semplicità. Meglio la rapidità. Meglio la delicatezza. Veet. Più liscia, più a lungo"*[53]; *"Se sei una persona unica si nota. Se sei una persona bella, si vede. Se sei una persona sicura di ciò che vuole, lo guidi: nuovo Pajero Pinn. Mitsubishi"*[54].

[47] Gioia, n.8, 26/02/2002: 202.
[48] Gioia, n. 51,30/12/1997: 152.
[49] Tu, n.42, 24/10/2006:72.
[50] Cosmopolitan, n.7, luglio 2007: 94.
[51] Gioia, n.17, 27/04/2004: 184.
[52] TV: Rai 1.
[53] Gioia, n.17, 27/04/2004:170.
[54] Gioia, n.16, 24/04/2001: 116-117.

Sa jednog čisto kvantitativnog gledišta, sheme se shvataju manje devijantnim od tropa, jer se jezičke promjene izvšene u cilju davanja pravilnosti diskursu tiču isključivo površinske strukture teksta i uključuju primaoca na čulnom nivou, dok se u slučaju tropa, „devijantna“ nepravilnost i nekongruentnost dešavaju na dubljem nivou, jer se tiču semantičke sfere.

Tropi se mogu shvatiti kao devijantne selekcije ili, prema klasičnoj definiciji koju je dao Kvintilijan, kao zamjene običnih iskaza iskazima koji imaju figurativno (preneseno) značenje. Mortara Garavelli (1994: 160) u svom djelu *Manuale di retorica* popisuje devet vrsta tropa: metafora, sinegdoha, metonimija, antonomazija, emfaza, litota, perifraza, ironija i hiperbola. Mi ćemo ovdje uključiti i poređenje i sinesteziju.

Poređenje je jezičko sredstvo kojim autor objašnjava, čini bližim ili stilski i afektivno ističe neko svojstvo ili stanje reklamiranog proizvoda, dovodeći ga u vezu sa nekim drugim svojstvom, koje je primaocu poruke poznatije: *“Tra 20 anni la tua pelle sarà ancora bella come il sole. Clarins”*[55]*; “Naturino. Come camminare sulla sabbia del mare”*[56]*.*

Metafora: Tradicionalne definicije metafore mogu se obuhvatiti sledećom: zamjena jedne riječi drugom kod koje osnovno značenje ima neke sličnosti sa osnovnim značenjem zamijenjene riječi. Od svih retoričkih figura metafora se najbolje prepoznaje intuitivno, bez neophodnih teorijskih predznanja. Diskurs reklame obiluje metaforama svih vrsta, od najjednostavnijih i uobičajenih, do složenih; a ovdje dajemo neke primjere: *"Il Country cambia d’abito. Minacciolo."*[57]*; “Pfanner. È una cascata di sapore, un mare di frutta, un’onda fresca e dissetante. È una montagna di piacere, irresistibile, infinito, quotidiano. È una festa di gusti e di formati, innovativi, tradizionali, per tutta la famiglia. È Pfanner: più che un succo di frutta, una vera forza della natura.”*[58]

Lakoff i Johnson (1998: 175), odvajajući se od klasične teorije metafore, tj. teorije komparacije, tvrde da je metafora prije svega pitanje misli i djelovanja, a samo u izvedenom smislu pitanje jezika. Jezik kojim svakodnevno govorimo ili koji čitamo u književnim djelima, esejima, novinama itd. ne može se nazvati čisto jezičkom činjenicom – osim možda u rijetkim slučajevima u kojima je funkcija diskursa isključivo metalingvistička ili metapoetska; jezik je kod i kao takav služi kodifikovanju misli, ideja, kako bi ih učinio shvatljivim i prenosivim u komunikaciji. U kontekstu kakav je reklamni, jezik mora prihvatiti da bude stavljen u službu onoga što će se reklamirati. Jezik reklame mora na naki način izaći iz sebe samog, iznijeti stvari koje treba da reklamira, tj. učiniti ih što bližim mogućem kupcu, njegovom načinu života i mišljenja. I metafora, kao što smo rekli, služi tom iznošenju, prelaženju jezičke sfere kako bi se ušlo u širi ambijent koji obuhvata kulturu, psihologiju i tradiciju. Sa ovog gledišta, dakle, reklama i metafora su jako isprepletane, i to je jedan od razloga zbog kojih se reklama uveliko koristi ovim

[55] Donna moderna, n.27, 12/07/2006: 34.
[56] Gioia, n.38, 21/09/2004: 39.
[57] Casamica, n.4, 5/04/2003: 89.
[58] Donna moderna, n.31, 31/07/2002: 74.

tropom, koji nam, međutim, ako bolje razmislimo, zvuči tako bliskim i prirodnim u novinama ili televizijskim spotovima da često gubi obrise retoričke figure.

Sinestezija se smatra vrstom metafore i označava prenošenje značenja sa jednog na drugo čulno polje. U sinesteziji autor reklame pronalazi dragocjen i jednostavan instrument kako bi proširio sferu osjećanja i mentalnih asocijacija vezanih za proizvod o kojem se radi: *"Olaz Touch. Una bellezza che puoi sentire"*[59]; *"Frutta da bere. Sangemini"*[60].

Metonimija se zasniva na prenesenom značenju, uspostavljanjem logičke veze i zavisnosti među pojmovima. Nastaje kada se jedan pojam izražava nekim drugim pojmom koji je sa prethodnim u logičkoj (prostornoj, vremenskoj, uzročnoj) vezi ili je njegov materijalni simbol, umjesto da se uzima uobičajen, adekvatan izraz. Od metafore se razlikuje po tome što je njen *tertium comparationis* logičke prirode. Cjelokupni jezik reklame, u izvjesnom smislu, zasniva se na jednoj velikoj i jedinstvenoj konceptualnoj metonimiji; uvijek je proizvođač taj koji mora biti stavljen u prvi plan. Ono što se predlaže mogućem kupcu kao gotov proizvod koji ima određene karakteristike ljepote, funkcionalnosti, praktičnosti, elegancije itd. duguje sve svoje kvalitete isključivo proizvođaču koga predstavlja. Iz ovog razloga autori reklama često ne navode ime predmeta koji reklamiraju, kako bi ih nazvali jednostavno: *"un Ferrari"* (sir), *"una Rex"* (mašina za pranje posuđa), *"una Scavolini"* (kuhinja).

Sinegdoha je saznavanje jedne riječi (pojma) na osnovu njegove uzajamne zavisnosti i logičke veze; ono što se navodi istog je roda kao i ono što se posredno saznaje. Sinegdoha ima nekoliko oblika: pojmovi se zamjenjuju po obimu tako da se uzima dio umjesto cjeline (*pars pro toto)* ili cjelina umjesto dijela (*totum pro parte)*; po količini- kada imamo jedninu umjesto množine ili množinu umjesto jednine, ili, jedinka može da označava vrstu. Primjeri sinegdohe u reklamama: *"Philips. La musica ti sta addosso."*[61]; *"Autunno, inverno, Coccolino, estate."*[62]; *"Smeg ha disegnato il nuovo freddo."*[63]

Perifraza je igra riječi koja zamijenjuje jedan termin, bilo putem definicije ili parafrazirajući ga. Perifraza se može posmatrati kao sinonim koji se sastoji od više riječi, jer je princip koji nalazimo u osnovi jednakost u značenju: *"Se devo ricevere un regalo, preferisco una di quelle cose piccole di cui non si può proprio fare a meno. (Diamanti De Beers)"*[64] ili *"Immagina la perfezione dello stile. In ogni dettaglio. Immagina che i particolari sian tutto. Scoprirai che il nuovo Samsung Ultra U700 è l'unico cellulare perfetto per te."*[65]

---

[59] Gioia, n.8, 26/02/2002: 102.
[60] Donna in forma, n.40, 6/10/2004: 110.
[61] Scoprire, n.3, marzo 2005: 45.
[62] idem: 272.
[63] Gioia, n.50, 20/12/1997: 227-228.
[64] Gioia, n.50, 20/12/1997: 9.
[65] Men's health, n.78, agosto 2007: 72.

Antonomazija se sastoji u upotrebi, umjesto vlastitog imena, epiteta (ili vlastitog imena upotrebljenog u finkciji epiteta) ili perifraze koji izražavaju neku osobinu koja karakteriše imenovani proizvod: *"Toyota Yaris. Il piccolo genio"*[66]; *"Monari Federzoni. Aceto balsamico di Modena per eccellenza"*[67]. Čitajući ove primjere, odmah primjećujemo da imaju sličnu strukturu: svi su, naime, sačinjeni od dva dijela koje dijeli tačka. U prvom dijelu se jednostavno imenuje ono što se reklamira a u drugom dijelu se opet imenuje isti predmet ali upotrebom nekog epiteta kojim se ističe kvalitet ili karakteristične osobine. Autor reklame ne koristi već poznate i ustaljene antonomazije, već, a to je svojstvo jednog jezika koji je u stalnom razvoju kakav je upravo jezik reklame, stvara nove, vodeći primaoca poruke logičnim i preciznim putem.

Emfaza je slična antonomaziji: riječi šireg značenja pridaje se određeno uže značenje koje se može razumjeti iz konteksta. Ono što je u prošlosti nazivano emfazom u svakodnevnoj upotrebi je postalo sinonim za insistiranje, za neprirodno isticanje tonova i nijansi diskursa. Prilikom analize jezika reklame, često se dešava da naiđemo na slogane koji iza značenja ili eksplicitnih poruka koje mogu biti direktne i banalne ili dvosmislene i šifrovane, kriju i vode ka jednom implicitnom, dubljem nivou komunikacije. Takvi slogani su nosioci tzv. „gustine" značenja ili emfaze, budući da uspijevaju, u svojoj delikatnoj igri aluzija, da izazovu u umu primaoca niz asocijacija i veza koje bi trebalo da ga dovedu do nezavisnog otkrivanja prednosti reklamiranog proizvoda. U stvari, ta nezavisnost mogućeg kupca se ostvaruje na veoma površinskom nivou i još jednom u tome pretjeruje autor reklame. Naime, rijetki su slučajevi poruka koje mogu biti slobodno interpretirane; obično se izostavljeni elementi ili oni na koje se aludira u sloganu objašnjavaju slikom i preciznim *body copy*-jem. Sve nam je jasnije kako u jeziku reklame umijeće sakrivanja poruke iza privlačnih rečenica, naizgled odvojenih od reklamiranog proizvoda, čini osnovnu tehniku bez koje nijedan dobar autor reklame ne može da radi: *"Multi Régénérant Clarins. Buon compleanno!"*[68]

Litota je negacija suprotnosti i označava isticanje, naglašavanje nekog pojma negiranjem njemu suprotnoga, odnosno pojačano tvrđenje negiranjem suprotnog tvrđenja. Proces je isti kao kod perifraze a efekat je često ironičan. U jeziku reklama obično se pristupa negaciji nekog koncepta kako bi se još jednom istakao kvalitet i izuzetna vrijednost reklamiranog proizvoda: *"Una vacanza in Thailandia. Mai niente di scontato."*[69]; *"Cafénoir. Not a male collection"*[70].

Ironija je u tradicionalnoj podjeli bila uključena u trope. Mizzau (1984: 13-16) daje nekoliko definicija, starijih i modernih. Preovlađuje shvatanje ironije kao *antifraze*, ili „semantičke inverzije" (ironija je reći suprotno od onoga što se stvarno misli), ali nijesu rijetka ni upućivanja na neke ciljeve (poigrati se nekim, ismijati nekoga) ili na prednost koju ona nudi (ideja je Frojdova) da se lako zaobiđu teškoće u direktnom

[66] idem.
[67] TV: Rai 1.
[68] Gioia, n.8, 24/02/2007: 94-95.
[69] Gioia, n.6, 14/02/2002: 86.
[70] TV: Italia 1.

iskazivanju misli. McQuarry i Mick (1996: 433) definišu ironiju „narušavajućim" tropom, koji uspijeva da prenese šire značenje od onog koje se eksplicitno iskazuje. Dok se metafora i igra riječi, koje pomenuti autori takođe svrstavaju u istu grupu tropa, zasnivaju na odnosu sličnosti između izrečenih stvari i onih koje se podrazumijevaju, ironija, a i paradoks, polaze od odnosa suprotnosti. Ova dva autora smatraju da je izbor autora reklame da stvori poruku u kojoj je duboko ili podrazumijevano značenje suprotno tzv. površinskom ili bukvalnom značenju znak namjere da se poruci da jedan narušavajući efekat, a sve u cilju da se primalac zainteresuje i privuče. Međutim, Kulas (1997: 6, 7) smatra da je koncept ironije složeniji nego što to izgleda u ovoj definiciji koju daju McQuarrie i Mick. Ona tvrdi: "Their definition of irony as a statement that means the opposite of what is said seems to be a very limited conception of the very rich concept of irony. It is useful to understand irony as a figure of thought, where there is a purposively caused discrepancy between the literal meaning and the intended meaning. It is important to emphasise the fact that in irony no ambiguity should be created as in metaphors and puns" (Kulas, 1997: 6-7).

U reklami je ironija prvenstveno označena nelogičnostima, koje mogu biti sačinjene od nesklada između jezičkog materijala i slika, ili između različitih elemenata unutar reklamne poruke. Brojne reklamne poruke su u izvjesnom smislu ironične: *"Diffusione Tessile. Lo sport preferito delle donne."*[71]

Hiperbola označava stilsku figuru preuveličavanja osobina predmeta ili intenziteta radnje, pojačavanja izražaja do krajnjih granica: *"Bastano poche gocce e il tempo non passa più. Korf"*[72]; *"Lash XL Estée Lauder. Mascara lunghezza straordinaria. Allunga le tue ciglia all'impensabile"*[73]. Hiperbola u reklamama može se smatrati pogodnijom od drugih tropa zbog svoje strukturalne jednostavnosti: dovoljno je, naime, utvrditi ključnu karakteristiku proizvoda na kojoj se želi izgraditi reklamna poruka i razviti je sve do tačke u kojoj prevazilazi granice mogućeg. U poređenju sa drugim retoričkim figurama koje od primaoca zahtijevaju veći napor prilikom tumačenja poruke, hiperbola predstavlja komunikativni model bez kojeg je jezik reklame nezamisliv, tako da se prećutno uzima kao figura tipična za ovaj jezik.

Na kraju našeg istraživanja o upotrebi retoričkih figura u reklamama, preći ćemo na druga jezička sredstva zastupljena u jeziku reklama, koja Mortara Garavelli (1994: 160) ne uključuje u kategoriju pravih tropa, već ih definiše kao *figure di parola* tj. figure riječi (ako se tiču jezičkog izraza), *figure di pensiero* tj. figure misli (ako se odnose na ideje) i *figure di stile* tj. figure stila (ako se odnose na stil pisanja).

U **figure riječi** (figure di parola) možemo svrstati paronomaziju, homonimiju, izokolon, hijazam i antitezu.

Paronomazija se ogleda u približavanju riječi koje imaju neku zvučnu sličnost, nezavisno od toga da li je u pitanju etimološka srodnost, ali koje imaju različito značenje.

[71] Silhouette, n.4, aprile 2005: 131.
[72] Gioia, n.50, 20/12/1997: 71.
[73] Gioia, n.17, 3/05/2005: 11.

Često se govori o razlikovanju apofonijske od izofonijske paronomazije. Prva se zasniva na apofoniji, tj. na vokalskom prevoju u osnovi riječi a druga se bazira na izofoniji, tj. jednakosti zvukova na kojima se nalazi akcenat u riječi. U reklami se ova retorička figura često koristi kako bi se poruci dao zanimljiv i prefinjen izgled i kako bi se pronašao drugačiji i prijatan način da se privuče pažnja primaoca. Neki od primjera su: *"Love is in the Hair. Jean Louis David"*[74]; *"Prova qualcosa di uovo. Virgilio"*[75]. U većini navedenih primjera jedan ili više termina trpe paronimsku transformaciju poslije koje dobijaju novo značenje različito od onoga koje bi primalac očekivao da pronađe u datom kontekstu, iako održavaju sa njim jaku vezu zbog fonetske sličnosti. To je slučaj hair/air, uovo/nuovo (ovdje se igra riječi odnosi na izgled stranice na internetu za pretraživač Virgilio koja ima oblik jajeta).

Homonimija ili polisemičko ponavljanje je slična paronomaziji, budući i sama igra riječi. To je klasični slučaj dvosmislenosti, tj. pojave da se jedan termin koji ima dva ili više različitih značenja smješta u kontekst, u kojem se namjerno ne razjašnjava leksička dvosmislenost, već se igra ovim mnoštvom kako bi se stvorila originalna i neočekivana poruka. Evo nekih primjera: *"Non fategli i complimenti, si monta facilmente. Panna Hoplà"*[76]; *"Se credi che la leucemia resterà un male inguaribile devi farci un favore. Piantarla."*[77].

Često se u reklami dešava da jedna riječ uključena u određeni reklamni kontekst dobije novo značenje. Autor reklame računa na oba značenja. Prvim čitanjem ili slušanjem reklamne poruke, u letu se uhvati značenje (prividno), koje na opštiji način uvodi reklamirani proizvod; a tek kasnije se, spajanjem imena sa proizvodom ili slikom u reklami, pod drugačijom svjetlošću vidi jedan ili više termina u sloganu (pravo značenje). Prelazak sa prividnog na pravo značenje obično se dešava pomoću slike u reklami: *"Su una crociera Costa il mare non è mai salato*[78]*"; "Solari Coop. Un'estate senza pelle rossa."*[79]. Ponekad se dvostruko značenje tiče cijelog izraza ili rečenice. Uglavnom se radi o idiomima, čije bukvalno značenje ima direktne veze sa proizvodom. *"Ti serve una mano con la password? Mnemonick le ricorda per te."*[80] (na slici vidimo dlan na kojem su ispisane razne šifre). Sličan efekat se može dobiti upotrebom riječi kojima je zajednički jedino izgovor (homofoni): *"All we need is LAV (and money). Iscriversi è un atto d'amore. (LAV=lega antivivisezione)"*[81].

Izokolon se ogleda u jednakosti, u širini i sintaktičkoj strukturi, složenih rečenica i njihovih djelova. Riječ je, dakle, o slijedu paralelno građenih rečenica, pri čemu paralelni djelovi treba da imaju isti broj riječi, dok broj slogova nije bitan. Ako se

[74] Gioia, n. 41, 12/10/2004: 81.
[75] Cosmopolitan, n.12, dicembre 2004: 99.
[76] Gioia, n.20, 18/04/2004: 317.
[77] Gioia, n.49, 13/12/1997: 249.
[78] TV: Canale 5.
[79] Oggi, n.21, 24/05/2006:10.
[80] Jack, n.70, luglio 2006, 144.
[81] TV: Rai 1.

radi o paralelizmu tri članau pitanju je trikolon - *tricolon* (gr. trìkolon). Navodimo sledeće primjere: *“Facile da seguire. Impossibile da imitare. Slim”*[82]; *“Rimodella il corpo. Rassoda i glutei. Risolleva il morale. Total Lift-Minceur di Clarins”*[83]. Naišli smo i na primjer četvoročlane simetrične konstrukcije: *“È piacere e benessere. È leggerezza e intensità. È bianco e blu. È Müller e tuo. Crema di Yogurt Bianco Müller”*[84].

Već smo vidjeli da je izokolon u stvari paralelizam. Međutim, ako je ovaj red okrenut, kao u primjeru *“Certi raccolgono carte. Questa carta raccoglie. American Express”*[85], onda je u pitanju ***hijazam***. To je pojava kada se dva para riječi (grupa riječi ili rečenica) koji odgovaraju bilo sintaktički bilo sadržajno postavljaju ukršteno, drugi par u obrnutom rasporedu prema prvome, radi jačeg naglašavanja hijastički poređanih riječi i stvaranja osjećaja simetrije. Kod paralelizma od dva člana često nailazimo na antitezu, koja se smatra podvrstom hijazma. ***Antiteza*** se ogleda u suprotstavljanju dviju ili više riječi ili pojmova suprotnog ili različitog značenja. *“Massime prestazioni nel minimo spazio”*[86]; *“Grazie a Restiva Hair ti passerai le dita tra i capelli, non i capelli tra le dita”*[87]; *“ Per avere tutto senza rinunciare a niente”*[88].

Figura misli (figura di pensiero) je personifikacija. ***Personifikacija*** se sastoji u uvođenju u tekst neživih stvari ili apstraktnih pojmova kao živih osoba. Personifikacija se naročito koristi u televizijskim spotovima gdje, još od Karozela, oživljavaju najrazličitiji predmeti, od aparata za kafu do šoljice mlijeka, od zrna pirinča do sladoleda. Pokretne slike, zvuk, muzika, i dinamizam karakterističan za televizijsku reklamu, pogodni su posebno za stvaranje jednog naizgled maštovitog, a u neku ruku i stvarnog svijeta, u kojem proizvodi mogu da se oslobode svoje pasivnosti, da se sami izjasne u prvom licu: *“Sutor Mantellassi. Scarpe di sangue blu”*[89]; *“Iodase complex e Ice. Il personal trainer contro la cellulite.”*[90].

Figure stila (figure di stile): Među ovim figurama izdvajamo posebno ***retoričko pitanje*** uz dvije varijante ***percontatio*** gdje postoje pitanje i odgovor, i ***subiectio***, odgovor na pitanje koje se podrazumijeva. Ovakvo pitanje ne služi dobijanju informacija, budući da mu je jedini cilj da dobije potvrdu o onome o čemu se naizgled pita. Primjeri su: *"Dove, se non in una Teuco?“*[91]; *“Come fai a resistere? Mini Voglie assortite di Matilde Vicenzi”*[92].

---

[82] Silhouette, n.4, aprile 2005: 207.
[83] Silhouette, n.4, aprile 2005: 25.
[84] Grazia, n.10, 14/03/2006: 126,127.
[85] TV: Rai 1
[86] Men’s Health, n.65, luglio 2006: 142.
[87] Donna moderna, n.12, 29/03/2006: 94.
[88] Cosmopolitan, n.7, luglio 2007: 131.
[89] Style magazine, n. 7/8, luglio/agosto 2007: 148.
[90] Cosmopolitan, n.6, giugno 2005: 261.
[91] Grazia, n.10, 14/03/2006: 226.
[92] Donna moderna, n.11, 22/03/2006: 236.

Autori reklama često u reklamama izbjegavaju mehanizme koji daju očekivana rešenja kada se koriste figurom koju nazivamo ***aprosdoketon***. Riječ je o neočekivanom raspletu. Primjer je reklama za namještaj marke Bruno Piombini. Slogan glasi: "*Se sono di Bruno Piombini hanno il tarlo.*" Nijedan kupac ne bi očekivao da jedna firma javno izjavi da u drvetu od kojeg je izgrađen njihov namještaj možemo naići na crva. Tek čitanjem teksta reklame (*bodycopy*) saznajemo da: *"I mobilieri di Bruno Piombini hanno il tarlo del perfezionismo. Sono infatti consapevoli che alle loro cure amorevoli, alla loro perizia e maestria, ma anche alla loro fatica, è affidata una missione importante: portare avanti la migliore arte e tradizione dei maestri mobilieri italiani..."*[93] Riječ *tarlo* se, dakle, ne odnosi na namještaj već čini dio idioma, koji u potpunosti mijenja značenje rečenice, i govori nam da se u stvari radi o savršenom namještaju.

3. Zaključak

Ovaj kratak pregled retoričkih sredstava koja se koriste u diskursu reklame nije iscrpan pregled, jer bi za to bio potreban širi prostor. Uzeli smo u razmatranje samo najčešće korišćene retoričke figure, za koje smo smatrali da su i najbitnije. Vjerujemo, ipak, da ovi navedeni primjeri i sama razmišljanja predstavljaju dovoljan dokaz da je retorička analiza diskursa reklame, često kratkog i iscjepkanog diskursa ali koji ipak čuva svoje karakteristike, dragocjen instrument kako bi se detaljno ispitali svi elementi koji čine reklamnu poruku i kako bi se uhvatile i njene najskrivenije nijanse.

Literatura

Bonomi, I. et al. (2005) ***La lingua italiana e i mass media,*** Roma: Carocci

Kulas, A. (1997) ***Rhetorical stylistics in print advertising: the influence of irony on consumer choice*****,** München: Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität

Lakoff, G. e Johnson, M. (1998) ***Metafora e vita quotidiana***, Milano: Bompiani

McQuarrie, E.F., Mick, D.G. (1996) ***Figures of rhetoric in advertising language***, Journal of consumer research

Mizzau, M. (1984) ***L'ironia. La contraddizione consentita,*** Milano: Feltrinelli

Mortara Garavelli, B. (1994) ***Manuale di retorica,*** Milano: Bompiani

Živković, D. (1986) ***Rečnik književnih termina,*** Beograd: Nolit

[93] Gioia, n.17, 27/04/2004: 118,119.

UDK 811.111'373.74

Gordana Dimković-Telebaković

ON ENGLISH PHRASAL VERBS AND THEIR SINGLE-WORD EQUIVALENTS

Abstract: *In this paper I discuss the difference in the behaviour of English phrasal verbs and that of their single-word equivalents. The analysis shows that the difference between them exists in terms of meaning, register and collocation. Although phrasal verbs are often regarded as colloquial, informal and slangy, some examples in the paper demonstrate that they can be neutral and formal as well. On the other hand, single-word equivalents tend to occur mostly in formal written style, but they can also create a deliberate stylistic incongruity for humorous effect, or can specify a meaning more precisely in the spoken language.*

Key words: *English phrasal verbs; single-word counterparts; meaning; register; collocation.*

1. Introduction

Verb-particle combinations having one meaning are called phrasal verbs. Particles/adverbs which are combined with verbs are *around*, *away*, *back*, *down*, *in*, *into*, *off*, *on*, *out*, *over*, *up*, etc. *Give up*, *look around*, *sleep over*, *watch out*, *switch on*, *come in*, *sit down*, *go away* and *take back* are, for instance, phrasal verbs. Phrasal verbs usually have the primary stress on the adverb and a secondary stress on the verb (e.g. ˌmake ˈoff). Some phrasal verbs require objects: *fill in / out* (a form), *carry out* (an experiment), *look up* (something in a dictionary), *put on* (clothes), *turn on / off* (lights, electrical appliances), *take* off (clothes), *turn up / down* (radio, TV, heater), *wash up* (cups, plates, dishes, etc.), *throw away* (the newspaper), *get on / off* (a public vehicle), etc. There are also phrasal verbs which do not always take objects. Some of them are as follows: *take over* (e.g. *Do you want me to take over for a while?*), *fit together* (e.g. *The ends of the tube fit together*), *take off* (e.g. *The plane has just taken off*), and so on. The following phrasal verbs, however, do not require objects: *flare up* (e.g. *In moments of stress, his asthma always flares up*), *listen in* (e.g. *Talk quietly, you never know who might be listening in*), *live together* (e.g. *We've been living together for three years now*), etc.

The use of phrasal verbs makes the English language difficult for its learners. When they are compared to their single-word counterparts, a rich diversity of the language usage is revealed, which causes even more difficulties in the process of the language acquisition. It is believed that the more precisely phrasal verbs and their single-word counterparts are used, the better command of English one has.

2. Theoretical background

Many linguists have explored the issue under consideration here. As Fisher points out (1992: 386), phrasal verbs emerge mainly at the beginning of the Middle English period (1150), evolving naturally in the population to express ordinary needs and topics. Foreign single-words of Latin, French or Greek origin, on the other hand, provide a scholarly and scientific vocabulary, and they are, therefore, generally more formal (e.g. *frustrate*, *prevent*, *reject*, *substitute*, etc.).

Analysing multi-word verbs (phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs) and their single-word equivalents, Live (1965), Bolinger (1971) and Palmer (1988), for example, notice that the former are often informal, emotive and slangy, and much more natural in certain contexts, whereas the latter are more formal, often belong to literary style or academic writing and tend to frequently sound pompous or just unnatural in spoken language.

Maxwell (2005) claims that new phrasal verbs (not to be found in the most up-to-date phrasal verb dictionaries) are often informal as well. Some of his examples are as follows: *google out* ~ use the popular Internet search engine to obtain information on people or things; *phish for*, *phish sth out* ~ obtain information via some kind of Internet or e-mail; *bin sth / sb off* ~ discard sth / sb, remove sb from a job / position; *page out* ~ daydream.

Lewin & Lewin (1988) also consider phrasal verbs and find that quite a number of phrasal verbs are slangy. To illustrate this, they offer a long list of slang phrasal verbs meaning *kill*: *do in*, *cool out*, *cool off*, *wipe out*, *take out*, *rob out*, *iron out*, *wash out*, *whack out*, *pay off*, *kiss off*, *knock off*, *finish off*, *polish off*, *push across*, *push away*, *mow down*, *blow away*, etc.

Biber et al (1999: 403-428), on the other hand, examine how often phrasal verbs are used in different types of registers, i.e., conversation, fiction, news and academic writing. Their analysis demonstrates that phrasal verbs are used most commonly in fiction and conversation, less in news and even less in academic writing (see *Table 1.*).

Table 1. Overall frequency of phrasal verbs per million words *(Each o represents 100 phrasal verbs.)*

CONVERSATION	**oooooooooooooooooo**
FICTION	**ooooooooooooooooooo**
NEWS	**oooooooooooooo**
ACADEMIC WRITING	**oooooooo**

3. Differences between phrasal verbs and their single-word counterparts in terms of meaning, register and collocation

The primary purpose of my paper is to show that phrasal verbs and their single-word equivalents often have various ranges of use, meaning and collocation in conversation and academic writing.

3.1. Some phrasal verbs and their single-word equivalents in conversational style

The sentences below show that phrasal verbs are informal and sound much more natural than their single-word counterparts when used in conversation, colloquial English.

[1] a. Mum, can Billy *sleep over* on Friday?
b. Mum, can Billy *sleep* at our house on Friday?
[2] a. We've been *looking around* for a while now,
but still haven't found a place we like.
b. We've been *searching* for a while now,
but still haven't found a place we like.
[3] a. *Get on* the bus!
b. *Enter* the bus!
[4] a. They *got off* the tram at Slavia.
b. They *left* the tram at Slavia.

Sentences in example [5], taken from Jonathan Marks (2005), demonstrate that phrasal verbs can also be neutral in conversation ([5] a.), whereas their single-word equivalents are unusually formal ([5] b.):

[5] a. What time shall we *set off*?
b. What time shall we *depart*?

On the other hand, Marks (2005) also claims that non-phrasal alternatives can be used to create a deliberate stylistic incongruity for humorous effect, which is clearly shown in example ([6] a.), or to specify a meaning more precisely, as in example ([7] a.), where the verb *disguise* suggests an intention to deceive. In contrast, *get up*, if substituted for *rise* in ([6] b.), would not have any stylistic effects, and *dress up*, if replaced for *disguise* in ([7] b.), could refer to a fancy-dress party.

[6] a. What time did you *rise* this morning?
b. What time did you *get up* this morning?
[7] a. I *disguised* myself as a monk.
b. I *dressed* myself *up* as a monk.

The following examples show that there are differences between phrasal verbs and their single-word counterparts in meaning too. The phrasal verb *sail through* in ([8] a.) means 'more or less, to succeed easily', whereas *pass* in ([8] b.) conveys the meaning of 'it seems to lack effortlessness'.

[8] a. You'll *sail through* your exams.
b. You'll *pass* your exams.

3.2. Collocations and meanings of phrasal verbs and their single-word counterparts

As for collocations, it is of importance to highlight that phrasal verbs can have different collocations from their single-word counterparts. Here are some examples: we can *bring up/raise/educate* a child, we can *bring up/raise/rear* a family, but we can only *raise/rear* animals, sheep and chicken; a bomb *explodes/goes off/bursts*, while a car/plane/vehicle *explodes/blows up*, and a fireworks/rocket *explodes/goes off*. It is possible to further comment on these examples, and say that *educate* and *explode* are more formal, although they have similar meanings to *bring up* and *blow up* (for more examples explore the *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary for Learners of English*, 2006).

3.2.1. Effects of neighbouring words on phrasal verb meanings in academic writing

The examples below are taken from a George Lakoff's article (Lakoff, 1973). They have been chosen to illustrate phrasal verbs in use in academic writing, and to show that the same phrasal verbs have different meanings when they collocate with various words.

[9] Most speakers I have checked with *bear out* this judgement.
(*bear out* has the meaning of 'to support')

[10] The curve *goes up* from zero at about the right place and seems to hit one at about the right place.
(*go up* means 'to rise' here)

[11] Let *P, Q,* ... *stand for* the values of the propositional variables.
(*stand for* has the meaning of 'to represent')

[12] It also *drops off* sharply to zero on the right.
(*drop off* means 'to fall' here)

[13] By comparing the truth conditions for predicates both unhedged and then with various hedges, we may be able to *sort out* the meaning components.
(*sort out* has the meaning of 'to provide')

[14] However, I think it will *turn out* to be correct.
(*turn out* means 'to prove')

[15] Given that Sam did not *measure up* according to the primary criteria, one might accurately say (1a), though perhaps nothing stronger.
(*measure up* has the meaning of 'to be good enough')

[16] Scott has *set* this *up* in the reverse of the way we *set up* the semantics for *FPL (fuzzy propositional logic).*
(*set up* here means 'to organize, to build, to establish')

[17] Eleanor Rosch Heider (1971) *took up* the question of whether people perceive category membership as a clearcut issue or a matter of degree.
(*take up* means 'to start dealing with sth')

[18] This will be *taken up* in Appendix II.
(*take up* has the meaning of 'to further discuss')

[19] Bolinger (1972) has suggested that *regular picks out* certain 'metaphorical' properties.
(*pick out* means 'to highlight')

[20] In judging similarity one *picks out* a certain number of contextually important criteria.
(*pick out* has the meaning of 'to choose')

[21] These will, when applied to the vector value of a predicate *F*, *pick out* the appropriate meaning components and form a new function.
(*pick out* means here 'to recognize')

Sentences [17], [18], [19], [20] and [21] demonstrate that the surrounding words in the examples determine the intended meanings of the phrasal verbs *take up* and *pick out*. It is likely that the use of phrasal verbs in academic writing shows that research article writers want to establish a peer relationship with their colleagues (readers), just as they would do when speaking. This usage of phrasal verbs seems to be typical of native speakers and distinguished scientists.

4. The up-to-date dictionaries of phrasal verbs

The up-to-date dictionaries of phrasal verbs - *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus* (2005) and the *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary for Learners of English* (2006) - are used to clarify the meanings of phrasal verbs and their single-word equivalents discussed in the paper. For those who would like to start using them, it is important to know what they offer.

Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus (2005), for example, provides information about phrasal verbs in general English, as well as in business, Internet and computing contexts, hundreds of synonyms and antonyms, an index of over 1000 verbs that lets you find phrasal verbs by starting with single-word verbs which you already know, etc.

The Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary for Learners of English (2006), on the other hand, contains about 7000 verb-particle combinations and a detailed analysis of the differences between the phrasal verbs and their single-word counterparts in terms of meaning, register and collocation.

To learn more about slangy verbs, *The Random Thesaurus of Slang* (1988) can be consulted. The items given in the references below are just a small part of the literature you can go for.

5. Conclusion

I believe that the paper has shown that *phrasal verbs* are usually regarded as rather informal, colloquial. They are often the most natural sounding way of expressing a particular idea, widespread in both spoken and written language, can be formal as well. They are used in research articles (RAs), some of them are even emotive and slangy, while most of them are neutral.

Their single-word counterparts are rarely exact equivalents and tend to occur mostly in written style. They are also more formal alternatives to many phrasal verbs. In addition, meanings of different single-word verbs can be conveyed by one phrasal verb.

References

Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S., Finegan, E. (1999) **Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English**, Harlow: Longman

Bolinger, D. (1971) **The Phrasal Verb in English**, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Fisher, O. (1992) **The Cambridge History of the English Language**, Cambridge: CUP

Lakoff, G. (1973) "Hedges: A study in meaning criteria and the logic of fuzzy concepts", **Journal of Philosophical Logic**, 2, pp. 458-508

Lewin, E. and Lewin, A.E. (1988) **The Random Thesaurus of Slang**, New York: Random House

Live, A.H. (1965) "The discontinuous verb in English", **Word**, 21

Marks. J. (2005) "Phrasal Verbs and Other 'Phrasal' Vocabulary", in Rundell, M. (ed.) **Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus**, LS 10

Maxwell, K. (2005) "New word of the month", **MED Magazine**, Issue 29

McIntosh, C. (ed.) (2006) **The Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary for Learners of English,** Oxford: Oxford University Press

Palmer, F.R. (1988) **The English Verb**, London and New York: Longman

Rundell, M. (ed.) (2005) **Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus**, Oxford: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc and A&C Black Publishers Ltd.

UDK 811.111'42:070]:355“1999“

Igor Lakić

REPRESENTATION OF REFUGEES IN BRITISH DAILIES DURING NATO AIRSTRIKES ON YUGOSLAVIA

Abstract: *This paper deals with an analysis of reporting of three British dailies (the Guardian, the Independent and the Times) on NATO Airstrikes on Yugoslavia in 1999. The analysis was based on the theory of News Schemata of Teun van Dijk, followed by findings of Allan Bell, as well as on Norman Fairclough's findings on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The focus will be on the macrostructure of a news text, especially the Evaluation part, as well on the microstructure of the analysed texts. These two concepts allow a deeper insight into the reporting of print media. However, linguistic findings are not enough to explain why the texts were written in a certain manner. This is where the role of the CDA is important, as it helps in interpreting the text. In such a context, linguistic findings provide evidence for the claims resulting from the CDA approach, making it much more reliable.*

Key *words*: *discourse analysis, macrostructure, microstructure, evaluation, critical discourse analysis, intertextual text analysis, refugees*

1. Introduction

Media discourse has been of interest to linguists for quite a long time. Media reporting on different political, economic, social and other aspects of our daily lives creates a good ground for analysing how news are created and how they influence our views of the events and the world around us. In the last two decades, the linguistic aspect of the media reporting and insights into the related social practice have been under scrutiny of many linguists.

In case of wars, media have always played an important role, particularly in the last two decades. The Gulf War in 1991 was the beginning of live media coverage of war. This event, as well as many that followed, clearly showed that the war is waged not only in battlefields, but also through the media, which try to created support of the public for a war. Philo/McLaughlin (1995: 146) claim that many media even criticised ‘peacemakers’ who claimed that the war should be postponed as long as there is a possibility to achieve results through economic sanctions. In their opinion, the media cannot be fully objective, even if they wanted to, because ‘national interests’ are imposed as a priority. In such a situation, some media go to extremes and become too patriotic. However, according to them, the media should at least try to establish a balance by reporting the truth without endangering military actions and security of the country. In addition, it is difficult to speak about full objectivity of the media at the time of war when they are creators of or participants in the war and the state often uses them for to achieve its goals by making them report false information in order to mislead the enemy.

This paper deals with an analysis of the reporting of three British dailies *(the Guardian, the Independent and the, Times)* on NATO airstrikes on Yugoslavia in 1999.[94] The theory of *News Schemata* developed by Teun van Dijk and *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)* by Norman Fairclough have been used to look into the way the British dailies reported on the airstrikes, from the position of a country that was deeply involved in this war.

2. Theoretical background

Van Dijk (1988a) provides a framework for analysis of news articles. He suggests that the analysis can be carried out on the levels of *macrostructure* and microstructure.

According to van Dijk (1988a: 13) analysis of macrostructure includes thematic and organisational structure of texts. Thematic (or semantic) structure of news articles implies explanation of the term *topic* (or *theme*), which is actually the subject of discourse, i.e. new article or TV coverage. Overall meaning of a macrostructure is expressed through *organisational structure of a text* or *schematic superstructure*.

Numerous text types have different organisational patterns. One of the well-known patterns is the *Problem-Solution* model, used a lot in advertising or political speeches. In research paper article introductions, the CARDS model developed by John Swales is applied. This means that each genre, or text type, has its own distinctive organisational pattern.

Newspaper articles have a lot in common with the narrative scheme of Labov. That is why a news text is also called a *news story*, which implies narration (van Dijk, 1988b: 1).

Van Dijk proposed quite an elaborate model for a news story. This model was later criticised because it is difficult to differentiate between some parts of the macrostructure. Allan Bell (1994) provided another model, similar to van Dijk's, but simpler in structure. This is due to the fact that he is a journalist and his model is based on his practical experience. He combined several parts of the macrostructure into one, overcoming the problem with van Dijk's model.

In the extensive analysis of the reporting of the three British dailies, I started from these two models. It turned out that Bell's model was much more applicable in my

[94] An extensive analysis of the three British and three Montenegrin dailies was carried out for the purpose of my PhD dissertation, which was published in a revised version as the book "Discourse, Media, War" in 2011.

analysis, so I created my own model, very similar to his, although a bit different in terminology:

Headline
Lead
Main Event(s)
Background of the Event
Verbal comment(s)
Evaluation
Results of the Event

Let us briefly discuss these parts of the macrostructure.

Certainly, *Headline* and *Lead* are the introductory parts of an article, where Lead serves as an abstract in some other text types. *Lead* enables readers to decide whether they will read the text at all, as it summarises the main event(s) described in the text. It is difficult to write as it has to be short but also informative enough, which makes it a microstory in a way. That is why Bell (1994: 174) thinks that Lead is the most prominent characteristic of a news story and puts the Headline second in terms of importance within the macrostructure.

Headline is, of course, the obligatory part of any article. According to Bell (1994: 150), *Headline* is 'the abstract of the abstract" because in summarises the information already summirised in the *Lead*. Title is the part of the macrostructure that allows the newspaper to give their own view of what is otherwise the goods of mass production. *Headline* is actually the last step in summarising the information.

Main Event is the most important part of a new story. Compared to the 'real' story, the events in a new story are not given in a chronological order. In such a situation, the result of the event has the advantage over the event or the process. This procedure enables extending the story.

Background of the Event is another part of news texts. It provides information on the participants in the event, the time and place, as well as the initial situation. *Who*, *How*, *Wher*e and *When* are the basic facts that have to be provided in the story.

Verbal comments are a standard procedure in the news practice. These are the comments of the most important participants in the events. In this way, journalists can provide opinions that are not exclusively their, although the selection of people can be problematic. This category is signalled bz the names and roles of the participants in the event, as well as by direct quotations or retelling their statements.

Evaluation include attitudes, opinions or evaluation of the even by the journalist or the newspaper he/she writes for. Although there are opinions that facts and opinions should not be mixed, this part of the macrostructure appears a lot in newspaper articles, although sometimes indirectly. It is the *Evaluation* that gives some sense or meaning to the text. My research has shown that *Evaluation* can appear indirectly or implicitly within other part of the macrostructure, such as *Headline*, *Lead*, *Main Event* or *Verbal Comments*. This is the part which also opens room for manipulation (Lakić, 2004).

Results of the Event is another category of the macrostructure, although not obligatory. Sometimes, the consequences of an event are much more important than the event itself. They can be sometimes found within the *Main Event* or even *Headline*.

As for the *microstructure*, it refers to the purely linguistic aspect (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, lexical aspect, cohesion, coherence etc.). All these elements play an important role in creating a news discourse.

However, identifying parts of texts at the level of macrostructure and then analysing their linguistics exponents on the micro level is not enough. It still doesn't mean that we have the interpretation of the text. This is where Critical Discourse Analysis helps.

Fairclough (1992 i 1996: 311-313) says that language analysis is carried out through three dimensions: (1) text, (2) discourse practice, and (3) social practice.

(1) *Text*. Text analysis is focuses on formal characteristics of text. (vocabulary, grammar, cohesion etc.). It is similar to what van Dijk calls microstructure. It includes meaning and form that are difficult to separate, because meaning is realised through form and differences in meanings require different forms, and vice versa.

(2) *Discourse practice*. Analysis of discourse practice is aimed at production, consumption and distribution of discourse that is under study. In the world of constant changes, media undergo changes too, which includes a change of their discourse practice.

(3) *Social practice*. Analysis of social practice (or socio-cultural practice) is carried out on a wider scale. It deals with social, political, ideological and other aspects of event and how ideology influences and contributes to social changes. It studies how text is used in a certain social context or a discourse community.

Fairclough (1996: 314-315) also makes a distinction between linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis of texts, in a similar way to Bakhtin (1986). Intertextual analysis is a border discipline between the text and discourse practice in terms of the analytical framework. It actually looks at the text from the perspective of discourse practice. While linguistic analysis is of descriptive nature, intertextual analysis is interpretative. Fairclough also thinks that connecting linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis is necessary in overcoming the gap between text on the one hand and society and culture on the other. The interpreting aspect of CDA is what makes the analysis complete and provides a proper interpretation of the text under study.

In the next part, I will try to illustrate how these things function in practice.

3. Analysis

One of the important aspects of the war was the refugee crisis. A large number of Albanian refugees from Kosovo went to Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro, looking for shelter. It is important here to have in mind that the airstrikes started mainly with the explanation that their goal was to protect the population in Kosovo.

I analysed 178 articles (48 from *the Guardian*, 91 from *the Independent* and 39 from *the Times*). This was a topic very sensitive for analysis as I had to read the sad stories on the fate of refugees. On the other hand, as a neutral analyst, I had to look into the way of reporting and see whether the reports were objective, taking into consideration only linguistic aspects of the reporting, without any intention to hurt anyone's feelings.

In this part, I will first refer to some part of **macrostructure** and give comments on the examples that follow. At the end, I will briefly discuss some microstructure characteristics of the analysed texts.

Example 1

The following example is the *Main Event*:

(1) "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)[95]

A reader who starts reading the text may first think that he/she is starting to read a piece of fiction. There is an obvious presence of literary style, used in descriptions. The first sentence may sound as in idyllic image of a village in winter time, but later it comes obvious that the situation is quite gloomy. It is possible to conclude that the journalist tried to show that a serene life in a village was interrupted by a war. Using the narrative as in a piece of literature, the journalist may have had in mind to turn the attention of the readers to the plight of refugees and hence the support of the public for the airstrikes.

Example 2

Some examples are obviously aimed at causing a feeling of pity among readers and, again, the purpose is not just to inform, but also to get support for the NATO air raids. The following is a *Main Event*:

[95] The sources are labelled G (*the Guardian*), I (*the Independent*) and T (*the Times*), followed by the date the article was published and the page on which it was published.

(2) "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)

Here, the distinction between the "expensive leather jackets" and "middle classes" with "pockets emptied", "identities taken and burnt" and "penniless" is obvious. Although this may be an accurate description of the situation of refugees, it seems that the journalist's aim was to cause compassion among readers.

It seems that by using literary style and the phrases listed above the journalist successfully invokes compassion. Thus, the purpose of the paragraphs is not only to inform, but also to cause feelings of readers. There is a strong, although implicit presence of Evaluation in these examples. In addition, the line between a news story and a short story is broken here and it is possible to ask a question here "Is there a difference between the two?".

Example 3

The following two paragraphs are examples of the *Main Event* again:

(3) "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)

(4) "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)

Another reporting 'technique' is (3) resorting to mentioning the names of the refugees in the first sentence, or (4)starting a paragraph with a personal pronoun such as *she*, *he* or *they*, while the name is given in the next sentence (an obvious cataphora). These two examples show that there is an attempt to personalization of the events, again something that causes sympathy among readers. This, in turn, provides support to NATO for their military campaign of "protecting the civilians".

Example 4

Most reports on the situation in the refugee camps were based on the accounts of refugees. Whether they were credible or not was difficult to establish. Here is an example of a refugee story, this time in the form of a *Verbal Comment*:

> *"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)*

The strange thing about this story is the fact that the victim is still alive. The description of local Serb soldiers, familiar to the victim, who came into the house, howled like wolves and shouted in Albanian may be acceptable. However, the last sentence "They shot us one by one in the head and in the back" sounds really strange. One has to ask the question "How come she is alive if she was shot in the head?"

This may be a case of manipulation. Nowhere in the text is it possible to find a confirmation for these claims. In addition, the journalist does not question the credibility of the story. The conclusion is that the journalist, although unable to check the information, did not even try to avoid an evident lack of logic in this case.

The examples like these are numerous. They do show difficult position in which refugees were, but not only that. The issue of checking the information received still remains open. One of the reasons why it was impossible to check these stories is the fact that it was impossible to enter Kosovo. In such a situation, referring to the statements of the Serb representatives would not have given results as they would have denied that. Still, in some instances evidence must have been provided. There was only one attempt in the analysed corpus to mention even the possibility of verifying the truth:

> *"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)*

Although the journalist claims that it was not possible to verify the atrocities, the rest of the paragraph still shows that the Serbs were still the 'bad guys' in the story. This is easy to prove by looking at the language units at the **microstructure** level.

A large number of nouns can confirm this claim. The following nouns are associated with the Serbs: *atrocities, expulsion, frenzy, blood, massacre, killers, horror, brutality, indignity, extermination* etc. In addition, they are more numerous than those referring to refugees: *desperation, torment, ordeal, hunger*.

The same goes for noun phrases. Here is how the Serbs are represented: *current orgy of ethnic cleansing, eerie reminders of Nazi methods, systematic rape, a reign of terror, meat-processing business*. On the other hand, refugees are depicted as follows: *a severed artery of human misery, rheumy-eyed old men, starving refugees*.

In terms of adjectives, Serbs are *vindicti*ve and *heartles*s, while refugees are *traumatised, exhausted, dazed* and *desperate*. In case of adjectives, there are many more adjectives referring to refugees, probably because it was necessary to describe their suffering. However, verbs mainly describe the activities of the Serbs: force, chase out, expel, execute, cleanse. It may be concluded that such a representation means that refugees were *passive victims* and the Serbs *active perpetrator*s of atrocities.

4. Conclusion

The statements in this paper do not aim to downgrade the suffering of all those who underwent atrocities, tortures, rapes or beatings during the war or to hurt the pain of those who lost their dear ones in this terrible war. However, in order to provide sound evidence, based exclusively on the linguistic findings, I had to push the feelings aside.

The analysis based on the approaches on organisational pattern of news and the Critical Discourse Analysis shows that the journalists who reported from the field were very much under the influence of the circumstances that surrounded them. This led to a certain degree of impartiality. On the other hand, it was very difficult to obtain proofs for the stories given by the refugees, having in mind the situation in the field. In addition, Serbs and Serbian authorities refused to give comments on most things that were going on. In addition, Serbian authorities expelled most foreign journalists at the beginning of the war which turned out to be a huge mistake. If foreign journalists had been allowed to stay, the image of Serbia in the Western media would have been much better. It is impossible to say anything about the outcome of the war that Serbia lost, but it certainly wouldn't have bee as painful as it was. This just proves that the media do play an important role in our lives, including a state of war.

As for the reporting of the British dailies, it varied depending on the topic. The topic of refugees was particularly sensitive and that is why biased approaches to it were more numerous than when other topics were covered (war operations, situation in Serbia, collateral damage etc.)

In war conditions it is easy to cross the threshold of objective reporting and enter impartiality. Even minor units on the microstructure level can turn a piece of writing from fairly neutral to very biased, which in this case happened many times. Hopefully, lessons have been learnt and one of the most important ones would be to always take the side of truth.

References

Association of Independent Electronic Media (ANEM) (1999) "Media in Serbia during the War", in Geoff, P. (ed.) **The Kosovo News and Propaganda War**, Vienna: International Press Institute, pp. 304 - 336

Bakhtin, A. (1986) **Speech Genres and Other Late Essays**, ed. Emerson, C. and Holquist M., University of Texas Press

Bell, A. (1994) **The Language of News Media**, Oxford: Blackwell

Fairclough, N. (1992a) **Discourse and Social Change**, Cambridge: Polity Press

Fairclough, N. (1996) "Critical Analysis of Media Discourse", in Marris, P and Thorntam, S. (eds.) **Media Studies: A Reader**, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 308 - 325

Geoff, P. (ed.) (1999) **The Kosovo News and Propaganda War**, Vienna: International Press Institute

Hammond, P. (ed.) (2000) **Degraded Capability: the Media and the Kosovo Crisis**, Pluto P

Hodge, R. and Kress, G. (1993) **Language as Ideology**, London: Routledge

Hopkinson, N. (1992) **War and Media**, London; HMSO

Lakić, I. (2004) "Media Discourse and Manipulation", u Perović S. i Bulatović V. (ur.) **Lingvističke analize**, Podgorica: Institut za strane jezike, str. 85 – 96

Lakić, I. (2011) **Diskurs, mediji, rat**, Podgorica: Univerzitet Crne Gore, Institut za strane jezike

Philo, G. and McLaughlin, G. (1995b) "The British Media and the Gulf War", in Philo, G. (ed.) **Glasgow Media Group Reader**, Vol. 2, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 146 - 156

Stokes, J. and Reading, A. (eds.) (1999) **The Media in Britain, Current debates and developments**, Basingstoke: Palgrave

van Dijk, T. A. (1977a) **Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse**, London: Longman

van Dijk, T. A. (1988a) **News Analysis**, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum

van Dijk, T. A. (1988b) **News as Discourse**, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Vukadinović, Đ. (ur.) (1999) **Srbija i NATO (I): Srpski diskurs rata**, Nova srpska politička misao, posebno izdanje, Beograd: Vreme

Vukadinović, Đ. (ur.) (1999) **Srbija i NATO (II): Svetska debata, Dosije**, Nova srpska politička misao, posebno izdanje, Beograd: Vreme

UDK 81'42:004.738.5

Jelena Albijanić

INTERNET DISCOURSE AS A HYBRID GENRE

Abstract: *The paper deals with some aspects of internet discourse in forum discussion boards referring to its fluctuating between written and spoken language respectively. Being relatively young form of language phenomena it undoubtedly represents a conspicuous genre. It is considered to be a hybrid genre and has been termed differently by many authors. Davis and Brewer call it "electronic discourse", Elmer-Dewitt uses the term "written speech" and Careca: "writing that stands in place of voices". To say over, it has the characteristics of both written and spoken discourse. In the following paper we will try to outline some aspects of these paying special attention to the ways of substituting lack of facial expression between comunicators and the main tools for this- emoticons.*

Key words: *internet, forum, discourse, communication*

1. Introduction

The Internet, which has recently emerged as the most effective and almost most frequently used means of communication, has made us familiar with some new forms of interaction that did not exist in previous media, speech and writing. By the advent of these features, many questions regarding computer-mediated communication (CMC) have arisen, many of these referring to linguistic area.

The advent of computer as a machine for calculating was indeed revolutionary. Later, with the invention of the Internet, it became and has remained until today, the most powerful communication tool. It represents only one in the long succession of inventions of human modes of communication (telephone, fax, etc.) and happens to be one step further in this evolution. Speech is a very natural means of communication since it is the first one that we faced when we were born and up until we learn how to read and write. Namely, human societies all passed through the period of history when the only mode of communication was oral. At these pre-literacy stages, the transfer of information happened face-to-face and data were collected in corporate memory of interlocutors making social reality merge into one. The advent of written culture has introduced personal distant communication which was unthinkable few decades ago, creating a bond between the communicators. No collective memory storage was necessary. In the mid-fifteenth century the world faced the new invention of printing techniques, while the last one was born in the middle of the twentieth century.

Nowadays the Internet is the communication means for millions of people using their computers.

2. Basic outline of human-computer communication (CMC)

Computer networks are constantly changing the way we think and communicate with each other. They give people a form of discourse which is relatively new both for lay people and linguists. Consequently, they are altering the temporal and spatial surrounding of the interaction thus presenting new ways of writing. Also, we are the witnesses of its development, which gives us better insights in its characteristics. We do not have to be experts in the field of electronic discourse but we can still know a lot about it.

The consequence of its rapid changes is that long-lasted distinctions between two main modes of communication, writing and speaking respectively, are being blurred and almost disappear. The recent advent of the Internet and its new ways of communication (netspeak/ netsp33k/ n37sp33k/chatspeak, etc.)[96] remains unique because it seems like a bridge between two close but separated river banks. It has the characteristics of both written (permanent and removed from readers) and spoken (face-to-face and informal) discourse.[97] For this reason, it is called by different names that have to do with this hybrid nature of internet discourse. Several writers called it "written speech" (Elmer-Dewitt, 1994: 66-67), which may seem like paradox but he has firm reasons for this term. Davis and Brewer call it the hybrid genre in question- "electronic discourse" (1997: 2) paying more attention to the way people transfer their information or give the longer version of the previous one: "writing that stands in place of voices" (Careca, 2007: 134). In Wired Style (Hale and Scanlon, 1999), it is advised: "Write the way people talk." Internet discourse is a relatively new form of discourse which appeared shortly after the advent of the Internet itself which as has been mentioned has a lot in common with written and spoken genres, especially letters and conversation.

The aim of this paper is to highlight the basic data concerning internet language as a relatively young discourse and to give some ideas to the other researchers what could be or should be analyzed in terms of it in order to begin this new research. We collected the corpus of fifteen internet discussions or fora chosen from two cites. We conducted a macroscopic analysis of the distribution of key written and spoken features which outline the basis of this new genre.

The examples that will be used for the illustration have been taken from forum discourse, as we previously mentioned, which as other forms of electronic discourse, transgresses between the traditional forms of discourse. Electronic discourse possesses

[96] Retrieved from www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=netspeak

[97] This issue has been addressed many times and by different authors, such as: Crystal and Davy, 1969; Crystal, 2003, etc.

its own characteristics, too. The features inherent to spoken or oral discourse are turn-taking structure, repetition, verbosity, assertiveness, use of profanity, politeness/rudeness, typed representation of emotions, direct address, informality, spontaneity, etc. Forum comments or posts are *deliberate* in a way that a sender/writer has the opportunity to plan and organize them and *spontaneous,* since many people spend short time revising and planning. The features mentioned are the characteristic of spoken forms of discourse. The second quality usually causes misspelled messages, the use of inconvenient pronunciation, capitalization, letter dropping, etc. When it comes to vocabulary, computer-mediated communication resembles more written than spoken language, since the characteristic of oral discourse is paucity of vocabulary variation which may be applied to written and electronic discourse respectively. On the other hand, the conduit of the World Wide Web seems static and closer to writing.

3. The structure of forum discourse

The research has been done on the corpus which consists of fifteen fora.[98] The topics are all concerned with the pre-electoral campaign in the United States in 2008. We didn't do the analysis of the whole corpus for two reasons: because it would be too large one for such a research, and also due to a fact that the rest is not written in English language. The very structure of online forums and most other internet forms is closer to speech than to writing. Some researchers use term "speech events" to show its similarity with conversation. (Crystal, 2006: 32)

At first, posts are rather informal and a great deal of direct communication happens. This multiparty discourse is more interaction with a person who is present than a correspondence with an imagined audience. Messages are transmitted in a short period of time and if it happens that two or more interlocutors are on-line at the same time, the communication is likely to occur synchronously (in a real time and not delayed). This feature is true for forum and chat discussions. The length of messages is somewhere between spoken and written discourse. They vary from very short to pretty long posts. However, their form resembles conversational moves. The difference between the two is that in a forum discussion turns or moves cannot be interrupted like in spoken interaction although it may happen than a communicator posts a new reply before he or she even received a reply to his previous post. Despite this and thanks to its structure, we always have a complete insight into discussion as a whole.

It happens that an interlocutor posts two or, rarely, more same posts or comments one after the other. He or she may do it accidentally, but it can also be a signal for other interlocutors to pay greater attention to the post. This situation seems similar to conversational repetitive move when a speaker is ignored, misheard or not heard by his listeners. He or she repeats the utterance that he or she has just said on his

---

[98] The corpus has been taken from two internet cites: www.topix.com/forum (5 fora) and www.democracyforums.com (10 fora).

own behalf or on the audience request. Some aspects of this discourse may be compared to letter discourse in which a writer or a sender sends message time-independently from a reader or a receiver who reads it. This feature is termed *asynchrony*.

In terms of adequacy, this type of communication is more convenient than spoken conversation, because all interlocutors do not have to be present during discussion but can respond to a comment at any time. Unlike a conversation where the basic structural units are called *moves*, in forum discourse we talk about *threads*. A *thread* is a list of messages or posts on the same topic expressed in the title line above the posts. One *thread* is the output of one interlocutor and the input of one or more others. Unlike the face-to-face conversation where speakers may easily sort conversational moves using both linguistic and extra-linguistic cues, here internet software recognize communicators' wish to structure discussion and provides them with such an opportunity.

Discussions on a certain topics may be divided in three categories: *islands, dialogues and webs*. In forum discourse, the most frequent ones are webs. An *island* is a post that has no reply. This may be a disadvantage of such an interaction because the poster or sender of a message does not know if anyone will answer. Sometimes a post generates plenty of answers and sometimes the only answer is silence, which also has a communicative value, like in spoken discourse. A *dialogue* is the type of communication similar to the chat between two people where posts are an interaction between two communicators. This kind of interaction is more likely to happen in internet relay chat.

A *web* is the most complex and, at the same time, the most frequent structure having the following form:

Initiation - Response 1- Response 2 - Response X

The responses refer to the initial post, but may also present a comment on some previous moves/sub-topics. In conclusion, the structure of forum discourse discussions approaches to the structure of turn-taking in a spoken conversation.

4. Quoting

Once a thread has been posted, responses are linked to previous comments by the means of *quoting*. This characteristic is inherent neither to spoken nor to written discourse. However, some forms of written discourse, such as academic papers, use quoting as a technique to refer to different sources that have been previously searched. While speaking we rarely use direct speech or transfer the exact words someone else said. This is a very efficient way to achieve the "economy of writing" (Goodman and Gradol, 1996: 120) besides *emoticons* that will be discussed later. As we said before, this feature is unique to computer-mediated communication surpassing the techniques of both speech and writing. Various ways of quoting are at hand for the interlocutors of forum discourse. The easiest and the simplest of these is *copy-paste* action. A communicator has the opportunity to copy the whole message or just a part of it. This allows him or her to capture relevant information or question they want to make a comment on or give a response to. After pasting move, the quoted part is put under quotation marks (“text” or »text«) or it is italicized, put in bold or sometimes even displayed in other color, so that other interlocutors can differentiate between the quoting text and its comment(s). With rapid changes of internet culture, pasting has been facilitated by suggesting an angle bracket (>) preceding the quoted text. Text that has been quoted twice is preceded by double angle bracket (>>) or trice by triple angle bracket (>>>), etc.

Opportunities for quoting earlier text, editing these quotes and replying to the whole posts or their parts helps to create previously mentioned turn-taking structure. This feature drives a discussion to continue for a long period of time. Additionally, it influences the way it is carried out and helps the interlocutors to stay on the track and follow the evolution of a discussion. We do not have to scroll back to read what has been said before. Thanks to previously mentioned options, discussions can be very complex, because in a given thread numerous *sub-threads* may be found. Each post in a discussion depends on its surrounding or co-text that consists of other posts. Quoting is the technique that enables anchoring moves in a discussion. We may say that quoting makes forum discourse an interactive genre and the collaborative work of its participants.

5. Making up for the lack of facial expression

There are many ways that on-line interlocutors use to make up for the lack of facial expression. (Crystal, 2006) These conventions evince the spoken features of forum discourse. For example, to make up for the unexpressability of loudness of voice, on-line communicators use upper-case letters, that may sound harsh like shouting. (Svensson, 1997: 222) Sometimes these are more difficult to read than lower-case letters and a post written exclusively in upper-case letters may seem rude. To emphasize, we can write one word using different type of letters[99] or bold/italic letters[100]. However, it is recommendable to accent certain words or phrases by putting them between asterisks (words bracketed in asterisk) (*word*), using undescores (_word_), or by spacing its letters (w o r d). We have seen that the function of upper-case letters is to convey higher amplitude of voice. Additionally, in on-line discussions communicators use syntactic devices like ... (pause) and !!! (higher pitch of intonation) to make up for these spoken features. (Levelet, 1989: 1) Sometimes they express lower pitch of voice by enclosing <whisper(ing)> in angle brackets like in the example given. Sometimes we highlight a word or phrase by repeating it. The third way to express these characteristics is using *abbreviations* and *acronyms*. This one may be an overlapping between spoken

[99] *(Gee, I wonder if that's because his campaign money is being used to PAY THE BILLS?!)*
[100] *..I **know** what Hillary would do...*

and written discourse, but it is considered to be closer to speech. However, they seem very unfamiliar to a newbie's[101] eye.

The last and the most important way to express your thoughts, beliefs, ideas, etc. is the use of *emoticons* or *smileys* (Jonsson, 1997: 1). Emoticons are used to show how a person who writes a sentence or posts a comment feels about it, i.e. to express a single emotion. (Crystal, 2006: 39-41) They are more likely to appear in an informal communication and their appearance completely changes the way we understand a certain message.

Emoticons can be of two types: written and graphic. Written emoticons are older and simpler in form than the graphic ones. We read them sideways tilting our head on the left side. They are formed by combining different punctuation marks, which together resemble emotional face expressions. A colon followed by a dash and/or an end bracket shows smile and is the most common. Various types of them exist, but not all appear in our corpus.

Graphic emoticons are more modern ones and nowadays they are more frequently used since internet software provides us with the opportunity to use them the easier way. The option "insert emoticon" or just typing the right letters gives lively graphic symbol(s). It is easier to insert them this way than to make them on your own. Besides, they are more lifelike and funnier. Some of them are shown in the appendix. Emoticons are also engaged in what is known as facework. When interacting with others we are subconsciously engaged in facework because we are expected to be respectful of other people.[102] Some examples are:

Is this your way of saying you don't like me? 

You are consistent though Alonzo, I'll give you that. 

6. Conclusion

We have seen that internet language, and forum language are genres that have its own characteristics and are considered to be a hybrid genre. It is closer to speech than writing not in terms of medium, because the medium itself gives us "misleading information" that it is not the fact.

Apart from mentioned eccentricities, computer-mediated language has its own characteristics or its digital features, such as: creativity, expressivity, internet slang, words bracketed in asterisk, play with fonts or colors, extreme use of punctuation, acronyms, abbreviations, tolerance of deviant spelling, use of special characters (@, ~), lack of proper punctuation or capitalization, capitalization to emulate prosody and

[101] According to Fahey (1994: 116) they are "new kids on the block".

[102] In the corpus we have chosen, we did not find many emoticons. Out of 14 forums only 6 contain them accounting for 16 emoticons. According to one study, only 13.4% of 3,000 posts contained them because some people didn't use them at all. (Witmer and Ktazman, 1997; cited in Crystal, 2006: 41)

involvement, frequent errors in spelling and grammar, shortened words, software-generated quoting, cross-posting, threads, etc. These are may prove very interesting both for linguists and public since they are part of something new and unexplored.

References

Androutsopoulos, J. and Beisswenger, M. "Data and methods in Computer-mediated discourse analysis", **language@internet**, Vol. 5, No. 1, retrieved from http://www.languageatinternet.de/articles/2008/1609, accessed April 20th, 2009.

Bartell, S. "Rhetorical Shifts in Author/Audience Roles on the World-Wide Web", retrieved from http://orange.eserver.org/issues/2-2/sbartell.htm, accessed April 15th, 2009.

Careca, Samuca (2007) **English Language and Internet**, New Delhi, India: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Crystal, D. (2003) **The Cambridge encyclopedia of the English language**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (2006) **Language and the Internet**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. and Davy, D. (1969) **Investigating English style**, London: Longman.

Davis, Boyd H. and Brewer, J. P. (1997) **Electronic discourse: linguistic individuals in virtual space,** Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Fahey, T. and Prevost, R. (ed) (1994) **Net.speak, the internet dictionary**, Indianapolis: Hayden books.

Ferrara, K. , Brunner, H. , Whittemore, G. (1991) "Interactive written discourse as an emergent register", **Written Communication**, Vol 8, No. 1, pp. 8-34.

Goodman, S. and Graddol, D. (eds.). (1996) **Redesigning English - new texts, new identities**, New York, USA: Routledge in association with The Open University.

Hale, C. and Scanlon, J. (1999) **Wired Style: principles of English usage in the digital age,** New York: Broadway books.

Hayati, A. M. "Electronic Discourse: Evolving Conventions in Online Academic Enviroments. Eric Digest", retrieved from http://www.ericdigests.org/1999-2/online.htm, accessed May 23rd, 2008.

Jonsson, E. (1997) **"**Electronic Discourse: On Speech and Writing on the Internet", retrieved from http://www.ludd.luth.se/~jonsson/D-essay/1.html, accessed April 24th, 2009.

Levelt, W. (1989) **Speaking. From Intention to Articulation**, Massachusetts, USA: A Bradford Book.

McMurdo, G. (1995) "Changing contexts of communication". **Journal of Information Science**, Vol 21, No. 2, pp. 140-146.

Svensson, P. (1997) "Language in Cyberspace - Some Reflections", in Ryden, M. et al. **From Runes to Romance. A Festschrift for Gunnar Persson on his Sixtieth Birthday,** Uppsala, Sweden: Swedish Science Press.

Urban dictionary, http://www.urbandictionary.com, accessed March 26th, 2009.

UDK 811.14'367.633

Jelena Atlagić

MESNO ZNAČENJE PREDLOGA *ΑΠΟ* I *ΣΕ* U GRČKOM JEZIKU

Apstrakt: *Ovaj rad ima za cilj da na odabranom korpusu analizira semantičko ponašanje predloga από i σε u konstrukcijama s mesnim prilozima, a koje podrazumevaju mesto, i to poziciono značenje, pravac kretanja, mesto početka i završetka kretanja, putanju kretanja, početnu i završnu granicu kretanja, kao i značenje površine odnosno unutrašnjosti.*

Ključne reči: *mesto, predlog από, predlog σε, sintagma, značenje*

1. Uvod

Mesna značenja se u grčkom jeziku obeležavaju akuzativom, retko genitivom, sa članom, uz koji stoji predlog koji određuje mesno ili prostorno značenje, konstrukcije koje čine predlog *από/σε* + mesni prilog ili pak mesni prilog + predlog *από/σε*, kao i stereotipni izrazi u genitivu ili dativu. Tako, recimo, u konstrukciji *από το σπίτι* predlog *από* i padežni nastavak *-ι* gramatički oblikuju sintagmu s mesnim značenjem, dok u sintagmi *μέσα από το σπίτι* prilog *μέσα* precizira dato značenje.

Nama je u ovom radu cilj da analiziramo mesno značenje ova dva predloga koje će biti ograničeno na konstrukcije predlog *από/σε* + mesni prilog.

Značenja pomenutih predloga obrađivana su u okviru gramatika grčkog jezika. Najpre je Ahilleas Tzartzanos (1946 i 1953) pobrojao i detaljno opisao različita značenja predloga u grčkom jeziku. Potom je Tsopanakis (1998) dao etimologiju svakog predloga, njegovo značenje s odgovarajućim padežima, kao i pregled predloga iz *katarevuse*. David Holton (1999) analizirao je sintaksičke karakteristike predloga i predloško-padežnih konstrukcija, dajući detaljan pregled značenja svakog od njih, dok detaljan pregled stereotipnih predloško-padežnih izraza daju Hristos Kleris i Georgios Babinjotis (2001), kao i značenje predloga s odgovarajućim padežima i njihovu funkciju.

Značenja predloško-padežnih konstrukcija u grčkom jeziku predmet su istraživanja u radovima o konstrukcijama s predlogom *από* (Konstantinos Amandos 1918), kao i o mesnom značenju predloga *από* i *σε* kroz prizmu pojmova *τοποθετούμενο αντικείμενο* – objekat lokalizacije[103] i *τόπος αναφοράς* – lokalizator (Stavros Skopeteas 1999).

[103] Usvojeni su termini koje uvodi D. Klikovac (2006: 20)

2. Mesno značenje predloga *από* i *σε*

Može se reći da je predlog *από* u novogrčkom jeziku zadržao značenje koje je imao u klasičnom grčkom. Tako S. Senc (1991: 97) navodi da ovaj predlog „označuje izlazak, udaljavanje, odlazak i to lokalno: 1. od kojega mjesta dolje, 2. od kojega mjesta daleko....".

Višeznačnost predloga ***από*** potvrđuje činjenica da mu samo u okviru mesnog značenja u srpskom jeziku odgovaraju predlog *od* u označavanju poticanja, pružanja, prostiranja, odvajanja i udaljavanja od pojma s imenom, predlog *iz* sa značenjem ablativnog odnosa pokretanja, polaženja, izvlačenja ili udaljavanja od rečima označenog pojma, kao i predlog *sa* „kojim se označava poticanje, odvajanje i udaljavanje s gornje površine, s ma kakve površine, sa spoljne strane pojma, s nekog uzvišenja i bilo kakvog predmeta s uočljivom dimenzijom visine..." (Stevanović, 1991: 244), pri čemu, za razliku od srpskog jezika, stoji s akuzativom, dok je retka njegova upotreba s genitivom, kada ova konstrukcija označava kretanje od nekog mesta, predmeta ili pojma uz podrazumevanje reči *σπίτι*, *μαγαζί* ili *κατάστημα*: *Το χειρότερο είναι ότι αντί να τοκίσουν τα λεφτά ...... πήγαν και τα πέταξαν για ν΄ αγοράσουν ένα «γαλλικό» σαλόνι και μια «αγγλική» τραπεζαρία* ***απ΄ του Βαράγκη****.....* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 238). Ipak, ova upotreba ograničena je na stereotipne izraze.

S druge strane, predlog *σε (εις)* S. Senc (1991: 253) definiše kao onaj što „označuje pravac u dubinu koje stvari ili njenu neposrednu blizinu", kome u srpskom jeziku odgovaraju predlozi *u* i *na* sa značenjem mesta na gornjoj ili spoljnoj površini gde se nešto nalazi ili dospeva, odnosno mesta unutar nečega, u granicama nečega, kao i kretanja ka mestu unutar nečega, i slaže se s akuzativom.

Upotreba predloga *σε* s genitivom nešto je učestalija nego s predlogom *από* i takođe podrazumeva imenice *σπίτι*, *μαγαζί* ili *κατάστημα*: *Μια μέρα – την εποχή εκείνη έμενα* ***στου Νταβίκου*** *– ανοίγει η πόρτα κι ορμάει μέσα η Ελένη σα σίφουνας....* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 93), ili pak ... *και η πρώτη μου εντύπωση δεν άλλαξε, ακόμα κι όταν ανακάλυψα ότι είχα μαντέψει σωστά και ότι πράγματι είχε γνωριστεί με την Ερασμία* ***στης οσίας Ευφημίας*** (Ταχτσής, 1987: 20), pri čemu se podrazumeva *στο σπίτι του Νταβίσκου*, odnosno *στο σπίτι της οσίας Ευφημίας.*

3. Konstrukcije prilog + από/σε

Predlozi *από* i *σε*, međutim, ne kazuju sami po sebi mesno značenje. David Holton (1999: 362) smatra da je najbolji način za određivanje preciznog mesnog odnosa koji se kazuje predloškim izrazom „dodavanje mesnog priloga predloško-padežnoj konstrukciji".

Tako sa predlogom *από* uz glagole kretanja i mirovanja mogu stajati prilozi: *έξω*, *κάτω*, *πίσω* i *μακριά*, a uz predlog *σε* njihovi opoziti *μέσα*, *πάνω*, *μπροστά* i *κοντά*, s čisto pozicionim značenjem, pa sintagma *έξω από* pokazuje mesto izvan onoga što znači ime u akuzativu, a *μέσα σε* unutar toga: *Βάζω και περιφάνεια κι αξιοπρέπεια στην άκρη, και πάω και του στήνω καρτέρι **έξω από** το σπίτι τους.* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 87) - *Είναι πάντα **μέσα στο** γραφείο του και νομίζεις πως είναι ένα με κείνη την καρέκλα που κάθεται.* (Χατζής, 1999: 15)

Sintagmi *έξω από* može prethoditi ponovljeni predlog *από*, koji ne menja značenje, već ima funkciju njegovog pojačavanja: *Περνούσα **απ΄ έξω απ΄** το σπίτι τους κι άκουγα κουβέντες ανθρώπων που δεν ήξερα....* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 86)

Mesto koje se nalazi ispod onoga što znači ime u akuzativu, s njegove donje strane kazuje konstrukcija *κάτω από*, a njen opozit *πάνω σε* s njegove gornje strane, odnosno da nešto „nadmašuje visinom pojam određen predlogom" (Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika, 1967: II-417): *Παραπατώντας μπήκε μέσα κι άρχισε να ψάχνει **κάτω απ΄** τα κρεβάτια και πίσω απ΄ τις πόρτες.* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 103) - *Εμείς, όλο το μικρό προσωπικό, μπαίνουμε και βγαίνουμε από την είσοδο της αυλής, από την πίσω μεριά, στο δρόμο που ΄ναι **πάνω στο** σταθμό των σιδηροδρόμων...* (Χατζής, 1999: 11)

Prilog *κάτω* može stajati i s predlogom *σε*, kada ima čisto lokaciono značenje dole, naniže: *Πλάι στα ερειπωμένα τείχη του ήταν ένα μονοπάτι που οδηγούσε **κάτω στη** θάλασσα.* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 22)

Sintagmom *πίσω από* označava se mesto iza koga se nalazi pojam s imenom u akuzativu, gde počinje, završava se ili se pak vrši neka radnja, dok sintagma *μπροστά σε* određuje mesto pred kojim se taj pojam nalazi: *Έβλεπα κρυμμένος **πίσω απ΄** το παράθυρο.* (Βενέζης, 1996: 18) - *...πήδηξε στο ταρατσάκι που είναι **μπροστά στο** πλυσταριό.* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 17)

Prilog *πίσω* može se upotrebiti i s predlogom *σε*: *Γύρισε **πίσω στην** ταράτσα κι έπιασε πάλι την άκρη της κουρτίνας για να συνεχίσουμε το τίναγμα* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 18), međutim ova sintagma tada ima značenje natrag, „na pređašnje mesto, onamo odakle se pošlo, odakle je nešto upućeno" (Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika, 1967: III-643)

Upotrebom konstrukcije *κοντά σε* pokazuje se neposredna blizina, mesto nedaleko od pojma, dok *μακριά από* označava udaljenost, odstojanje od pojma označenog predlogom: *Το μέρος που ξαπλώνουμε είναι **κοντά στ΄** άλογα.* (Βενέζης, 1996: 35) - *Αυτός για τον οποίο δε στεναχωριόταν καθόλου η κυρα-Εκάβη, το γαμπρό της, επειδή ήξερε πως ήταν **μακριά απ΄** τη φωτιά, αυτός που φθονούσε η θειά Κατίγκω, αυτός ακριβώς σκοτώθηκε απ΄ τους πρώτους.* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 200).

Prilog ***πάνω*** može se upotrebiti uz oba predloga, naravno, s različitim značenjem. U rečenici *Κοίταζα τον ουρανό με τ΄ άστρα, και ξαφνικά θυμήθηκα πως είχα έρθει στη Θεσσαλονίκη **πάνω στο** νοσοκομειακό πλοίο είκοσι χρόνια πριν, με τι ελπίδες και τι όνειρα, και πώς γύριζα τώρα πίσω* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 139) sintagma *πάνω στο* pokazuje da se ime u akuzativu nalazi na gornjoj strani pojma, u ovom primeru *na gornjoj površini broda*, a rečenica *Το σπίτι της Φρόσως είχε δύο παράθυρα στο δρόμο και **πάνω απ΄** την εξώπορτα δύο σφίγγες με κάκτους* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 144), da se *sfinga* nalazi nad pojmom s imenom u akuzativu, s njegove gornje strane, u ovom slučaju *iznad ulaznih vrata.*

I drugi prilozi s mesnim značenjem mogu stajati uz predloško-padežnu konstrukciju i s predlogom *από* i sa *σε*. To su *γύρω*, *δίπλα*, *κοντά* i *μπροστά*, koji u sintagmi s predlogom *από* kazuju putanju kretanja, dok sa *σε* dobijaju poziciono značenje.

Prilog *γύρω* s predlogom *από* ima značenje kružnog pravca kretanja, upućivanja iza nečega, s druge strane onoga što znači reč u akuzativu, dok s predlogom *σε* pokazuje poziciju, odnosno kraj koji se nalazi oko nekog mesta: *«Πάρε την αδερφή σου απ΄ το χεράκι», λέω στον Άκη, «κι 'αμετε να παίξετε με τ΄ άλλα τα παιδάκια **γύρω απ΄το συντριβάνι**».* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 116) - *Ένα μικρό σαπουνάδικο ϑ΄ άνοιγε ο Σταύρος γυρίζοντας – 'ετσι τους είπε – εκεί κάπου **γύρω στο Βόλο.*** (Χατζής, 1999: 126)

U konstrukciji s predlogom *από* prilog *δίπλα* pokazuje kretanje u neposrednoj blizini, pored, pokraj, uz pojam na koji se odnosi, dok uz *σε*, opet sa značenjem neposredne blizine, označava mirovanje: *Πέρασαν **δίπλα από** το σπίτι μου.* (Holton, 2005: 363) - *Τον βάλανε και στάθηκε **δίπλα στην** πόρτα*. (Χατζής, 1999: 93)

Ponavljanje priloga koristi se za pojačavanje značenja predloga, pa konstrukcija kazuje mesto sasvim, upravo, baš uz/do pojma: *Είμαστε **δίπλα-δίπλα στις** μεγάλες σάλες που κάνουν το πακετάρισμα.* (Χατζής, 1999: 14)

I prilog *κοντά* s oba predloga ima značenje blizu, u blizini, na malom odstojanju od pojma na koji se odnosi, pri čemu s predlogom *από* označava kretanje, a s predlogom *σε* mirovanje: *Πέρασαν **κοντά από** το σπίτι μου.* (Holton, 2005: 363) - *Τότες είταν που άρχισαν και φκιάχνανε τον καινούργιο δρόμο **κοντά στο** χωριό.* (Χατζής, 1999: 162)

Prilog *μπροστά* može se koristiti kako s predlogom *από* tako i s predlogom *σε*, kada, u zavisnosti od značenja glagola, sintagma *μπροστά σε* dobija samo poziciono značenje, dok konstrukcija *μπροστά από* kazuje bilo putanju kretanja, bilo udaljavanje.

Putanja kretanja: *Δεν περνούσε μέρα, **μπροστά** και πίσω **απ΄** το Σωτήρη, που να μην της ϑυμίσει κι ένα επισόδειο σαν εκείνο για το κατοστάρικο.* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 276).

Udaljavanje: *Έβγαλαν το δέντρο **μπροστά από** το σπίτι μου.* (Holton, 2005: 364)

Poziciono značenje: *Αντί να συμμεριστεί την αγωνία μου, πήγε και στάϑηκε **μπροστά στον** καϑρέφτη κι άρχισε να χτενίζεται με το πάσο της.* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 24) - *Στέκομαι, λοιπόν, και γώ, κάϑε βράδυ **μπροστά σ΄** αυτή τη βιτρίνα.* (Χατζής, 1999: 62)

Budući da prilog *μπροστά* može pokazivati poziciono značenje s oba predloga, na prvi pogled može se učiniti da sintagme imaju istovetno značenje. Tako u primeru *Στάϑηκα **μπροστά στο** παράϑυρο πέντε – δέκα λεπτά αναποφάσιστη* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 133) kazuje da lice stoji neposredno *ispred prozora*, dok uporebom predloga *από* u istoj rečenici daljina ne bi bila precizno određena, pa bi u datom primeru lice koje stoji, moglo biti neposredno ispred prozora, ali može biti i udaljeno od njega.

Upotreba priloga *μέσα* uz navedena dva predloga nešto je složenija. U primeru *...σπρώχνω το καρότσι μου **μέσα στο** δικό μας τ΄ ασανσέρ, μπαίνω και γω και κατεβαίνω μαζί* (Χατζής, 1999: 20) zapažamo da sintagma *μέσα σε* kazuje kretanje prema unutrašnjosti, dok u rečenici *Έχει ένα γραφείο δικό του **μέσα στο** διαμέρισμα, χωρισμένο με ταζμαρία* (Χατζής, 1999: 15) pokazuje poziciju unutar nečega, odnosno mesto koje se nalazi u granicama pojma s imenom u akuzativu, u ovom slučaju *u stanu.*.

S druge strane, sintagma *μέσα από* kazuje kretanje iz unutrašnjosti ka spolja, kao u primeru *«Σκάσε κτήνος!» της λέω **μέσ΄ απ΄** τα δόντια μου* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 215), ili pak putanju kretanja (ulaženje na jednu stranu nečega i izlaženje na drugu). Tako u rečenici *Η πόρτα της κουζίνας της έχει μια μικρή σχισμάδα. **Μέσα απ΄ αυτήν** πληρώνω το νοίκι μου* (Χατζής, 1999: 60), pokazuje da se *kirija ubacuje s jedne strane i izlazi na drugu*. Ukoliko bi u istoj rečenici umesto sintagme *μέσα από* bila upotrebljena *μέσα σε*, pokazivala bi mesto završetka kretanja i značilo bi da je *kirija ostala u otvoru.*

Sintagmom *μέσα από* označena je, takođe, situacija gde lice koje se nalazi unutar nečega posmatra, opaža nekoga/nešto ili pak govori nekome ko se nalazi spolja: *«Πάψε!» της έκανα νόημα **μέσ΄ απ΄** την κουζίνα, δείχνοντάς της με τα μάτια τον Αντώνη.* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 214)

U primeru *Με κοίταξε **μεσ΄ απ΄** τις κατσαρές της βλεφάριδες καλά-καλά με κείνο το βάσκαν΄ της μάτι, και μου λέει ...* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 188), lice gleda spolja kroz neki drugi predmet, u datom primeru *kroz trepavice*, dok u rečenici *Ξαφνικά σταμάτησε το τραγούδι, άκουσα κάτι περίεργους χτύπους, έσκυψα **μεσ΄ απ΄** το παράθυρο να δω συμβαίνει, και τη βλέπω να χτυπάει το κεφάλι της στον τοίχο* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 174) lice koje se nalazi spolja posmatra drugo lice koje se nalazi unutar nekog prostora kroz drugi predmet, u datom slučaju *kroz prozor*. Prilog *μέσα* u istom značenju može biti izostavljen: *Ο Δημήτρης έσκυψε πρώτος νε δει **απ΄** την κλειδαρότρυπα.* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 164), pri čemu se podrazumeva ***μέσα απ΄** την κλειδαρότρυπα.*

S mesnim značenjem u konstrukciji s predlozima *από* i *σε* upotrebljavaju se i prilozi *ανάμεσα* i *απέναντι*. Prilog *απέναντι* poziciono značenje može dobiti upotrebom bilo kojeg od navedena dva predloga, pa u rečenici *Περίμενα **απέναντι απ΄** το σπίτι του Γκάτσου απάνω-κάτω μισή ώρα* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 164) možemo upotrebiti u istom značenju i sintagmu *απέναντι στο σπίτι*, dok sintagma *ανάμεσα + σε* označava poziciju između pojmova na koje se odnosi: *Διχασμένος, μοιρασμένος, κομματιασμένος **ανάμεσα σε** σαράντα δύο Ντομπρίνοβα και σαράντα δύο σημερινές πολιτείες...* (Χατζής, 1999: 132)

S druge strane kretanje kazuje samo predlog *από*: *Τι διεμείφθη μεταξύ τους δε μου ΄πε ποτέ, μα φαίνεται πως έστησαν **ανάμεσ΄ απ΄** τα σίδερα καβγά* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 270), sa značenjem mesta u sredini, u unutrašnjosti pojma, a u primeru *Ύστερα πιάσαμε δικό μας σπίτι, **απέναντι απ΄** το Θησείο* (Ταχτσής, 1987: 68), mesta nasuprot pojmu s imenom u akuzativu.

Analizirajući odabrani korpus, zapazili smo i druge, nešto manje zastupljene, sintagme sa navedena dva predloga koje označavaju kretanje, poput *κατευθείαν + από*, *γραμμή + σε/από*, *πλάι + σε* i *παραμέσα + σε*, ili pak poziciju*: πέρα/παραπέρα + από i αντίκρυ/καταντίκρυ + σε*: *Ο Μπρουσάκης θέλει να μας εξηγήσει στο καφενείο πώς έρχονται όλες από χωριά, **κατευθείαν από** το χωριό τους.* (Χατζής, 1999: 55) - *Από τη Θεσσαλονίκη που κατέβηκε με το τραίνο – τίποτα δε στάθηκε να δει - **γραμμή*** *λεωφορείο και στην Κοζάνη, **γραμμή** κι από κει για την Κόνιτσα.* (Χατζής, 1999: 119) - *Όπως στεκόταν κοντά στην πόρτα, έκανε ένα βήμα **παραμέσα στο** γραφείο, πήγε κοντά της, έβαλε το χέρι στον ώμο της.* (Χατζής, 1999: 94) - *Μιά (γυναίκα) τρέχει **πλάι σε** έναν άντρα και κλαίει.* (Βενέζης, 1996: 20) - *Και **παραπέρα από** μας, έξω απ΄ τη μάντρα, τι γινόταν δεν ήξερα, δεν έβλεπα **πέρα απ΄** τη μάντρα.* (Χατζής, 1999: 32) - *Στεκόμαστε ο ένας **αντίκρυ στον** άλλον.* (Χατζής, 1999: 192) - *Τα διώχνουνουν να φύγουν με κλωτσιές. Μα εκείνα τραβιούνται λίγο πιο πέρα, **καταντίκρυ στο** μικρό παράθυρο, στο πεζοδρόμι....* (Βενέζης, 1996: 43)

4. Zaključak

U ovom radu pokušali smo da opišemo najvažnije elemente zanačenjske strukture odabranih predloga, koji su kao vrsta reči često bili marginalizovani. Fokusirali smo se na samo jedno od značenja datih predloga i pokušali da pokažemo njihovu višeznačnost na odabranom korpusu. Tako s glagolima koji kazuju kretanje prilozi *σε* i *από* često dobijaju suprotna značenja, pri čemu prilog *σε* pokazuje cilj/odredište, a prilog *από* poreklo ili početnu tačku kretanja, dok je drugo osnovno mesno značenje predloga *σε* poziciono.

Kada uporedimo primere sa sintagmama koje čine navedena dva predloga, možemo zaključiti da se razlika između kretanja i pozicije iskazuje isključivo glagolom, a ne predlogom, dok je funkcija mesnog priloga da precizira značenja predloga.

Literatura

Na grčkom jeziku:

Αμάντου, Κ. (1918) «Λεξικογραφικό Αρχείον», **Η πρόθεσις *από* εν τη νέα Ελληνική (εν συντάξει)**, Αθήνα, σελ. 200-215

Κλαίρης, Χ. και Μπαμπινιώτης, Γ. (2001), **Γραμματική της Νέας Ελληνικής, Δομολειτουργική-Επικοινωνιακή**, Αθήνα: Ελληνικά Γράμματα

Σκοπετέας, Σ. (1999) «Ελληνική γλωσσολογία 97: Πρακτικά του Γ΄ διεθνούς γλωσσολογικού συνεδρίου για την ελληνική γλώσσα», **ΝΕ συσχετιστές του τόπου με τις κύριες προθέσεις σε και από**, Αθήνα: Ελληνικά Γράμματα, σελ. 249-257

Τζάρτζανος, Α. (1991), **Νεοελληνική Σύνταξις (της κοινής δημοτικής)**, Αθήνα: Ο.Ε.Σ.Β

Τσοπανάκης, Γ. Α. (1998), **Νεοελληνική γραμματική**, Θεσσαλονίκη: Εκδοτικός οίκος Αδελφών Κυριακίδη α.ε

Holton, D., Mackridge, P., Φιλιππάκη-Warburton, Ε. (1999), **Γραμματική της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας**, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πατάκη

Na srpskom jeziku:

Klikovac, D. (2006), **Semantika predloga**, Beograd: Filološki fakultet

Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika (1967), Novi Sad - Zagreb: Matica srpska - Matica hrvatska

Senc, S. (1991), **Grčko-hrvatski rečnik**, Zagreb: Naprijed

Stevanović, M. (1989), **Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik**, Beograd: Naučna knjiga

Spisak ekscerpiranih tekstova

Ταχτσής, Κ. (1987), **Το τρίτο στεφάνι**, Αθήνα: Εξαντας

Βενέζης, Ι. (1996), **Το νούμερο 31328**, Αθήνα: Βιβλιοπωλείον της Εστίας

Χατζής, Δ. (1999), **Το διπλό βιβλίο**, Αθήνα: Το Ροδακιό

UDK 811.111'276

Jelena Ilić

THE USE OF COARSE LANGUAGE

Abstract: *Freedom of speech has inevitably been one of the major issues in this modern world. It would be quite logical and reasonable therefore that coarse language has its own path of existence and development within it. Practice, but also some theoretical research has shown that the use of coarse language should be controlled and restrained due to its 'harmful' effect on audience. This paper examines the use of coarse language in different contexts, based on the results obtained from the British National Corpus. Furthermore, it attempts to prove that the use of coarse language is definitively justified and quite suitable within certain contexts and that coarse language has hammered its status under this democratic sky.*

Key words: *coarse language, taboo, euphemisms, politeness*

1. Introduction

There seems to be an inevitable and constant anxiety and concern over the issue of coarse language in most societies in the world. Whether we refer to coarse, bad, foul, or off-language, or swearing, cursing, cussing, obscenity, dirty of taboo words, it is to be pointed out that this very issue raises a host of questions over its usage by both linguists and ordinary people. It is highly evident that a boundary between bad and good language is not strictly defined, so that the boundary into the category of 'obscenity' has been more often crossed. The prosecution of bad language within a society is not a newly-invented thing. Censorship has been on the rise, due to coarse language use and its 'harmful' effect on audience.

The aim of this paper is to examine the use of coarse language in the current British English, analysing the samples of written and spoken language found within the British National Corpus (BNC). It is to be proved that coarse language is widely used in various contexts and that it has been recognized and uncensored, written in full forms, without a long-preserved asterisks or drop of a vowel(s) and consonant(s).

2. On coarse language

Coarse language might be defined as a 'bad' language, if we refer to it in a purely relative sense. Otherwise, it would be quite a hard quest to find a proper and precise definition of coarse language. According to many contemporary linguists, coarse language is a social construct, a highly relevant social phenomenon in the history and development of the English language.

Every human being passes through the stages of sociolinguistic development, out of which they gain a unique experience of language. Hudson (2001: 14) offers a tentative explanation for the sociolinguistic development of the child. In addition, he supports the view that a child passes several stages which give a child an opportunity to acquire and employ different language items, to learn to recognize the social importance of linguistic norms, but also to participate in the creation of a language (e.g. slang, specific talk and metaphors are created for the major purpose, and that is to be different from all previous adolescents). Finally, in the last stage, an individual becomes more or less linguistically stable, aware of the different potentials that a language has. A language becomes the key factor which defines our being and our place in the world.

However, it is still not clearly explained and determined why most humans develop the habit of using coarse language. What is certain is the fact that swearing is not a common phenomenon. Namely, Montagu (1967: 55) claims that swearing as a phenomenon occurs in many human groups, but not within Native Americans, Japanese, Malayans and most Polynesians. Furthermore, the author elaborates on swearing as a learnt skill, a form of behaviour acquired a long time ago. With the acquisition of speech we have also acquired the capacity to express our anger and respond to negative conditions we do not have control over.

Some authors still argue over the reasons and factors that influence the choice of language, or to be more precisely, the choice of using words of highly emotional charge. As a way of expressing themselves, people tend to use emotionally-charged words for various purposes. For instance, they might want to shock others, insult them, entertain them, sometimes they just want to assert their identity within a group, to be different from others and therefore more interesting. As Andersson (Linfoot-Ham, 2005: 12) suggests, the dirtiness of some words does not exist but in people's associations, values and attitudes. These words are as good and usable as all other words in general.

Nonetheless, there are some categories of coarse language, so it might be claimed that every swear word contains different emotional charge.

2.1. Categories of coarse language

Most linguists do distinguish among five major groups of coarse words and do agree over the division given by Sapolsky and Kaye. Pinker (2007: 10) also shares the same opinion on the seven dirty words, which are the strongest words that you cannot say on television. Five major groups of coarse language are: the seven dirty words (shit, piss, fuck, cunt, cocksucker, motherfucker, tits), sexual words (describing sexual body parts and sexual functions and behaviour), excretory words (explicit and literal references to human waste products and processes), other mild words (uttered in vain, like: damn, hell, goddamn, Jesus, Christ, God, Lord) and other strong words (words which evoke strong and negative emotions and offence).

Nevertheless, the fact that a language changes every day should never be dismissed, so the boundaries among above-mentioned categories remain blurred and muddled. Battistella considers (2005: 83) the notion of offensive language to be 'a variable one, shifting over time, relative to domain (the workplace, broadcast media, literature, political discourse, polite conversation) and affected by social, historical, political, and commercial forces'.

Hence, what used to be a strong word some time ago now might turn into a mild word, or there might be recorded some new combinations of these categories, typically new expressions such as: motherfucking asshole, lucky fucking bastard, etc.

Language which can be heard on the media is usually milder than the one heard and used in everyday conversations, but there has been an increase in the usage of verbal vulgarities on TV as a consequence of a frequent use in everyday life.

Additionally, it is to be pointed out that the use of coarse language always depends on the context, the circumstances and the situation generally. One must not omit the speaker's intention as well, which, as we have previously mentioned, can be positive, like when someone is eager to amuse the others, but also negative, when someone wants to insult and hurt others.

2.2. Censorship – can a language really be controlled?

Being a complete linguistic matter, censorship is often understood as an attempt to set a boundary between polite and impolite language and therefore to control language in general. Many people strongly believe that the issue of censorship questions their freedom of speech, infringing their common rights within this democratic sky.

Even though censorship is a linguistic matter, it seems that government, powerful politicians and ruling elite have more authority over censoring 'indecent materials'.

Censorship of language does really have a long history. Throughout history many individuals, distinguished and respectable intellectuals have been tortured and even killed due to the usage and promotion of inadequate materials. What is more, Joyce's *Ulysses* was declared obscene, D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was banned in the USA.

There are numerous examples of censored material even today, the target remaining to be taboo, which generally refers to items socially, culturally or religiously proscribed. Taboos are not universal phenomena, but there are some intercultural taboos, like the ones found within the realm of sex, bodily functions and their consequent products, then death, religion, crime, and so on.

However, the breakthrough of euphemisms turns out to be quite an excellent solution to this problem of censorship, as they imply no breaking of social conventions but display politeness, especially in formal situations. Pragmatically, it is crystal clear that a euphemism functions in a way as a swear word does (*darn* substitutes *damn*; *heck* substitutes *hell*, etc.)

3. Coarse language in practice

Coarse language has become largely prevalent not only in oral communication but also in written one. It appears that many words once considered taboos have turned to be commonplace. Real-life conversations are being reflected through the use of coarse language, which is clearly noticeable in mass media usage. What is more, the unprintable words have become printable, without a long-preserved asterisks or drop of a vowel(s) and consonant(s); the unspoken words have become freely spoken without being censored or bleeped out.

3.1. British National Corpus (BNC)

The corpus of this paper is based on the examined samples of written and spoken current British English found within the BNC. Due to objective reasons, only 10% of this huge corpus has been examined through the analysis of randomly selected samples. On the basis of the results we can presume the following:

- coarse language is mostly uncensored;
- coarse words are written in full forms, with a few exceptions written with an asterisk(s) or a drop of a vowel(s) and consonant(s);
- *bloody* and *hell* remain the most common coarse words;
- among the seven dirty words, *shit* and *fuck* seem to be on the rise.

3,1.1. *Bloody*

At the beginning of the 19th century *bloody* used to be employed quite innocently, being a 'perfectly blameless and uncorrupted expression that an Englishman could use without the least impropriety' (Montagu, 1967: 247). Today it can be employed to function as an adjective, an adverb, or as an intersyllabic, or even a particle.

Generally, *bloody* could be found in front of many nouns, such as: bloody thing, bloody change, bloody honesty, bloody fortune, bloody mess, bloody crackdown, bloody lies, bloody neurotic fellow, bloody disgrace, bloody bastard, bloody bastards root, bloody crap, bloody shit, bloody hell…

Bloody is also found in front of many adjectives, as an intensifier: bloody marvellous, bloody well, bloody surprised, bloody likely, bloody lucky, bloody guilty, bloody poor, bloody selfish, bloody horrible, bloody stupid…

Bloody appears as an intersyllabic, as in: im bloody possible, in bloody credible, etc.

There are numerous examples of *bloody* being employed as a particle, as in:

a) I'll bloody have her tonight.
b) b) Don't you bloody listen?
c) I've bloody got to climb down.
d) d) I don't bloody believe it!
e) What's the bloody matter?

There are also some stronger swear words found where *bloody* functions as an adjective:

f) What the bloody hell are you doing here?
g) Who the bloody hell does he think he is?

The expression *bloody 'ell* happens to be quite a rare case within the samples in the BNC.

3.1.2. Hell

Hell is at the present moment considered to be quite a mild swear word, especially used as an emotive intensifier. It used to be a taboo word, being a source of sensitivity like all profane terms. There are many euphemistic variants, such as: heck (used to lessen the impact on children), infernal (mostly employed in literature), perdition, etc.

Generally, *hell* is found before adjectives, as in: utter hell, sheer hell, pure hell, sodding hell, flaming hell, chuffing hell, flipping hell, bloody hell, flaming bloody hell, fucking hell, F_ _ 'ing hell, etc.

The data also draws attention to the fact that *hell* must be one of the swear words with the highest idiomatic range (come hell or high water; let's get the hell home; hell's teeth; go through hell; to try / run / look / work / hurt like hell; to kick / bash / knock / beat/ scare / frighten / surprise the hell out of somebody; rot in hell; to hell with somebody; put oneself through hell).

Moreover, *hell* is fairly employed in similes as well (as tight / randy / boring / sexy / ugly / shy / guilty / angry / sure / dictatorial as hell).

A hell of a... is an expression used instead of *great* in many instances. It can be seen in: a hell of a time, a hell of a lot, a hell of a size, a hell of a shock, a hell of a difference, a hell of a mess, a hell of a noise, a hell of a challenge, a hell of a stink.

Most wh-questions do contain the element *hell* within their structures, as in:

- What / where / how / who / why the hell ...
- What in hell's name happened?

3.1.3. Damn

Considered to be a mild swear word, especially when uttered in vain, *damn* belongs to the same category as the swear word *hell*. It is employed in written and spoken English, performing various functions, but as it was once a taboo word, it generated a list of euphemisms, such as: deuced, d__d, dash, tarnation, tarnal, dang, darn, darnation, eternal damnation, etc. The BNC displays various collocations with *damn*:

- damn good professional, damn good firms, damn good soldier, damn fine game, damn right, damn good, damn clean, damn lucky, damn great, damn big, …
- damn idiot, damn in tears, damn bullets, damn fool, damn fool ideas, damn lies, damn silly, damn dangerous, …

Phrases containing the element *damn* could also be spotted in the BNC ((not) to give a damn; (not) to care a damn; worth a damn; to hate like damn to say / do something).

3.1.4. Shit

In the medieval period *shit* was not a taboo word at all, but, later on, during the 18th and 19th centuries it started gaining that emotive force and the semantic meaning changed. As an expletive, it gained its popularity in the 19th century. It has been used to express insult, annoyance and contempt, but also surprise and astonishment. The BNC shows that it may function as a verb, as a noun in some collocations and idiomatic expression, but what is more interesting, as an adjective.

It appears in the following collocations: heavy shit, tough shit, brick shit, little shit, unusual shit, powerful shit, clever shit and so on.

It has been also found within the partitive expressions such as: a heap of shit / a load of shit / a bag of shit / a lot of shit / a bit of shit.

Note that it has been quite frequent within idiomatic expressions and phrases ((not) to give a shit; talk shit; eat shit; frighten / scare the shit out of somebody; kick / punch the shit out of somebody; the shit really hit the fan; fuck the shit).

Surprisingly enough, *shit* might function as an adjective:

- It is so shit …; This is just so shit …
- How shit is the food at festivals?
- He was probably shit scared as I was. (*shit* might well be replaced with *so*)

3.1.5. Fuck

This swear word and its variant forms have been the most shocking taboo word ever. It is still regarded as unmentionable, dirty and forbidden, and therefore, there are numerous euphemisms rapidly materialised (foutra – from 1590s; foot – 1600s; footering – 1750s; frigging – 1780s; footling 1900s; effing – 1920s; lately there are euphemisms like: the F-word, f#@k, f*ck. There is a great range of grammatical functions and forms: to fuck, fuck off, fuck up, fuck about; what / how / why / who /

where the fuck; (not) to give a fuck; to rock like fuck; get the fuck out of / all out; for fuck's sake; you're fucked; call it what-the fuck you-like.

Barely can one spot this swear word not written in full form.

3.1.6. Bastard

In the 17th century the word *bastard* become a swear word. Since that period, *bastard* did imply only one, literal meaning, an illegitimate child. Later, the semantic field of the term expanded to a personal insult and a word of reproach. What is more, the term may express something difficult or unpleasant, then compassion, but also affection.

- dangerous bastard, lying bastard, cynical bastard, conniving bastard, perverted bastard, bloody bastard, crap bastard, …
- silly bastard, poor bastard, old bastard, miserable bastard, …
- little bastard, right bastard, blue-blood bastard, lucky fucking bastard, …

There are few highly offensive phrases recorded in the BNC: Black bastard, Australian bastard, Yankee bastard, Bolshie bastard, Scottish bastard.

3.1.7. Other swear words

Other swear words recorded within the BNC have not been as frequent and common as the above mentioned ones (dick, cock, bitch, cunt, pussy, arse, asshole, piss, tits, bullshit, fart, etc). These are also taboo words that are not so frequent in the samples recorded, but that does not necessarily mean that they will not be used in the near future.

4. Conclusion

The data obtained from the BNC do emphasise a growth in cursing not only in written, but also in oral communication. It seems that the boundaries of expletive use have widened and that words once considered to be a taboo are commonplace nowadays. There is a constant worry and anxiety over this objectionable language, especially when employed in mass media, music, television, film, literature. Therefore, there are lists and lists of euphemisms generated to substitute indecent language. Still, it could be concluded that offensive words have got their place and status within the language structure as they are not being censored anymore.

To sum up, coarse language seems to be quite tolerated nowadays and suitable and effective enough to express and reflect the thoughts and attitudes of the 21st century.

References

Allan, K., Burridge, K. (2006) *Forbidden Words*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Battistella, Edwin L. (2005) **Bad Language: Are Some Words Better than Others?**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Holder, R.W. (2003) A **Dictionary of Euphemisms: How not to Say What You Mean**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hudson, R.A. (1996) **Sociolinguistics**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hughes, G. (2006) **The Encyclopedia of Sweari***ng*, New York – England: ME Sharpe

Linfoot-Ham, Kerry. (2005) "The Linguistics of Euphemisms: A Diachronic Study of Euphemism Formation", **Journal of Language and Linguistics**, Vol 4, No. 2, ISSN 1475-8989. www.shakespeare.uk.net/journal/4_2/linfoot_ham.pdf, accessed on September 2006

Montagu, A. (1967) **The Anatomy of Swearing**, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

Pinker, S. (2007) **The Seven Words you can't say on Television**, England: the Penguin Group

Sapolsky, B.S., Kaye, B.K. (2005) "The Use of Offensive Language by Men and Women in Prime Time Television Entertainment", **Atlantic Journal of Communication**, 13(4), 292-303, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. www.leaonline.com/doi/pdf, accessed on September 2006

Spears, Richard A. (2001) **Slang and Euphemism: A Dictionary of Oaths, Curses, Insults, Ethnic Slurs, Sexual Slang and Metaphor, Drug Talk, College Lingo, and Related Matters**, New York: Signet, New American Library www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk

UDK 82.035:37

José Manuel Oro Cabanas

TRANSLATION AS A TEACHING TASK: AN EFFECTIVE PROPOSAL

Abstract. *The nuclear core of this short presentation is to propose an analytic approach (though not opposed to systemic approaches) to interpret the lack of linguistic identity between English, Spanish and Galician in a corpus of data analysed at hazard through error analysis, and to make this effective for language learning. This will contribute to study some related aspects and some typical and atypical deviations between English and the other two concrete manifestations of language involved in this proposal. Handouts containing appropriate data for teaching and learning will be provided for a brief practical analysis. This study involves the analysis of the relationship between English and other languages (especially Spanish and Galician) in education, workplace, and society, and the proposal of the materials, media, and curricula appropriate for teaching and learning.*

Key words. *translation, error analysis*

1. Introduction

Before entering into the analysis, required to present my proposal to you, it is important to know what we understand by translation and what 'by Error Analysis'?

For this study, we might accept that translation and interpretation can particularly be considered as the transmittal either of written texts or of spoken utterances from one language into another. Thus, whereas translation refers to the written medium of language, interpretation concerns the transposition of meaning from one language to another within the spoken medium. Both require L1 meaning internal interpretation of world referents and the subsequent production of a semantic identical text in L2, as for all languages differ in form and they also exhibit differences in linguistic behavior affecting in some way or other all linguistic levels. Some scholars would refer to the resultant text as 'a translation', to the L1 text as the source text and to the L2 text as the target text or translation. In so far as error analysis is concerned, we can accept that this evaluation process is the analytic study and evaluation of the number of uncertainties produced in any piece of work; it is the study and evaluation of noticeable errors and uncertainties produced by practitioners and the estimation of how crucial the errors or how large the uncertainties are, in order to help the trainees to correct or reduce different types of common mistakes.

Interacting both the error analysis approach with the translation process is important to the extent that contributes to the evaluation and minimization of linguistic problems, through the mental representations of the sentences to be analysed (i.e. the source and target realizations) directly and inversely in both languages, as for this contributes to the explanation of the differences between the two realizations.

2. Some aspects of the state of the art

2.1. On translation

Today, it is easy to get to the point that probably the translation process should be considered as old as our species[104], or at least, since the moment in which humans have tried to show the power on others, and especially when they have initiated to negotiate and exchange things.

Thus, this brief analysis will be guided by the already discussed concepts of '*history*' and '*translation*' on the one hand and the linguistic and the analysis of errors' method on the other.

To make this a bit clear, there are certain facts that need to be referred to in spite of their popularity among scholars.

2.1.1. On the definition of translation and some historical traces

According to Folena (1973) the idea of translation as an essentially trans-linguistic activity seems to have been suggested first by early Italian Humanists when they introduced the 'Volgarizzare tradurre'.

Whereas the Greeks did not consider the cultural concept of translation until the Alexandrine period, the Romans had many expressions to designate poetic and literary translation: '*verto, converto, transverto, imitari, explicare, exprimere, reddere*, and later *translatare*', (Cf. Translate, decipher, transfer, turn into, etc)

For scholars of the Middle Ages translation was multidimensional. The boundary between one's words and those of another was fragile, equivocal, often purposely ambiguous. The terms reflecting diversity in Italian, for example, were *vogarizzare* and *transporre*, in French *espondre, tranlater*, *turner, metre* en Romance, *enomanchier*.

From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance period the modern conception of translation becomes linked to the establishment of a series of boundaries defining national languages, surrounding the individual text and its meaning, identifying the author.

---

[104] Probably the most famous theorist of the past two millennia is San Jerome, born the 30th of September of 419, who has said that he would follow Cicero in not translating 'verbum e verba' but 'sensum and sensu', with the exception of the Holy scriptures, where to vary word order was a mystery. However, Nida 1964:12 & 13 *Basnett-McGuire* 1980: 46, suggest that Jerome's line of approach was "sense for sense" and not "word for word".

From a historical point of view, traces on translation[105] are as old as antiquity, but the need humans had had for understanding themselves is as old as our species; This means that there must be a need for translanting and/or interpreting since human beings appeared in the universe. In general, it was utilized to help to realize both political and religious goals of the ruling classes. '*sense for sens*e' and '*word for word*' were the two main orientations towards translations. In order to make prove of all this, some ancient historical data are included in the appendix of this study, as for it is a fact that historical data suggest that translation is an old field of the study.

A very important fact is that recent research on translation studies intend to redefine both translation definition and the approaches to the field.

2.1.2. Common formal approaches

From an interpretative point of view, translation is a field usually applied to written discourse and presents several ways of focusing it. There are two main approaches from a theoretical point of view: the purely linguistic approach which strongly supports the presentation of world referents following linguist patterns as near in form and meaning in any concrete manifestation and the socio-cultural approach which usually justifies linguistic disparity both in typical and atypical deviations through the existing differences between the cultures in question.

It is said that initial research on translation was based on the analysis of linguistic interaction between L1 & L2, exploring the nature of translation in relation to language and linguistics. Along the history of approaches to the translation field various dichotomies arise to focus different proposals: linguistic and socio-cultural; overt and covert errors, etc.

Fig. 2 summarises some of the points of the main approaches to translation theory, resulting from their application and justification of the topic.

[105] According to Newmark, for example, the first traces of translation appeared in the inscriptions written in two languages in the Egyptian Old Kingdom in about *Third Millenium B.C.* (Newmark 1981: 3). It is often found in the abundant literature that about 2100 B.C., *the City of Babylon* was inhabited by people speaking different languages; Even more studyers proclaim that the official communication of the Kingdom was conducted by translating official proclamations into various languages spoken by the subjects.

APPROACHES TO TRANSLATION		
LINGUISTIC APPROACH	LITERARY OR POETIC APPROACHES	SOCIOCULTURAL APPROACH[106]
Analysts and researchers looked at: - linguistic asymmetries and anisomorphisms in translation interface, - the language-specific nature of meaning, -the nature of communication and its limitations in different manifestations, -the lexis identity and grammar, -the lack of interaction between usage and use, in most situations.	Studies on translation focused on: -how translation gets shaped or conditioned by literature, -what means are to be used in order to translate different literary texts, modes, etc. -how texts can be related within context and time.	Scholars supporting this approach give a strong roll to: Cultural aspects for translation purposes. They insist on the fact that translation can no longer be justified in terms of language or text type analysis. They insist on the lack of linguistic interaction between L1 and L2, following lexical, syntactic and even morphologic identical means in both languages.

Fig.1

A lot has been written and discussed for and against any of these approaches, but not all said is to be taken for grant. It is a fact that the cultural dimension for translation purpose is not a very recent one. Some scholars such as Nida (1964); Nord (1997), to whom functionalist theories of translation have been assigned, including those adopted by Eugene Nida, would have to be considered in part within a cultural orientation to translation. For example, to assume what (Alcaraz, 2004: 1) has stated: ‘that since the time of St Jerome scholars have not been searching for identity but equivalence for translation purposes’ can be done from a very general point of view. However, a detailed study of St. Jerome’s proposals would reveal that he has used his asseverations according to his own convenience. Thus, whereas he has proposed ‘equivalence’ as one of the effective ways of preparing translations based upon on general things related to secularity, he would require linguistic identity for the translations of the Bible and other religious documents, as for in this case fidelity to world referents had to be taken into account.

2.1.3. Translation tasks

From a tuition point of view, translation has often been regarded as a proper method for the teaching and learning language processes. It has also been utilized as a simple task, for teaching/learning support, within other tuition methods or approaches.

It is well known that tuition has traditionally relied on the ‘grammar-translation method or approach’ and the Berlitz’ direct method all over the world. They proposed the study of language through morphologic training and they probably failed to propose a real syntactic description and to explain semantic connotations necessary to be able to enjoy a true communication.

The main objectives of the grammar translation method were:

THE GRAMMAR-TRANSLATION METHOD	
OBJECTIVES	**ACTIVITIES**
A good knowledge of grammar To write correctly To have a good command of vocabulary To be able to take out textual meaning	Regular practice of translation from L1 to L2. Translation from L2 to L1. Long and elaborated grammatical explanations Written exercises on sentence construction
	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES
	SELECTION OF ERRORS ANALYSIS OF ERRORS LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Fig. 2

As far as the linguistic emphasis is concerned, different scholars have proposed various arguments to take into consideration in order to: a) identify a good number of alternatives when translations are submitted to analyses; b) justify or correct the innumerable number of possible or effective errors one might come across in two or more representations; c) see the possible applications for teaching tasks in the learning situation. For example, *John Dryden* (1631-1700)[107], a well-known seventeenth century poet, identified three types of translation: (1) Metaphrase involving 'word by word' and 'line by line' translation; (2) Paraphrase involving 'sense for sense' translation and (3) Imitation involving variance from words and sense by abandoning the text of the original as the translator sees fit.

[107] Subsequent poets like *Alexander Pope* (1688-1744) too adopted the same line of approach as that of *Dryden* (Nida 1964: 17-18; *Bassnett-McGuire* 1980: 60-61).

It is a common fact that concrete manifestations of language follow different formal patterns to provide meaning identity in certain situations, but it is also a common fact that all of them when providing information about world referents, should be semantically identical, otherwise the world referents would be different. It is true that not in all occasions what is apparently the same form would express exactly the same meaning or form 2 might sound unnatural when compared with form 1. It is here where semantic level operates facilitating the comprehension of internal behaviour of L1, and through that incorporating the formal L2 linguistic constituents with identical semantic value of the world referent already decoded.

In general, a 'word-for-word' translation, which follows closely the form of the original language, is called a literal translation. It imposes the form of the original source language onto the receptor language. A translation which focuses on meaning is referred to by Beekman & Callow as an idiomatic translation. What is a real fact is that the translation process involves the relation between form and meaning in two languages. Meaning which is signalled by the forms of one language has to be transferred so that it is signalled by the forms of another language.

Since each language has its own distinctive form and patterns, the same meaning may have to be expressed in another language by quite a different form. Equally, in different languages, what is apparently the same form may express quite different meanings; these are called atypical deviations or exceptional principles which block the general behavioural linguistic process.

It can be true that to translate the form of one language literally by the same form in another language would often change the meaning, or at least result in a form which is unnatural in the second language, as it is a common fact that some lexical units by extension and movement modify their basic meaning or other types of meanings in a different way due to socio-cultural development. Meaning, within the identity approach, must therefore have priority over form.

What seems to be clear is that world representations of feelings, facts, thoughts- which may be about houses, pains, good and evil, or anything else, are conformed to linguistic rules all over the world through the different concrete manifestations of language in use.

2.2. Some comments on translation error analysis

Error analysis is usually applied to the study of kind and quantity of errors that occurs, particularly in the fields of 'applied mathematics' 'applied linguistics' and 'statistics'. For our interest we will refer very briefly to this technique as a tool used in (APL).

In language teaching, error analysis studies the types and causes of language errors, covering both the teaching and learning processes of a language. In general, this could be used to study, analyse and improve the native language or L1, but it is more used in relation to the learning of a foreign language, either with regard to language learning (i.e. in a foreign environment) or in relation to language acquisition (i.e. in situ). They affect in a different way within each language medium. The different ways to face the situation are very often not very comfortable neither for the teacher nor for the trainee, as for there are different emotional responses involved. This also happens when we deal with translations as a teaching task, as for different proposals are likely to contain errors of different types: lexical (different meaning, distant meaning – far from conceptual, stylistic, denotative, etc.) and syntactic errors, mistakes, slips-up.

The proposal of errors from translations would avoid any type of reactions and incommodity. This approach involves the analysis of a corpus a data under the analysis of errors technique, with a slightly difference that the error has been produced by someone else. Under this situation, one is not ashamed to criticised that 'radishes' does not mean *'zanahorias'* (a careless error in the translation of Foster's Maurice) but *'rábanos'* and it is a good way to learn at the same time the lexical unit 'carrots'. This can also be applied to other type of errors: 1) *verbs with particles*, as for the certain misinterpretations have taken place concerning the use or absence of prepositions in L1. Thus, for example, *look after* is confused with **look for** (c.f. Archie London will look after you and Archie London quiere verte); *talk to* with *talk about* (c.f. provided one has someone to talk to and si es que no tiene algo que decir); *worry* with *worry about* (c.f. God didn't worry him and Dios no se preocupaba por el) and apologise with apologise to, etc. 2) syntactic errors, 3) aspectual errors, etc. A brief look to fig. 3 will show the study of errors in translations is a very useful task to correct both typical and atypical deviations in the learning situation, as for it is a way of incorporating both lexis and grammar with ease.

FROM ***'THE HOUND OF THE BASKERVILLES*** A. C. Doyle		
ENGLISH	SPANISH	GALICIAN
1a) For a moment or two (p.106) 2a) Hardly able (p.106) 3a) Then my senses and my voice came back to me (p. 106) 4a) I stooped under (p. 106) 5a) And there he sat (p. 106)	1b) Por unos instantes (p.127) 2b) Casi incapaz(p.127) 3b) Al fin recuperé el dominio sobre mí y el habla (p. 127) 4b) Pasé por debajo (p. 128) 5 b) Y le vi sentado (p. 128)	1c) Por uns intres (p.156) 2c) Incapaz (p.156) 3c) Logo recuperei o meu dominio e a fala (p. 156) 4c) Saín, encollido (p.156) 5c) E alí fóra estaba él sentado (p. 156)

Fig. 3

3. Conclusion

The study of errors in translations is a very useful task to correct both typical and atypical deviations in the learning situation, as for it is a way of incorporating both lexis and grammar with ease. They allow us to contrast the behaviour of the native and the foreign language from a formal and a semantic point of view but also to favour the assimilation of both general and specific patterns of language behaviour through cognition. Besides, it is a way to work with different skills: reading and writing; listening and speaking, as the analysis proposed in the following figs. will reveal, especially if the L2 version is translated again into L1. Besides, this combined approach will help to introduce linguistic terminology as well useful for both research and tuition purposes.

References

Alcaraz Varó, E. (2004) "El lenguaje profesional y académico", in **Nuevas formas de aprendizaje en lenguas extranjeras**, Madrid: M.E. SG de IP, pp. 91-114

Folena, G. (1973) 'La traduzzione, saggi e studi', Triesti: Linze, pp. 57-120

House, MAK. (1984) **A Short Introduction to Functional Grammar**, London: Arnold

House, J. M. (1976) **A Model for Translation Quality Assessment and some implications for Foreing Language teaching**, Toronto: University of Toronto

Nord, Ch. (1977) **Translating as a Purposeful Activity**, Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing

Oro Cabanas, J. M. (2008) **Some Keynotes on Language, Linguistics and Grammar**, Lugo: Unicopia

Oro Cabanas, J. M. (2007**) Teoría lingüística y gramatical. Fundamentos claves para su aprendizaje**, Lugo: Unicopia

Oro Cabanas, J. M. (2007) **Selected papers on trasnlation (From 1988 to 1999)**, Lugo: Unicopia

Oro Cabanas, J. M. (2007) **Selected papers on trasnlation (From 1995 to 2003)**, Lugo: Unicopia

Oro Cabanas, J. M. (2002) **Current Trends in Linguistics. An English Morphology based Study**, Lugo: Unicopia

Oro Cabanas, J. M. **(**2002b) "On the Gray Areas of Language"', in **The teaching of English as a Foreign Language: A European Perspective**, pp. 31-63

Oro Cabanas, J. M. **(**2002c) **"**A Practical Approach to the Study of Non-canonical Expressions in English"**,** in **The teaching of English as a Foreign Language: A European Perspective**, pp.323-367

Oro Cabanas, J. M. (2001) **On translation Historical Aspects, Interpretability and Linguistic Trifles**, Lugo:Unicopia

DK 811.163.4’242:811.111'243

Jovana Dimitrijević Savić
Marta Dimitrijević

SERBIAN L1 AND ENGLISH L2 INTERACTION IN REQUESTS: IS THERE SUPPORT FOR THE INTERCULTURAL STYLE HYPOTHESIS?

Abstract: *This paper reports on the results of a study which tested the Intercultural Style Hypothesis (Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993) in relation to requesting behavior by looking into observable differences in respondents’ L1 (Serbian) and L2 (English) requests and how these differences relate to L2 proficiency levels. A quantitative analysis of respondents’ use of alerters, request strategies, syntactic downgraders, lexical and phrasal downgraders in a set of Discourse Completion Tasks provides some support for the Intercultural Style Hypothesis.*

Key words: Intercultural Style Hypothesis, request, Serbian, English

1. Introduction

Kasper & Blum-Kulka (1993) introduced Interlanguage Pragmatics (ILP) as a branch of second language acquisition research whose primary goal is to study how non-native speakers (NNSs) acquire the linguistic action patterns of a particular L2. It is widely assumed that pragmatic competence usually accompanies grammatical skills and proficiency, which means that NNSs who are at the early stages of L2 acquisition are usually not able to take in the full scope of pragmatic skills and meanings of certain speech acts.

Speakers who are fully proficient in two languages, according to Blum-Kulka (1991) and Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993), sometimes use neither the linguistic action patterns of their L1 nor of their L2, creating instead an intercultural style that both resembles and differs from that of the L1 and of the L2. In addition, these speakers seem to use this intercultural style irrespective of the language situation they find themselves in, i.e. irrespective of whether they are using their L1 or L2 in a particular speech situation. The Intercultural Style Hypothesis defines the development of this intercultural pattern, which is in fact a reflection of bi-directional interaction between two languages (Cenoz, 2003).

Since the interaction is hypothesized to be bidirectional, in addition to L1 transfer into the L2, the L2 is also hypothesized to have an effect on the L1. In other words, the pragmatic performance in an L1 situation, according to the Intercultural Style Hypothesis, can be affected by pragmatic transfer from the L2. One way to go about determining whether there is any actual support for the Intercultural Style Hypothesis would be to try and investigate the extent of L2 influence on the L1. This is not a very frequent object of research, as most researchers interested in second language acquisition tend to focus on the unidirectional influence of the L1 on the L2, especially in the areas of grammar or vocabulary. This focus on unidirectional influence is not exclusive to the field of L2 grammar and vocabulary research: it characterizes much of the research undertaken on the acquisition of pragmatic competence in a second language.

Cenoz (2003) describes interlanguage pragmatics as the study of speech acts used by native speakers and second language learners alike, with a special focus on breakdowns in communication which result from NNS lack of awareness of L2 pragmatic norms relevant to "social distance, relative power and status or legitimization of a specific behavior" (2003: 63). Most NSs, and we are primarily referring here to monolingual speakers, judge pragmatic failure to have occurred because they judge NNS utterances by comparing them to their L1 standard, and judge the degree of failure based on the extent to which these utterances do not comply with the norm they are accustomed to. The Intercultural Style Hypothesis provides an alternative explanation for this mismatch: rather than lacking awareness of L2 pragmatic norms, NNSs exhibit a newly established intercultural style.

A fair amount of research exists on the subject matter of bilingual speakers and how their linguistic action patterns differ from those of native speakers. Here we will briefly mention only research into possible differences that may occur during the performance of a particular speech act, specifically, the act of requesting. Some recent studies include: Economidou-Kogetsidis 2009, which compared the performance of native Greek ESL university students who spoke English and British English native speakers; Eslamirasekh 1993, which compared the patterns in the requests of English-speaking native speakers of Persian and speakers of American English; Marti 2005, which focused on the realization of requests made by native Turkish speakers and the requests made by Turkish-German bilinguals; and Cenoz 2003, which studied the request patterns of native speakers of Spanish in both Spanish and in English. Although some evidence has been found in their reports in support for the Intercultural Style Hypothesis, none of the studies have been able to confirm it to the fullest.

Requests are potentially face-threatening acts to the hearer of the request. Due to speaker awareness that the request might be denied, there are a number of strategies or formulas (Ellis, quoted in Pinto, 2005: 1), at the speaker's disposal. Most of these strategies have been presented in detail in Brown and Levinson (1987): a) bald on record (FTA performed bald-on-record, in a direct and concise way without redressive action); b) positive politeness (FTA performed with redressive action, strategies oriented towards positive face of the hearer); c) negative politeness (FTA performed with redressive action, strategies oriented towards negative face of the hearer; d) off-record (FTA performed off-record, strategies that might allow the act to have more than one interpretation; e) avoidance (FTA not performed).

The complex nature of the requestive speech act allows for a variety of strategies and semantic and verbal formulas to perform the act. The extent and type of these strategies is culturally conditioned by the culture of a given language and the effects of cultural norms and is visible in the linguistic choices made by speakers. These strategies also depend on the degree of face threat potentially perceived by the hearer. The factors judged relevant by Brown and Levinson for calculating the level of imposition are commented on in the following manner by Marti (2005: 1839): "The assessment of the amount of face threat, according to Brown and Levinson, depends predominantly on the following variables: relative *power* of the speaker, *social distance* (between the interlocutors), and *rank* (degree of imposition). According to them, by adding these values, we should be able to calculate the weight of an FTA" (emphasis in the original).

The aim of the present study was to compare the performance of NSs of Serbian in request situations in English (L2) and Serbian, in order to test for support for the Intercultural Style Hypothesis (cf. Cenoz, 2003), that is, to investigate the presence of any bi-directional influence between the L1 and L2. Evidence of L2 influence on L1 has all been documented in the studies previously mentioned. The data in all of these studies was gathered with the help of a Discourse Completion Task (DCT), or open questionnaire that the participants filled out. Most DCTs were of those found in the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP), which was one of the first and most extensive cross-cultural studies to be completed (developed in Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989). Even though the DCT has been criticized for the dubiousness of the naturalness of the given responses, it is certainly by far the most wide-spread means of data collection in this particular area of research, as it can provide the greatest amount of data in the shortest period of time.

In order to test the validity of the Intercultural Style Hypothesis, the study aimed to answer the following research questions:

Do Serbian L1 learners of English present differences when formulating requests in the L1 and L2 or do they develop an intercultural style for the two languages?

1. Are there differences between the requests formulated in the L1 by speakers who differ in the level of L2 proficiency?

2. Methodology

A total of 85 participants filled out the questionnaires and completed the DCTs. The questionnaire elicited participants' background information (at which department of the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš and the Faculty of Philology and Arts in Kragujevac they were studying, age and gender) and a question regarding students' level of proficiency in English. Based on this final question, participants were divided into two groups. The first group consisted of NS of Serbian who were also students of English at the Departments of English at the University of Niš (n=23) and the University of Kragujevac (n=19), the 'fluent in English' group. The second group consisted of 43 students who were students at the Department of Serbian, Faculty of Philosophy in Niš, the 'non-fluent in English' group. Based on their course requirements, the English language skills of the 'non-fluent in English' group were judged to be at the B2 level, and those of the 'fluent in English' group were judged to be at the C1 level. Only those students who had not passed any of the Cambridge Advanced and Cambridge Proficiency tests were included in the 'non-fluent in English' group, which served as the control group. The members of the 'fluent in English' completed the DCTs both in English and in Serbian. The members of the 'non-fluent in English' group completed DCTs only in Serbian. The 'fluent in English' group of students, who filled out questionnaires both in English and Serbian, did so on different days.

The discourse completion test consisted of six situations designed to elicit requests, all of which varied in terms of degree of imposition, rank, social distance and power, and the status of the interlocutors relative to one another. In two of the situations, situations 1 and 2, it is the speaker who is perceived as having greater social status in the given situation, while in situations 3, 4 and 6 the status of the interlocutors appears to be equal. In situation 5, higher social status is awarded the hearer. The request situations were translated from English into Serbian so that they were culturally appropriate. All of the DCTs we included were 'open questionnaires', in the sense that the hearer's responses to the request were not provided, so it was left up to the participants to create the circumstances of the situations themselves.

Participant responses, a total of 762 request patterns, were coded according to the model given in Cenoz (2003) for: a) alerters, used to draw the hearer's attention, and include titles/roles, surnames, first names, nicknames, endearment terms, offensive terms, pronouns, attention getters or combinations of these elements; b) request strategies, which refer to the linguistic elements used to convey the head act of the request, such as *want* statements, suggestory formula and preparatories; c) syntactic downgraders, which mitigate the request by using interrogatives, the past tense, conditional clauses, etc; d) lexical and phrasal downgraders, used to mitigate the impositive force of the request and include expressions such as *please, I'm afraid, you know* and *will you*; and e) mitigating supportives, which include justifications, promises of reward and preparators. These linguistic elements are all generally used to minimize directness and soften the imposition of the request. The results were entered into the SPSS 17.0 program and processed using the paired samples and independent samples *t*-test.

3. Results

In order to determine whether any differences exist between the requests produced in English and in Serbian by the students assessed as possessing a degree of fluency comparable to C1, that is, the 'fluent in English' group, the mean number of alerters, request strategies, syntactic downgraders, lexical downgraders and mitigating supportives in their English and Serbian requests were compared using paired samples *t*-tests.

The results indicate that, for the ‘fluent in English’ group, there are significant differences between the means for the two languages corresponding to the total number of alerters (*t* (233) = 3.771, $p < 0.001$), lexical downgraders (*t* (233) = -6.182, $p < 0.001$) and syntactic downgraders (*t* (233) = -3.600, $p < 0.001$) in English and Serbian. In response to the first research question we conclude that the ‘fluent in English’ group presents important differences when formulating requests in the L1 and L2 with respect to the group’s usage of alerters, syntactic and lexical downgraders and no differences when formulating requests in the L1 and L2 with respect to request strategies (*t* (233) = 0.943, $p = 0.347$) and mitigating supportives (*t* (233) = -0.759, $p = 0.427$).

Next, the specific means for each of the requests were compared to see if there were differences related to request situations. The results indicate that there are differences between some, but not all requests uttered in the two languages. When the number of alerters used when formulating requests is considered, statistically significant differences in the requests in the two languages emerge in the first (*t* (233) = 3.354, $p < 0.005$), third (*t* (233) = 2.214, $p < 0.05$) and sixth request situation (*t* (233) = 3.148, $p < 0.005$). In terms of use of request strategies, the difference in requests uttered in Serbian and English is not statistically significant in any of the requests, with the exception of request 1 (*t* (233) = 2.417 , $p < 0.05$). Statistically significant differences in the use of syntactic downgraders emerge in requests 3 (*t* (233) = -3.728, $p < 0.001$), 4 (*t* (233) = -5.602, $p < 0.001$), 5 (*t* (233) = -2.485, $p < 0.05$) and 6 (*t* (233) = -2.508, $p < 0.05$). The difference in requests uttered in the two languages in terms of lexical downgraders is statistically significant in all but the first and second request situation: request 3 (*t* (233) = -3.376, $p < 0.005$), request 4 (*t* (233) = -3.439, $p < 0.001$), request 5 (*t* (233) = -2.883, $p < 0.01$), request 6 (*t* (233) = -2.039, $p < 0.05$). Finally, no statistically significant differences were found with respect to the use of mitigating supportives in requests in the two languages.

In response to the first research question, it must be concluded that although native speakers of Serbian with a high level of fluency in the L2 (English) make requests in their L1 and L2 in a very similar way, important differences exist in the formulation of three of the six requests. The greatest difference emerges in the formulation of the third and sixth request, where statistically significant differences were found with respect to the use of alerters, syntactic and lexical downgraders, but not request strategies and mitigating supportive. No statistically significant difference in the formulation of the second request was found. Some statistically significant differences were found in the formulation of the first request (with respect to the use of alerters and request strategies), fourth request (with respect to the use of syntactic and lexical downgraders), and fifth request (with respect to the use of syntactic and lexical downgraders).

The second research question concerned differences in the L1 according to proficiency in the L2. Several *t*-tests (independent samples) were carried out to analyze the differences in the requests produced in Serbian by the two groups – the ‘fluent in English’ group and the ‘non-fluent in English’ group. The results of the *t*-tests indicate that there is a significant difference between the 'fluent in English' group and the 'non-fluent in English group' only in terms of the use of alerters when requests are formulated in Serbian (*t* (76) = -4.674, p < 0.001), but not in the use of the remaining four linguistic elements investigated.

Further, the results of the *t*-tests indicate that there are significant differences between the fluent in English group and the non-fluent in English group in some of the measures corresponding to the formulation of requests 1, 3 and 4, namely in alerters (*t* (76) = -3.101, p < 0.005 for request 1, *t* (76) = -3.530, p < 0.001 for request 3, *t* (76) = -2.975, p < 0.005 for request 4) and syntactic downgraders (*t* (76) = -3.101, p < 0.005 for request 1, *t* (76) = -3.530, p < 0.001 for request 3, *t* (76) = -2.975, p < 0.005 for request 4). A statistically significant difference in the use of request strategies in request 2 was also found (*t* (76) = -2.784, p < 0.05). No statistically significant differences were found in terms of the use of lexical downgraders and mitigating supportives by the 'fluent in English' group and the 'non-fluent in English' group in any of the six request situations investigated.

When the direction of the differences in those cases in which the differences are significant was analyzed (for details, see Dimitrijević Savić and Dimitrijević, forthcoming), it was observed that the 'non-fluent in English' group used a higher number of alerters than the 'fluent in English' group when requests were formulated in Serbian; the least number of alerters was used by the 'fluent in English' group when formulating requests in English. Further, the 'non-fluent in English' group used a higher number of request strategies than the 'fluent in English' group when requests were formulated in Serbian; the least number of request strategies was used by the 'fluent in English' group when formulating requests in English. Finally, the 'fluent in English' group used fewer syntactic downgraders when formulating requests in Serbian than when formulating requests in English; likewise, the 'fluent in English' group used fewer syntactic downgraders when formulating requests in Serbian than the 'non-fluent in English' group did.

4. Conclusion

The results presented indicate that Serbian L1 speakers fluent in English exhibit significant differences in the use of three of the five linguistic elements investigated in the L1 and the L2: alerters, syntactic downgraders and lexical downgraders; at the same time, they tend to use a similar number of request strategies and mitigating supportives. According to the Intercultural Style Hypothesis, the L2 could influence the production of speech acts in the L1, in that L2 learners could use similar pragma-linguistic elements in the two languages because there is interaction between the two systems. The results do not lend support to this overall when only the formulation of requests in Serbian and in English by the 'fluent in English' group is considered.

However, comparison of the requests formulated in the L1 (Serbian) by the 'fluent in English' group and the 'non-fluent in English' group reveals evidence which does lend support to the Intercultural Style Hypothesis. Speakers who are fluent in English use fewer alerters when formulating requests in English than when formulating requests in Serbian. Furthermore, the same group used fewer alerters when formulating requests in Serbian than did the 'non-fluent in English' group (requests 1, 3 and 4). Likewise, speakers fluent in English used fewer request strategies when formulating requests in English than when formulating requests in Serbian. There is also a statistically significant difference in the number of request strategies used by this group when formulating requests in Serbian compared to the number of request strategies used by the 'non-fluent in English' group (request 2). These findings lend support to the Intercultural Style Hypothesis because they show that learners who present a high level of proficiency in the L2 seem to be developing an intercultural pattern that is reflected in the differences between requests formulated in English (L2) compared to requests formulated in Serbian (L1) and between requests formulated in the L1 by this group and by other native speakers of Serbian.

Additional evidence emerges when the direction of differences in another case in which the differences in the use of a pragma-linguistic element are significant between the 'fluent in English' group and the 'non-fluent' in English group is considered: the case of syntactic downgraders. It has already been noted that speakers fluent in the L2 (English) use more syntactic downgraders when formulating requests in English than when formulating requests in Serbian (L1). At the same time, this group uses fewer syntactic downgraders when formulating requests in the L1 than the 'non-fluent in English' group does. These findings make more sense when considered in the context of 'fluent in English' speakers' use of alerters, in particular in requests 1, 3 and 4. In request 1, speakers fluent in English used more alerters when formulating requests in Serbian than when formulating requests in English. In situations 3 and 4, the same group used similar numbers of alerters when formulating requests both in Serbian and in English, but fewer alerters when formulating requests in Serbian than other native speakers of Serbian.

A quantitative analysis revealed that the participants in this study exhibit differences in only three of the five elements investigated (alerters, syntactic downgraders, lexical downgraders). A qualitative analysis of the same data (Dimitrijević Savić and Dimitrijević, forthcoming) showed that these differences do reflect influence of the L2 on L1, but only in certain request situations (primarily situations 1, (interlocutors of different status), 3 and 4 (interlocutors of the same status)). This leads us to the conclusion that support can be found for the Intercultural Style Hypothesis, but that it is only limited. This conclusion is similar to the conclusions reached by other researchers who studied the request patterns of NSs and NNSs: their research results also only partially confirmed the hypothesis.

Clearly there is evidence for L2 influence on the L1, especially in terms of the use of syntactic downgraders both in English and Serbian by the 'fluent in English' group. The possible limitations of using DCTs in terms of the naturalness of the responses elicited have already been mentioned, while another possible limitation is that the study dealt with a single speech act. There is a definite shortage of research on pragmatic competence when it comes to NNSs of English whose have Serbian as their L1. It is to be hoped that the results of this study might contribute to the growing literature on multilingual competence, especially research dealing with non-Western languages.

References

Austin, John (1962) **How to do things with words**, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brown, Penelope and Stephen C. Levinson (1987) **Politeness: Some universals in language usage**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Blum-Kulka, Shoshana, Juliane House and Gabriele Kasper (1989) **Cross-cultural pragmatics: requests and apologies**, Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation

Blum-Kulka, Shoshana. (1991) " Interlanguage pragmatics: The case of requests", in Philipsen, R., Kellerman, E., Selinker, L., Sharwood-Smith M. and Swain, M. (eds.) **Foreign Language Pedagogy: A Commemorative Volume for Claus Faerch**, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, pp. 255-272

Cenoz, Jasone (2003) "The Intercultural Style Hypothesis: L1 and L2 interaction in requesting behavior", in Cook, Vivian (ed.) **Effects of the second language on the first**, Clevedon: Cromwell Press

Dimitrijević Savić, Jovana and Marta Dimitrijević (fothcoming) "An intercultural style: Serbian L1 and English L2 interaction in requests", **Nasleđe**

Economidou-Kogetsidis, Maria (2002) "Requesting strategies in English and Greek: Observations from an Airline's Call Centre", **Nottingham Linguistic Circular,** 17, pp. 1-32

Economidou-Kogetsidis, Maria (2009) "Interlanguage request modification: The use of lexical/phrasal downgraders and mitigating supportive moves", **Multilingua**, 28, pp. 79-112

Eslamirasekh, Zohreh (1993) "A cross-cultural comparison of requestive speech act realization patterns in Persian and American English", **Pragmatics and Language Learning Monograph Series**, Volume 4, pp. 85-103

Kasper, Gabriele and Shoshana Blum-Kulka (1993) **Interlanguage Pragmatics**, New York: Oxford University Press

Marti, Leyla (2005) "Indirectness and politeness in Turksih-German bilingual and Turkish monolingual requests", **Journal of Pragmatics**, 38, pp. 1836-1869

Pinto , Derrin (2005) "The acquisition of request by second language learners of Spanish", **Spanish in Context**, Volume 2, No. 1, pp. 1-27

Rose, Kenneth and Gabriele Kasper (2001) **Pragmatics in Language Teaching**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Searle, John (1969) **Speech acts: an essay in the philosophy of language**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

UDK 811.163.4'344.22

Marina Krstajić

REFLEKSI KRATKOG JATA IZA SONANTA R (PRAVOPISNA RJEŠENJA)

Apstrakt: *Jedno od najsloženijih pravopisnih pitanja pri normiranju ijekavice jeste ono koje se odnosi na rješavanje pisanja riječi sa refleksima jata iza sonanta r. Kolebanja i neslaganja pri normiranja takvih slučajeva prisutna su od prvih pravopisa do danas i predstavljaju pravopisni i lingvistički problem. U pravopisima srpskohrvatskog jezika nije bilo nekog jedinstvenog rješenja za slučajeve pisanja refleksa jata iza sonanta r. U novim pravopisima hrvatskog, bosanskog i srpskog (u dijelu koji se odnosi na ijekavicu) ta različitost je nastavljenja, pa su pojedina pitanja i do danas ostala bez odgovora. Očigledno je da starost i prevaziđenost nekih rješenja, kao i izmijenjena sociolingvistička situacija nameću neophodnost izrade novog pravopisa. Na osnovu detaljno i pregledno prezentirane građe i naučnih tumačenja ove problematike, opredijelili smo se za određena rješenja pri pisanju refleksa jata iza sonanta r, te ih kao najbolja i najprihvatljivija preporučili za pravopis crnogorskog jezika.*

Ključne riječi: *pravopisna pitanja, normiranje ijekavice, refleks jata, novi pravopis*

1. Uvod

Predlog najboljih rješenja za pisanje refleksa jata iza sonanta *r* jeste jedno od važnih pitanja pravopisa crnogorskog jezika. Zaključci u ovom radu će se bazirati na primjerima iz jezika mlađih[108] crnogorskih pisaca i davanja objašnjenja u vezi sa njima, pri čemu ćemo ih upoređivati sa jezikom starijih crnogorskih pisaca (Petra I, Njegoša, Nikole I, Marka Miljanova i Stefana Mitrova Ljubiše), potom sa crnogorskim govorima (s tim da ćemo imati u vidu da su neke monografije i radovi o ovim govorima nastali dosta davno, prije više od pola vijeka) i, svakako, sa savremenom jezičkom praksom. Poseban naglasak stavićemo na pravopisna rješenja koja se tiču refleksa jata iza sonanta *r* prezentovana u aktuelnim pravopisima srpskohrvatskog, srpskog, hrvatskog, bosanskog i crnogorskog jezika, pri čemu ćemo upotrebljavati bogatu literaturu iz normativistike, postojeće pravopise, normativne gramatike i rječnike.

[108] Odrednicu *mlađi* koristićemo za pisace koji su stvarali u drugoj polovini 20. vijeka, a *stariji* za pisce koji su stvarali u 19. vijeku.

2. **Konsonant + r + kratko jat**

U ovoj poziciji u velikom broju primjera jat se supstituiše sa *e*.

Pisci sa crnogorskog govornog područja, kako mlađi, tako i stariji, opredjeljuju se češće za ekavske oblike iako se kod njih mogu naći i primjeri sa grupom *je* kao zamjenom jata u jednini kada su u pitanju riječi sa korijenom ***grѣh***. Navedeni pisci upotrebljavaju i dvosložni refleks, istina znatno rjeđe, za iste lekseme.

Kod Vuka S. Karađića se može naći i *grješnik* i *pogrješka*, ali i *grešnik* i *pogreška*, kao i *griješan* i *griješka* mada je oblike sa *je*-refleksom smatrao pravilnijim. U jeziku Petra I u oblicima: *grѣhota*, *grѣšni*, *sagrѣh*, grafema jat zamijenjena je grupom *je.* Zabilježen je i jedan primjer sa ekavskim oblikom *sagrešenъ*[109]*.* Njegoš navedene riječi koristi i sa grupom *je* i sa vokalom *e*. Ekavski oblik potvrđen je u riječima: *sagrešenje* i *grešnika*, a jekavski u primjeru *pogrješka*[110]*.* Isključivo ekavski oblik navedenih riječi registrovan je u jeziku Nikole I[111]. Riječi sa osnovom *grѣh* M. Miljanov bilježi sa vokalom *e* kao zamjenom jata: *grešna*, *pogrešku*, *greota*[112]*.* Jekavski oblici navedenih riječi karakterišu jezik Stefana Mitrova Ljubiše. Međutim, kod njega su posvjedočeni i oblici sa vokalom *e*[113]*.* Jovan Vuković smatra da se zadržavanje pisanja *j* kod riječi *grješnik* može objasniti jedino po uzoru na Vuka i Daničića. Suprotnog mišljenja je D. Petrović, koji kaže: "Ako se, međutim, i danas ponegde sretne grupa *grje*-, ona se u književnom jeziku mora posmatrati kao dijalektizam ili kao nepismenost"[114].

Jedino ekavski oblik za navedene riječi nađen je u dnevnoj štampi.

Zamjena jata sekvencom *je* kod istih ili sličnih leksema potvrđena je u zapadnocrnogorskim i istočnohercegovačkim govorima[115]. Ekavska zamjena vokala jat potvrđena je u govorima Bjelopavlića, Mrkovića, istočnocrnogorskim govorima, govorima Uskoka, Crmnice, Pive i Drobnjaka, kolašinskim[116] i srednjokatunsko-lješanskim govorima[117]. Međutim, u rovačkom govoru u upotrebi je oblik *grota*, koji je nastao asimilacijom, ali Dragoljub Petrović je čuo i oblik sa ekavskom zamjenom jata[118].

---

[109] Ostojić, *Petar I*, 87, 88.
[110] Vušović, *Njegoš*, 11.
[111] Nenezić, *Nikola I*, 68.
[112] Glušica, *Miljanov*, 52.
[113] Tepavčević, *S. M. Ljubiša*, 79, 88.
[114] Petrović, *O sudbini grupe rj*, 161.
[115] Vušović, *Hercegovina*, 9; Peco, *Istočna Hercegovina*, 57.
[116] U kolašinskom govoru oblik *greota* zabilježen je i u navedenom obliku, ali i kao *grota* [Pižurica, *Kolašin*, 69].
[117] Ćupić, *Bjelopavlići*, 27, 30; Vujović, *Mrkovići*, 103; Stevanović, *Istočnocrnogorski*, 21; Stanić, *Uskoci*, 69; Miletić, *Crmnica*, 247; Vuković, *Piva i Drobnjaci*, 16; Pižurica, *Kolašin*, 69; Pešikan, *SK-LJ*, 104, 230
[118] Petrović, *Rovci*, 167.

M. Stanić konstatuje da su "oblici sa *j* – knjiška stvar i stvar školovanih ijekavaca a da se u narodu govori bez toga *j* i da tako treba da bude i u književnom jeziku"[119].

U Pravopisu iz 1960. nalazimo sledeće oblike *greška*, ali ne *griješka*, zatim *grešan*, *grešiti*, *greška*, *grešnica*, *grešnik*, *grešnost*[120]*.* U pravopisnim pravilima se nalazi objašnjenje: "Ta ekavska zamjena razvila se samostalno na ijekavskom području zbog artikulacionih razloga, jer se skupina *–rje-* ako je ispred nje koji samoglasnik dosta teško izgovara"[121]. Pravopis MS i Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić kao normativnu propisuju ekavsku zamjenu jata u riječima sa korijenom *grѣh* u padežima jednine: *grešan*, *grešnik*, *grešnica*, *grešaka*[122]*.* Istu situaciju imamo i u Pravopisu BG-NK[123]. Pravopis M. Dešića propisuje upotrebu ekavskih oblika navedenih riječi[124]. Pravopis bosanskoga jezika normira dubletne ekavsko/jekavske oblike u jednini za riječi s korijenom *grѣh* [125]. Pravopis Anić-Silić i Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović kao ispravne navode samo ekavske oblike za već pominjane riječi[126]*.* Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš[127] prezentuje samo jekavsku zamjenu za navedene lekseme u jednini[128]. Pravopis crnogorskog jezika kao najprihvatljivije rješenje za oblike jednine riječi sa osnovom *grѣh* navodi dubletne jekavsko-ekavske oblike[129].

3. Vokal + r + kratko jat ili sonant r na početku riječi + kratko jat

Ukoliko sonantu *r* ne prethodi konsonant, već se on nalazi na početku riječi ili je ispred njega vokal, jat se zamjenjuje grupom *je.*

Prema trenutno važećoj pravopisnoj normi, za glagol ***gorjeti*** i riječi nastale od njega propisana je jekavska zamjena jata. Od mlađih crnogorskih pisaca jedino V. Mijušković i Ž. Komanin dosledno koriste *je*-refleks, dok smo kod Đilasa našli samo jedan primjer sa vokalom *e*. Stariji crnogorski pisci uglavnom koriste oblike sa ekavskom zamjenom jata, izuzev N. Kovačević koji upotrebljava jekavsku i R. Perovića koji upotrebljava dubletne, jekavske i ekavske, oblike. Petar I u glagolu *izgorѣti* kratko jat supstituiše sekvencom *je*[130]*.* Miljanov isti glagol koristi sa vokalom *e*[131]*.* Ljubiša glagol o kome je riječ bilježi i u ekavskom i u jekavskom obliku, a evidentan je i primjer ikavskog

---

[119] Stanić, *Uskoci*, 69.
[120] *Pravopis 1960*, 246.
[121] *Pravopis 1960*, 29.
[122] *Pravopis MS*, 194; *Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić*, 75.
[123] *Pravopis BG-NK*, 192.
[124] *Pravopis M. Dešića*, 162.
[125] *Pravopis bosanskoga jezika*, 170.
[126] *Pravopis Anić-Silić*, 349; *Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović*, 392.
[127] Iste oblike kao i *Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš* predočava i *Hrvatski školski pravopis*, Babić, Ham, Moguš, pa nećemo navoditi njegove primjere da se ne bismo ponavljali.
[128] *Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš*, 233.
[129] *Pravopis crnogorskog jezika*, 203.
[130] Ostojić, *Petar I*, 87.
[131] Glušica, *Miljanov*, 52.

oblika[132]. Njegoš za isti glagol ima dvojaku vrijednost ѣ: *izgore*, ali *izgorjeti*, *pregorjet*, *izgorje*, *sagorje*[133]. Ekavska zamjena jata posvjedočena je u primjeru *sagorelijeh* kod Nikole I[134].

U svakodnevnoj upotrebnoj praksi u Crnoj Gori čuju se najčešće oblici s jekavskom zamjenom jata.

Refleks *je* javlja se u zapadnocrnogorskim govorima, kao i govorima istočne Hercegovine[135]. Obilci sa vokalom *e* mogu se čuti u crmničkim, uskočkim, istočnocrnogorskim govorima, zatim govorima Pive i Drobnjaka[136], mrkovićkim, kolašinskim[137], srednjokatunsko-lješanskom, paštrovskim, pješivačkim, rovačkim, kao i bjelopavlićkim govorima[138].

U Pravopisu iz 1960. i Pravopisu MS normativan je sljedeći oblik - glagol *gorjeti*[139]. Pravopis BG-NK i Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić dopuštaju jekavske i ekavske oblike za navedeni glagol[140]. Pravopis M. Dešića za glagol o kojem je riječ daje jekavski oblik[141]. Svršeni glagoli imaju jekavski oblik normiran Pravopisom bosanskog jezika, tipa *dogorjeti*, *pregorjeti*, *sagorjeti*, *zagorjeti*[142]. Glagol *gorjeti* u Pravopisu Anić-Silić, Hrvatskom pravopisu Babić-Finka-Moguš i Hrvatskom pravopisu Badurina-Marković-Mićanović dat je s jekavskim refleksom[143]. Ista situacija je i u Pravopisu crnogorskog jezika[144].

Od riječi u čijoj osnovi se nalazi pridjev ***star*** variranja koja se tiču supstituisanja starog vokala jat dolaze do izražaja kod imenice *starješina.*

Frekventnost upotrebe imenice *starješina* u obliku sa *je*-refleksom, i u jednini i u množini, u našoj građi je obimna. Pisci koji su stvarali u drugoj polovini 20. vijeka koriste jekavske oblike, osim Lalića, koji naporedo koristi i jekavske i ekavske oblike. S

---

132 Tepavčević, *S. M. Ljubiša*, 86, 84, 88.

133 Vušović, *Njegoš*, 11.

134 Nenezić, *Nikola I*, 68.

135 Stevanović, *Istočnocrnogorski*, 23; Vušović, *Hercegovina*, 9.

136 "Ne znam zašto bi se stalo na pola puta u književnom jeziku, - kad se već počelo sa ispravljanjem Vukova pisanja reči strjelica, pogrješka i sl., što je već učinjeno, - zašto se ne bi išlo i dalje sa riječima kao što su gorjeti, rječit i sl., kad se stvarno malo gde u narodnim govorima te reči tako izgovaraju" – Vuković, *Piva i Drobnjaci*, 16.

137 Ikavski oblik zabilježen je u složenici *pregorio* [Pižurica, *Kolašin*, 72].

138 Miletić, *Crmnica*, 247; Vuković, *Piva i Drobnjaci*, 16; Stanić, *Uskoci*, 69; Stevanović, *Istočnocrnogorski*, 23; Vujović, *Mrkovići*, 116; Pižurica, *Kolašin*, 69; Pešikan, *SK-LJ*, 105; Jovanović, *Paštrovići*, 111; Petrović, *Pješivci*, 162; Petrović, *Rovci*, 173; Ćupić, *Bjelopavlići*, 27; Vuković, *Piva i Drobnjaci*, 16.

139 *Pravopis 1960*, 243; *Pravopis MS*, 193.

140 *Pravopis BG-NK*, 189; *Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić*, 75.

141 *Pravopis M. Dešića*, 162.

142 *Pravopis bosanskoga jezika*, 165, 192, 196, 207.

143 *Pravopis Anić-Silić*, 345; *Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš*, 230; *Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović*, 391.

144 *Pravopis crnogorskog jezika*, 201.

obzirom na to da je ova imenica kod M. Đilasa nađena u samo jednom primjeru u obliku *starešina* možemo je smatrati autorovim previdom, iz razloga što priređivać Vasilije Kalezić, kao napomenu na kraju korištenog izdanja romana, navodi: "Ovom prilikom autor je izvršio ijekavizaciju teksta što ima smisao definitivne verzije istog". Kada su u pitanju stariji pisci sa crnogorskog govornog područja, može se zaključiti da nemaju jedinstveno rješenje. I kod njih je primjetna naporedna upotreba jekavskih i ekavskih oblika. Petrovići, uglavnom, prednost daju jekavskim oblicima ove imenice. Petar I i Ljubiša imenicu *starješina* pišu trojako[145]. Ako su napisani sa vokalom *e* treba ih smatrati ekavskim, ukoliko su sa grafemom ѣ onda su jekavski, a ako sadrže grupu *ie* onda su ijekavski[146]. Njegoš i Nikola I dosledno upotrebljavaju oblike sa sekvencom *je*[147]. Dvojaku upotrebu posvjedoćili smo kod Miljanova, kod koga nailazimo na kolebanje između dvosložnog refleksa *ije* i vokala *e*, mada su primjeri s ekavskom zamjenom brojniji[148].

U dnevnim novinama navedena leksema je upotrijebljena isključivo s jekavskom zamjenom jata.

U crnogorskim narodnim govorima situacija je sljedeća: obje varijante, jekavska i ekavska prisutne su u kolašinskom govoru, u kojem je ekavska varijanta znatno češća, zatim u uskočkom[149], u govoru Pive i Drobnjaka i u istočnocrnogorskom govoru[150]. Oblik sa jekavskom zamjenom jata potvrđen je u govoru Bjelopavlića i zapadne Crne Gore[151]. Govor Crmnice, Paštrovića, Mrkovića, Pješivaca, kao i srednjokatunsko-lješanski govor koriste oblike sa vokalom *e*[152]. Oblik sa sekvencom *je* može se čuti jedino u lješanskom selu Parci[153].

Prema Pravopisu iz 1960, Pravopisu MS, Pravopisu BG-NK i Pravopisu M. Dešića normativan je samo jekavski oblik prethodno navedene imenice[154]. Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić propisuje upotrebu dubletnog, ekavskog i ijekavskog, oblika[155]. Imenica *starješina* data je s sekvencom *je* mjesto jata u Pravopisu Anić-Silić, Hrvatskom pravopisu Babić-

---

145 Ostojić, *Petar I*, 88; Tepavčević, *S. M. Ljubiša*, 89.

146 Ostojić, *Petar I*, 88.

147 Vušović, *Njegoš*, 11; Nenezić, *Nikola I*, 68.

148 Glušica, *Miljanov*, 53.

149 "Glas *j* se, dakle, izgubio iza glasa *r* u uskočkom govoru; ja sam ga čuo jedino u reči *starješina*, pored *starešina*" [Stanić, *Uskoci*, 69].

150 Pižurica, *Kolašin*, 69; Stanić, *Uskoci*, 69; Vuković, *Piva i Drobnjaci*, 16; Stevanović, *Istočnocrnogorski*, 23.

151 Stevanović, *Istočnocrnogorski*, 23; Vušović, *Hercegovina*, 9.

152 Miletić, *Crmnica*, 247; Jovanović, *Paštrovići*, 111; Vujović, *Mrkovići*, 116; Petrović, *Pješivci*, 162; Pešikan, *SK-LJ*, 104, 230.

153 Pešikan, *SK-LJ*, 105.

154 *Pravopis 1960*, 716; *Pravopis MS*, 300; *Pravopis BG-NK*, 526; pravopisna pravila uz *Pravopis M. Dešića*, 23.

155 *Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić*, 174.

Finka-Moguš i Hrvatskom pravopisu Badurina-Marković-Mićanović[156]. Isti oblik propisuje Pravopis crnogorskog jezika[157].

Nesvršeni glagol ***rješavati*** i njegove izvedenice najčešće su u upotrebi sa *je*-refleksom u jeziku mlađih crnogorskih pisaca. Kod M. Lalića zabilježen je samo jedan primjer sa ekavskom zamjenom jata. Stefan Ljubiša pri upotrebi istih ili sličnih leksema koristi likove sa *je*-refleksom[158]. Kod Nikole I u upotrebi je ijekavski oblik, s rijetkim primjerima jekavske i ekavske forme[159]. Kod Petra II su zabilježeni oblici *rešenije* i *rješenije*[160].

U dnevnim novinama su u upotrebi isključivo jekavski oblici.

Paralelna upotreba ijekavskih i ekavskih oblika je u crmničkom govoru[161]. Samo ekavski lik zabilježen je u Bjelopavlićima, Paštrovićima, Kolašinu, Mrkovićima i Uskocima[162].

Samo jekavske likove propisuju Pravopis iz 1960, Pravopis BG-NK, Pravopis MS i Pravopis M. Dešića za navedeni glagol[163]. Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić dozvoljava dubletne jekavsko-ekavske oblike za glagol *rješavati* i njegove izvedenice[164]. Jekavske oblike navedenih riječi potvrđuje i Pravopis bosanskoga jezika, kao i Pravopis Anić-Silić, Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš i Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović [165]. Takođe, jekavski oblik za glagol *rješavati* i riječi izvedene od njega normira Pravopis crnogorskog jezika[166].

Komparativ pridjeva ***rijedak*** prema trenutnom normativnom rješenju, trebao bi da se upotrebljava u obliku *rjeđi.* Takav lik, kao jedini, nađen je kod mlađih crnogorskih pisaca, kao i u dnevnoj štampi i svakodnevnoj komunikaciji. Isti oblik koriste i stariji pisci. Izuzetak predstavlja J. Ivaniševića u čijoj pripovijetci smo registrovali jedan primjer s vokalom *e* mjesto jata.

Ekavski oblik zabilježen je u uskočkom, paštrovskom i crmničkom govoru, kao i u jezersko-šaranskom, koji pripada široj skupini drobnjačkih govora[167].

---

156 *Pravopis Anić-Silić*, 787; *Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš*, 417; *Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović*, 574.

157 *Pravopis crnogorskog jezika*, 380.

158 Tepavčević, *S. M. Ljubiša*, 80.

159 Nenezić, *Nikola I*, 62, 69.

160 Nenezić, *Nikola I*, 69.

161 Miletić, *Crmnica*, 346.

162 Ćupić, *Bjelopavlići*, 27; Jovanović, *Paštrovići*, 111; Pižurica, *Kolašin*, 69; Vujović, *Mrkovići*, 109; Stanić, *Uskoci*, 69.

163 *Pravopis 1960*, 672; *Pravopis BG-NK*, 516; pravopisna pravila uz *Pravopis MS*, 67; *Pravopis M. Dešića*,176.

164 *Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić*, 165.

165 *Pravopis bosanskoga jezika*, 195, *Pravopis Anić- Silić,* 746; *Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš,* 395; *Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović, 359.*

166 *Pravopis crnogorskog jezika*, 359.

167 Stanić, *Uskoci*, 69; Jovanović, *Paštrovići*, 111; Miletić, *Crmnica*, 247; Ostojić 2003, 258.

Jekavski oblik komparativa pridjeva *rijedak* je Pravopisom iz 1960, Pravopisom BG-NK, Pravopisom MS i Pravopisom M. Dešića normiran kao najprihvatljiviji[168]. Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić propisuje upotrebu oblika *ređi* i *rjeđi*[169]. Jekavski oblik komparativa pridjeva *rijedak* bilježi Pravopis bosanskoga jezika, kao i Pravopis Anić-Silić, Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš i Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović, a i Pravopis crnogorskog jezika[170].

Variranje refleksa jata prisutno je kod riječi nastalih od imenice ***riječ***. Problem je složenije prirode, jer se u dobijenim riječima mogu naći i ekavski, i jekavski i ijekavski oblici.

J. Vuković i M. Stevanović za deminutiv imenice *riječ* kao ispravne normiraju samo oblike sa *je* zamjenom jata[171]. U našem korpusu takav oblik zabilježen je u samo dva primjera iz jezika M. Đilasa.

U svakodnevnoj upotrebnoj praksi u Crnoj Gori navedeni deminutiv ima jekavski oblik, dok je zamjena jata *e*-refleksom prisutna u istočnocrnogorskom govoru[172].

Pravopis iz 1960. i Pravopis BG-NK dopuštaju samo ijekavske oblike za deminutiv imenice *riječ*[173]. Pravopis MS pored ijekavskog normira i jekavski oblik[174]. Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić normira ijekavski oblik, uz napomenu da je običniji jekavski ili ekavski oblik[175]. Jekavski oblik propisuje i Pravopis bosanskoga jezika[176]. Oblik sa grupom *ije* za deminutiv pomenute imenice dat je Pravopisom Anić-Silić, Hrvatskim pravopisom Babić-Finka-Moguš i Hrvatskim pravopisom Badurina-Marković-Mićanović[177]. Dubletni ijekavsko-ekavski oblik za deminutiv imenice *riječ* normira Pravopis crnogorskog jezika[178].

Imenica *narječje* nije pronađena ni u jeziku mlađih, ni starijih crnogorskih pisaca. Ta imenica se u crnogorskoj govornoj praksi upotrebljava u jekavskom obliku, dok se u istočnocrnogorskom dijalektu čuje kao *nareč(j)e*[179].

Za navedenu imenicu Pravopisom iz 1960, Pravopisom BG-NK i Pravopisom MS predviđen je jekavski oblik[180]. Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić propisuje dvojak, jekavski i ekavski,

---

[168] *Pravopis 1960*, 671; *Pravopis BG-NK*, 516; *Pravopis MS*, 287; *Pravopis M. Dešića*, 176.
[169] *Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić*, 165.
[170] *Pravopis bosanskoga jezika*, 195; *Pravopis Anić-Silić*, 745; *Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš*, 394; *Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović*, 556. *Pravopis crnogorskog jezika*, 359.
[171] Vuković, *Pravopisna pravila*, 71; Stevanović, *Neki sporni jekavizmi*, 119.
[172] Stevanović, *Istočnocrnogorski*, 672.
[173] *Pravopis 1960*, 671; *Pravopis BG-NK*, 516.
[174] *Pravopis MS*, 288.
[175] *Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić*, 165.
[176] *Pravopis bosanskoga jezika*, 195.
[177] *Pravopis Anić-Silić*, 744; *Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš*, 394; *Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović*, 556.
[178] *Pravopis crnogorskog jezika*, 359.
[179] Stevanović, *Istočnocrnogorski*, 23.
[180] *Pravopis 1960*, 452; *Pravopis BG-NK*, 346; *Pravopis MS*, 249.

oblik[181]. Kao najprihvatljivije rješenje za imenicu *narječje* Pravopis Anić-Silić, Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš i Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović normiraju jekavski oblik[182]. Ista imenica Pravopisom crnogorskog jezika normirana je s jekavskim refleksom[183].

Imenicu *rječnik* u našem korpusu registrovali smo u svega tri primjera i to u jekavskom obliku, koji je prisutan i u crnogorskom jezičkom uzusu.

Ekavski oblik zabilježen je u kolašinskom govoru, s tim da se jekavski oblik može čuti u govoru mlađih, ali dosta rijetko[184]. Takođe, ekavski oblik prisutan je u govoru Mrkovića i Uskoka[185].

Prema Pravopisu iz 1960, Pravopisu BG-NK i Pravopisu MS normativan je oblik sa sekvencom *je* mjesto jata[186]. Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić dozvoljava naporednu upotrebu oblika sa grupom *je* i onih sa vokalom *e*[187]. Jekavski oblik je propisan i Pravopisom bosanskoga jezika, kao i Pravopisom Anić-Silić, Hrvatskim pravopisom Babić-Finka-Moguš i Hrvatskim pravopisom Badurina-Marković-Mićanović, a i Pravopisom crnogorskog jezika[188].

Pridjev *rječit* posvjedočen je sa jekavskim likom. Takav oblik navedenog pridjeva se u najvećem broju slučajeva čuje u crnogorskoj jezičkoj praksi, dok se u govoru Kolašina, govoru Bjelopavlića, Paštrovića, Crmnice, Uskoka, istočnocrnogorskom govoru i govoru Prošćenja (okoline Mojkovca) za ovaj pridjev koristi ekavski oblik[189].

Pridjev *rječit* sa jekavskim refleksom normiran je Pravopisom iz 1960, Pravopisom MS i Pravopisom M. Dešića[190]. Jekavski i ekavski oblik dozvoljen je Rečnikom Ostojić-Vujičić[191]. Pravopis bosanskoga jezika prezentuje jekavski oblik za ovaj pridjev[192]. Oblik sa sekvencom *je* ima navedeni pridjev u Pravopisu Anić-Silić, Hrvatskom pravopisu Babić-Finka-Moguš i Hrvatskom pravopisu Badurina-Marković-Mićanović, a isto tako i Pravopisom crnogorskog jezika[193]

---

[181] *Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić*, 106.
[182] *Pravopis Anić-Silić*, 498; *Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš*, 295; *Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović*, 458.
[183] *Pravopis cnogorskog jezika*, 264.
[184] Pižurica, *Kolašin*, 69.
[185] Vujović, *Mrkovići*, 109; Stanić, *Uskoci*, 69.
[186] *Pravopis 1960*, 672; *Pravopis BG-NK*, 516; *Pravopis MS*, 288.
[187] *Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić*, 165.
[188] *Pravopis bosanskoga jezika*, 195; *Pravopis Anić-Silić*, 745; *Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš*, 394; *Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović*, 557; *Pravopis crnogorskog jezika*, 359.
[189] Pižurica, *Kolašin*, 69; Ćupić, *Bjelopavlići*, 27; Jovanović, *Paštrovići*, 111; Miletić, *Crmnica*, 247; Stanić, *Uskoci*, 69; Stevanović, *Istočnocrnogorski*, 23; Vujičić, 106.
[190] *Pravopis 1960*, 672; *Pravopis MS*, 288; *Pravopis M. Dešića*, 176.
[191] *Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić*, 165.
[192] *Pravopis bosanskoga jezika*, 195.
[193] *Pravopis Anić-Silić*, 745; *Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš*, 394; *Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović*, 557; *Pravopis crnogorskog jezika*, 359.

Prilog ***gore*** u obliku sa *e*-refleksom kratkog *jata* našli smo u jeziku mlađih crnogorskih pisaca. Isti oblik smo zabilježili i iz jezika starijih crnogorskih pisaca. Međutim, naš materijal raspolaže i s *je*-refleksom, istina samo jednim, i to iz jezika N. Kovačevića.

Oblik *gorje* odlika je jezika P. P. Njegoša[194]. Kod Ljubiše naporedo funkcionišu oblici *gorje* i *gore*[195].

Isključivo ekavski oblik je u upotrebi u svakodnevnoj govornoj praksi.

Jekavski oblik potvrđen je u bjelopavlićkom selu Vražegrmci, pješivačkom i istočnohercegovačkom govoru, u kojem je u upotrebi i oblik *gorije*[196]. Ekavski oblik evidentan je u Kolašinu, u starocrnogorskim govorima, kao i u govoru Pive i Drobnjaka, u kojem se čuje jekavski oblik samo u slučajevima kada ratar opominje vola koji je iskrivio brazdu, skrećući naniže[197]. Isti oblik evidentan je i u paštrovskom govoru[198].

Ekavski oblik normira Pravopis iz 1960, kao i Pravopis MS, Pravopis M. Dešića, a takođe, i Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić, kao i Pravopis bosanskoga jezika, Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš, kao i Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović, a isto tako i Pravopisu crnogorskog jezika[199].

4. Zaključak

Analizirajući cjelokupnu građu može se primijetiti variranje refleksa jata u svim pozicijama. Nameće se zaključak da crnogorska jezička praksa nije u skladu s trenutno važećom normom.

Hrvatska ijekavica se u osnovi bazira na pravilima upotrebe refleksa jata koje je dao Vuk S. Karadžić, a kao što možemo vidjeti iz prezentovanog materijala od nje se samo u pojedinostima razlikuje bosansko-hercegovačka ijekavica. Između crnogorske, hrvatske i bosansko-hercegovačke ijekavice postoje mnoge sličnosti, ali i razlike, koje crnogorsku odvajaju od ostalala dva tipa ijekavice. Vokal *e* u primjeru tipa *grešan* i sl. je ono što crnogorsku ijekavicu razlikuje od hrvatske i bosansko-hercegovačke. U Hrvatskoj ijekavici u upotrebi su jekavski oblici *rječnik*, *starješina* i dr., a u bosansko-hercegovačkoj oba lika, i jekavski i ekavski, s tim da su oblici sa sekvencom *je* češći.

Crnogorski pisci, i stariji i mlađi, kada je u pitanju pozicija ***konsonant + r + kratko jat*** opredjeljuju se uglavnom za ekavske oblike. Odstupanja su primjetna kod riječi s korijenom *grѣh*, i to uglavnom kod starijih pisaca, kod kojih se jekavski refleks

---

194 Vušović, *Njegoš*, 11.

195 Tepavčević, *S. M. Ljubiša*, 89.

196 Ćupić, *Bjelopavlići*, 27; Petrović, *Pješivci*, 162; Peco, *Istočna Hercegovina*, 57; Vušović, *Hercegovina*, 9.

197 Pižurica, *Kolašin*, 69; Pešikan, *SK-LJ*, 105; Vuković, *Piva i Drobnjaci*, 17.

198 Jovanović, *Paštrovići*, 111.

199 *Pravopis 1960*, 243; *Pravopis MS*, 1995, 193; *Pravopis M.Dešića*, 162; *Rečnik Ostojić-Vujičić*, 75; *Pravopis bosanskoga jezika*, 169; *Hrvatski pravopis Babić-Finka-Moguš*, 230; *Hrvatski pravopis Badurina-Marković-Mićanović*, 391; *Pravopis crnogorskog jezika*, 201.

može objasniti Vukovim i Daničićevim uticajem, koji koriste oba oblika ili se može tumačiti uticajem govora istočne Hercegovine. Dubletna upotreba kod mlađih crnogorskih pisaca, Č. Vukovića i M. Đilasa, nema opravdanja u matičnim govorima samih pisaca, jer pored likova sa jekavskom zamjenom, koriste i ekavske oblike, pa ta ostupanja možemo tumačiti samo povredom norme. Pravopisi koji su na snazi prednost daju ekavskim oblicima. Znači, analizirajući cjelokupan sakupljeni materijal, u budućem Pravopisu crnogorskog jezika bi u ovoj pozicija trebalo normirati ekavske oblike.

Supstitucija jata iza sonanta *r*, koje je na početku riječi ili je ispred njega vokal, kod starijih pisaca, pod uticajem sredine iz koje potiču, u najvećem broju slučajeva, vezana je za ekavski oblik. Izuzetak čine oni pisci čije je porijeklo istočna Hercegovina, gdje je u upotrebi jekavski refleks. Kod crnogorskih pisaca druge polovine 20. vijeka prisutan je *je*-refleks. U ovoj poziciji nedosljednosti se uglavnom javljaju kod glagola *gorjeti* i njegovih izvedenica, iako je u većini slučajeva registrovan *je*-refleks jata, kako u jeziku pisaca s crnogorskog govornog područja, tako i u važećim pravopisima. Izuzetak čine narodni govori u kojima se češće čuje ekavski oblik.

Kod imenice *starješina* nasuprot stanju u narodnim govorima u kojima se ekavski oblici češće čuju, jekavska zamjena je na snazi kod starijih i mlađih crnogorskih pisaca, kao i u dnevnoj štampi, a isto tako i u aktuelnim pravopisima, pa bi takav oblik trebalo da zadrži i u novom Pravopisu crnogorskog jezika.

Govorna i pisana riječ u Crnoj Gori se ne slaže kada je u pitanju glagol *rješavati* i njegove izvedenice. U narodnim govorima preovladavaju ekavski likovi, a u jeziku pisaca, u dnevnim listovima i u savremenim pravopisima jekavski oblici. Istu situaciju imamo i kod komparativa pridjeva *rijedak*. Jekavski oblik glagola *rješavati*, kao i komparativa pridjeva *rijedak* trebalo bi da propiše kao jedino ispravne i novi Pravopis.

Reparticija jata u izvedenicama od imenice *riječ* kod crnogorskih pisaca je jekavska, dok je u narodnim govorima prisutan *e*-refleks jata. Pravopisi koje smo koristili kao normativne daju uglavnom jekavske oblike. Budući Pravopis bi trebalo da normira jekavske oblike za izvedenice od navedene imenice.

Prilog *gore* sa *je*-refleksom prisutan je na području istočnohercegovačkih govora, dok je ekavski oblik u upotrebi u najvećem broju crnogorskih narodnih govora, kao i u aktuelnim pravopisima. Na osnovu prethodno rečenog, ekavski oblik priloga *gore* trebalo bi normirati u Pravopisu crnogorskog jezika.

Na osnovu prezentovane materije i zaključaka o svakom obliku pojedinačno može se reći, da kad je u pitanju pravopisni problem jata iza sonanta *r* u svim pozicijama, da su se iskristalisali neki predlozi za budući crnogorski pravopis. Uzeta je u obzir situacija u crnogorskoj literarnoj tradiciji, u savremenom književno-umjetničkom stilu, u crnogorskim narodnim govorima, u svakodnevnoj jezičkoj praksi i publicističkom stilu i, naravno, u normativistici: pravopisima i pravopisnim rječnicima i gramatikama srpskohrvatskog, srpskog, hrvatskog, bosanskog i crnogorskog jezika.

Literatura

Babić, S. (2005) **Temelji Hrvatskomu pravopisu**, Zagreb: Školska knjiga

Belić, A. (1999) **Istorija srpskog jezika**, Izabrana djela, knj. 4, Beograd

Bošković, R. (2000) **Osnovi uporedne gramatike slovenskih jezika**, Beograd: Trebnik

Karađić Stefanović, V. (1896) "Glavna pravila za južno narječje", **Gramatički i polemički spisi**, knj. III, Beograd, str. 299-303

Ostojić, B. (2001) „Strukturalno-genetski identitet crnogorske standardne ijekavice", **Jezik i demokratizacija (Zbornik radova)**, Sarajevo, str. 193-202

Petrović, D. (1975) "O sudbini grupe *rj* i nekim srodnim pojavama u srpskohrvatskom književnom jeziku i nekim njegovim dijalektima", **Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu**, knj. XVIII/1, str. 157-164

Sladojević, P. (1959) "O refleksu kratkoga ѣ iza r u književnom jeziku južnoga izgovora", **Naš jezik**, knj. IX, sv. 7-10, str. 302-304

Stevanović, M. (1953) "Neki sporni jekavizmi", **Stvaranje,** 3, g.VIII, str. 108-119

Stevanović, M. (1975) **Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik I**, Beograd: Naučna knjiga

Vuković, Jovan (1934) "*Gorjeti* ili *goreti* u književnom jeziku ijekavskog narječja", **Naš jezik**, II, sv. 6

Vuković, J. (1949) **Pravopisna pravila i uputstva za pisanje ijekavskih glasovnih oblika**, Sarajevo: Svjetlost

Vuković, J. (1971) **Glas ě (ѣ) u istorijskom razvizku i u savremenom srpskohrvatskom jeziku,** Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine: Sarajevo, str. 89-132

Vuković, J. (1974) **Istorija srpskohrvatskog jezika**, I dio. Uvod i fonetika, Beograd: Naučna knjiga

UDK 81'42:32

Milica Vuković

THE DISCOURSE OF POLITICAL INTERVIEWS: INTERVIEWER TURNS

Abstract: *This paper examines the structure of interviewer turns in British, American and Montenegrin televised political interviews. The analysis undertaken aims to identify their elements and determine the patterns in which they are organised. Apart from structurally defining the discourse of these turns, the paper seeks to provide a comparison of the nature of the language used, especially in terms of adversarialness that interviewers express towards interviewees. Findings point out that political interviews are modelled on a restricted set of stable language patterns.*

Key words: *interviewer, turn, pattern, adversarialness*

1. Introduction

The news interview is not characterized by spontaneous conversation solely. In fact, it is a type of interaction largely influenced by media and political norms and institutions; the news interview is a social institution in its own right (Clayman, 2001b: 10643). The sequences of questions and answers revolve around a set of predetermined roles – the roles of the interviewer and the interviewee and defined social and language conventions. Interviewer turns are rather complex in that they consist of a variety of constituents, the combinations of which allow for the questions to be asked and the interview to be managed.

The corpus used in this paper consists of 18 hours of broadcast political interviews (105,000 words). Namely, I have analysed three groups of interviews: the American, British and Montenegrin political interviews with approximately six hours of interviews in each group respectively. The major criteria for assembling the corpus were that they be only one-on-one interviews and that there be no audience participating in the interview.

The British group of interviews (30,000 words) is made up of 11 interviews taken from BBC1, BBC News, BBC World, Sky News, Channel 4 and the British edition of Euronews. The American group of interviews (33,000 words) consists of 10 interviews taken from CNN, CBS, ABC and Fox News, whereas the Montenegrin group of political interviews (42,000 words) consists of 8 interviews taken from RTCG, TV IN and TV Vijesti.

The methodology used in the analysis of the corpus draws on conversation analysis, genre analysis and critical discourse analysis.

Not much research has been done into the nature of the interviewer turns realised in televised political interviews. The starting grounds for this analysis was the Clayman and Heritige's analysis of questions asked in presidential press conferences (Clayman and Heritage, 2002). The paper mentioned is a sociological analysis that was carried out in order to measure the level of adversarialness of the press towards the US presidents over a period of time. The structure of questions was brought into connection with the level of adversarialness expressed. Clayman and Heritage identified *questions with prefatory statements, multiple questions* and *super questions* and thus provided the starting point for this analysis.

It must be granted though that the interaction in political interviews is significantly different in relation to the interaction achieved in press conferences. In addition, the scope of this analysis is somewhat broader and aims at using linguistic tools. My data have shown that direct questions account for only 50% of all elements constituting interviewer turns. For all these reasons, I intend to suggest a deeper structural analysis of these sequences that would be more appropriate in the analysis of this genre.

2. Analysis

Interviewer turns consist of questions, statements functioning as questions or reactions to previous turns, backchannels, question supplements, question explanations, management elements and answers.

Naturally, the analysis of questions realised within interviewer turns refers not only to those questions which might be grammatically defined as questions, but to all those turn constituents that can be understood as questions, having in mind the context of the political interview. Consequently, a question can be realised subsententially, sententially and supersententially.

The missing elements of subsentential questions can be easily inferred from the context. They are typically used as *increments* (a continuation of the previous turn) or as a dynamical and effective tool to ask a yes-no question:

> **(1)** (B 1) **MIRAJ**: I actually think I could have helped David market the party and be a real Rottweiler for him - marketing and playing a tough role in the front line for him. Peerage or no peerage.
> **INTERVIEWER**: *In the House of Lords?*
> **MIRAJ**: Anywhere.
> (Channel 4, *News at Noon,* IR: K. Guru-Murty, IE: Ali Miraj, 31.07.2007)

Sentential questions include grammatical questions (interrogatives: yes-no questions, wh-questions, alternative and declarative questions) and questions substitutes (indirect questions and directives, i.e. questions hidden in commands). The range of question types which are used in political interviews is not in any way different from the one typical of everyday conversation, which is why I shall not go into details about it here.

Supersentential questions are not the norm in everyday conversation, which is why an analysis of such genre-specific linguistic features is of interest here. The catogories here presented bear some resemblance to the previously mentioned model derived by Clayman and Heritage. Supersentential questions are most commonly questions introduced by prefatory statements functioning as background, negation, relevance, contrast, riddle, perspective or evaluation. On the basis of the work done by Heritage and Roth (1995) and Clayman (1988) and my own analysis, I have concluded that *prepared questions* can have seven patterns:

1. background + question:
   (2) (B 2) **INTERVIEWER**: ... One of the impediments to substantive negotiations between ZANU PF and the opposition MDC was the opposition's demand that you step down from office. Now they have told us that that demand has gone away, do you think it is now time for negotiations between the two parties to get underway?
   (Sky News (freestanding interview), IR: Stuart Ramsey, IE: Robert Mugabe, 24.05.2004)

2. relevance + question:
   (3) (B 3) **INTERVIEWER**: Very briefly, Mr Cable, you are an economist, a professional economist, you weigh up numbers and data, do you think the Lib Dems will get a boost from this in the polls?
   (Sky News, *Jeff Randall Live*, IR: Jeff Randall, IE: Vince Cable, 15.10.2007)

3. negation + question:
   (4) (B 2) **INTERVIEWER**: No, they are saying you need produce more and you need food aid. You're saying you don't need food aid. In fact last week you were saying you would produce 2.3 million tons which far exceeds anything ever produced before. You are saying you do need food aid?
   (Sky News (freestanding interview), IR: Stuart Ramsey, IE: Robert Mugabe, 24.05.2004)

4. contrast + question:
   (5) (C 7) **INTERVJUISTA**: Onoliko koliko je g. Pavićević, koji je predsjednik sindikata, Reformskog krila sindikata u KC, saopštio ovdje na ovom mjestu u studiju jeste da su sakupili 1300 potpisa. To je više od polovine zaposlenih u KC. Da li vi smatrate da bez obzira što su oni, kako ste vi to saopštili u jednoj od vaših izjava, rekla sam prije par dana, oni nijesu dio Saveza sindikata Crne Gore i samim tim nisu legitimni predstavnici radnika, zaslužuju da bez obzira na sve

to 1300 zaposlenih dobiju (zp) makar prijem kod vas i da razgovaraju s vama o zahtjevima?
(TV Vijesti, *Načisto,* IR: Duška Pejović, IE: Miodrag Radunović, 3.06.2008)

5. riddle + question:
(6) (C 7) **INTERVJUISTA**: To je taj dio Saveza sindikata koji takođe predstavlja radnike KC, međutim, ovaj drugi dio reformskog sindikata, kojih ima 1800, na njihove zahtjeve niste odgovorili, zašto?
(TV Vijesti, *Načisto,* IR: Duška Pejović, IE: Miodrag Radunović, 3.06.2008)

6. perspective + question:
(7) (A 9) **INTERVIEWER**: So, philosophically, the argument is, you're going to be hurting John McCain doing this. Do you care?
(Fox News, *Your World with Neil Cavuto*, IR: Neil Cavuto, IE: Ron Paul, 10.06.2008)

7. evaluation + question:

(8) (A 1) **INTERVIEWER**: In my lifetime, I don't think I'd ever seen a primary and caucus race like the Democrats had. Did you feel at times in the past few months like the forgotten candidate?
(ABC News, *Who Is*, IR: Charles Gibson, IE: John McCain, 5.06.2008)

Unlike Clayman and Heritage, I have also identified its counterpart – supplemented questions:

(9) (C 5) **INTERVJUISTA**: (zp) Sjećate li se (.) kako je ta odluka donesena, ***mnogi modeli su simulirani, isprobavani, predlagani i na kraju=***
LAJČAK: - Da.
INTERVJUISTA: ***=se došlo do tog famoznog 55-45.***
(TV In, *Živa Istina*, IR: Darko Šuković, IE: Miroslav Lajčak, 6.05.2008)

It is frequently the case that more than one question is asked within the same turn and this is denoted as a multiple question. Interviewer turns can be even more complex than this, and it is not all that uncommon for a multiple question to be prepared or supplemented itself. What follows is an example of a prepared multiple question:

(10) (A 2) **INTERVIEWER**: ***(preparation-statement)*** *I was in Tehran last week with Scott Pelley interviewing Ahmadi-Nejad.* ***(question 1)*** *How much of a time deadline do you face?* ***(question 2)*** *Do you have to resolve this diplomatically or with sanctions before President Bush's term is up?* ***(question 3)*** *And if you don't,*

then does that mean that the President would use force? ***(question 4)*** *Is he determined to resolve this on his watch?*
(CBS News, *60 Minutes*, IR: Charlie Rose, IE: Condoleezza Rica, 28.09.2007)

Other elements of interviewer turns consist primarily of statements functioning within questions as:

1. prefatory statements:

(11) (A 2) **INTERVIEWER**: ***(preparation-statement)*** *I was in Tehran last week with Scott Pelley interviewing Ahmadi-Nejad.* ***(question 1)*** How much of a time deadline do you face? ***(question 2)*** Do you have to resolve this diplomatically or with sanctions before President Bush's term is up? ***(question 3)*** And if you don't, then does that mean that the President would use force? ***(question 4)*** Is he determined to resolve this on his watch?
(CBS News, *60 Minutes*, IR: Charlie Rose, IE: Condoleezza Rice, 28.09.2007)

2. supplements:

(12) (C 5) **INTERVJUISTA**: (zp) Sjećate li se (.) kako je ta odluka donesena, ***mnogi modeli su simulirani, isprobavani, predlagani i na kraju=***
LAJČAK: - Da.
INTERVJUISTA: =se došlo do tog famoznog 55-45.
(TV In, Živa Istina, IR: Darko Šuković, IE: Miroslav Lajčak, 6.05.2008)

3. question substitutes that simulteneously function as questions and reactions (question / reaction):

(13) (C 6) **KALAMPEROVIĆ**: Naravno, svima se traži, svim balkanskim zemljama se traži, ovaj, postoji i koordinator za to, postoji volja, postoji program da se to zlo suzbije, mi smo
INTERVJUISTA: - ***Samo još da se implementira.***
KALAMPEROVIĆ: Mi smo zadovoljni u tom pogledu i implementacijom.
(TV Vijesti, *Načisto*, IR: Duška Pejović, IE: Jusuf Kalamperović, 6.06.2008)

4. reactions (the third element of the exchange pattern):

(14) (C 8) **LUTOVAC**: =Kad se govori o ambasadi kao zgradi, prostoriji, onda bi trebalo očekivati da početkom jula, u Hercegovačkoj ulici, napravljen je jedan sporazum, na određeno vreme da tu bude smeštena ambasada u centru Podgorice, iako mi imamo na Cetinju zgradu (zp) koju ne mora niko da nam daje jer ona je=
INTERVJUISTA: ***- Tako je.***
LUTOVAC: =u svim papirima u vlasništvu Srbije, i ta zgrada je lepa jedna zgrada
(TV Vijesti, Načisto, IR: Duška Pejović, IE: Zoran Lutovac, 29.05.2008)

5. answers:

(15) (B 2) **INTERVIEWER**: International observers were critical of the election. **MUGABE**: Which international observers?
INTERVIEWER: ***A variety of countries.***
MUGABE: Which ones?
INTERVIEWER: ***Britain obviously was one of them, Australia...***
(Sky News (freestanding interview), IR: Stuart Ramsey, IE: Robert Mugabe, 24.05.2004)

6. question explanations:

(16) (B 2) **RAMSAY**: I'm not asking about National Service, this is a youth training scheme, it's basically...
(Sky News (freestanding interview), IR: Stuart Ramsey, IE: Robert Mugabe, 24.05.2004)

7. for various management purposes (time management, turn management, topic menagement, interruption management etc.).

Statements can be attributed to third parties:

(17) (A 10) **INTERVIEWER**: Good to have you here. ***Let me start by reading you a quote from Joe Lieberman in the "Wall Street Journal," an independent Democratic Senator, who has endorsed McCain. And he recently wrote, "Too many Democrats have seemed to have become confused about the difference between America's friends*** and America's enemies." Who does Barack Obama think are our enemies?
(Fox News, The Journal Editorial Report, IR: Paul Gigot, IE: James Rubin, 31.05.2008)

the interviewee:

(18) (C 2) **INTERVJUISTA**: (.) ***U svim dosadašnjim, je li, obraćanjima vas kao premijera, je li, kažete da sve to zavisi od građanina i da treba mnogo vjere, dosta kompleksa Šćepana Malog, ili ne znam.*** Na čemu temeljite (zp) (zp) tu tezu da sve to zavisi od nas. Da li neko treba da pripremi i taj ambijent?
(RTCG, *Intervju*, IR: Radojka Rutović, IE: Milo Đukanović, 21.03.2008)

or the interviewer himself / herself:

(19) (A 4) **INTERVIEWER**: ***I'm curious***. How did you see the video?
(CBS, *60 Minutes*, IR: Scott Pelley, IE: George W. Bush, 21.01.2007)

but can remain unattributed as well:

(20) (B 1) **INTERVIEWER**: Ali Miraj is with me now. ***It's quite an allegation that you were asking for a peerage just before you turned on him.*** Is it true? (Channel 4, *News at Noon,* IR: K. Guru-Murty, IE: Ali Miraj, 31.07.2007)

Now, let us see how this theoretical framework applies in the British, American and Montenegrin televised political interviews I have analysed.

Table 1. Constituents distribution

Constituents	B	A	M
Questions	48.76	50.8	48.76
Statements	44.51	38.35	39.38
Management	6.71	10.84	11.86

The distribution of constituents is almost identical in the three groups of interviews. What might surprise is the fact that only half the interviewer turns directly consist of questions and this seems to be a general characteristic of political interviews. The rest of the turn functions either as a prefatory statement or a question substitute, i.e. it functions as a question indirectly. Major differences can be noted though in the percentages relating to the frequency of management elements. There seems to be more management-related constituents in the Montenegrin group of interviews, whereas the use of these is minimal in the British political interviews. The frequency of management-related elements depends on a number of external factors such as whether the interview is a part of hybrid genre shows (typical in the US), the number of commercial breaks, time limits (typical of the Montenegrin interviews) and other similar factors.

Table 2. Question complexity

Question complexity	B	A	M
Incomplete	2.2	4.68	0.68
Simple	55.8	54.7	38.51
Prepared/Supplemented	34.8	30.2	21.62
Multiple	7.1	10.4	19.93

In the British and the American group of interviews, the vast majority of questions are yes/no questions. Consequently, the questions are direct, the turns are shorter and the conversation is dynamic. There are fewer prepared and supplemented questions in the Montenegrin group of interviews, which means that these are less clear. The incidence of a specific type of question can be brought into connection with the level of adversarialness expressed. Yes/no questions severely restrict the number of possible answers and are therefore more adversarial. This criterion suggests that the British and the American political interviews were more adversarial.

The Montenegrin politicians are presented with higher interactional demands because they have to provide answers to more complex questions (in this group of interviews, multiple questions account for 20% of all questions, which is double compared to the American and British political interviews). We must also bear in mind the fact that most of the multiple questions in the British and American political interviews are in fact pseudomultiple questions, i.e. the different elements of such questions are actually reformulations of the same question.

Table 3. Question types

Question type	B	A	M
Yes/No	58.2	49.47	43.91
Wh-questions	33	32.29	37.83
Declarative	2.2	5.72	6.76
Alternative	0.9	2.08	3
Directives	1.8	3.12	9.46
Indirect	1.3	2.08	1.36
Incomplete	2.2	4.68	0.68

Yes/No and wh-questions make up 80% to 90% of all questions. The interviewers insist on clarity which is provided using these types of questions. Yes/No questions are most commonly used in the British political interviews (58%) and the general conclusion is that the questions in this group of interviews achieve more directness and clarity than it is the case in the other two groups.

Declarative questions are by far more frequent in the Montenegrin and the American interviews, where they usually function as question supplements and conclusions to thematic cycles. As in the case of multiple questions, directives are more common in the Montenegrin political interviews (the incidence is roughly 10%), unlike the British and the American corpus where the frequency is 2% to 3%. Both multiple questions and directives press greater interactional demands on the interviewee. The type of directives which is especially common in the Montenegrin political interviews does not express adversarialness (*Tell me*...), but it does put emphasis on the personality of the interviewer in a way which is not quite typical of the British and the American interviewers.

Table 4. Statement attribution

Statement attribution	B	A	M
Attributed statements	32.1	31	29
Unattributed statements	68.9	69	71

In all the three corpora, approximately a third of all statements are attributed to specific sources (the tendency is that the interviewers attribute statements to themselves, i.e. the interviewer guarantees for the truth of the information), whereas the rest of the statements are unattributed statements relating to information which interviewers regard as facts which do not have to be proven.

Table 5. Attributed statements

Statements attributed to:	**B**	**A**	**M**
interviewer	35.9	42.22	50.72
interviewee	31.25	22.22	33.33
third party	32.81	35.56	15.95

The attributed statements in the Montenegrin political interviews are attributed to the interviewer himself in half of the cases, and similar data were obtained in the American group of interviews. However, the British data are slightly different.

Table 6. Unattributed statements

Unattributed statements	**B**	**A**	**M**
facts	83.44	80	86.47
conclusions	3.4	1	5.29
evaluations	13.1	19	8.23

The unattributed statements are facts in over 80% of the cases in all the three corpora. About 20% of statements in the American group of interviews are evaluations, which is significantly different when compared to the British and the American corpus. The number of evaluations attributed to the interviewer is by far most frequent in the Montenegrin interviews. In this respect, the British interviewers are the most objective interviewers, having in mind that they restrain from evaluating the interviewee's turns directly.

Table 7. Statement functions

Functions of statements	**B**	**A**	**M**
Preparation/Supplement	36.15	51.35	39.15
Reaction/Question	47.41	37.16	18.95
Reply	6.57	4.72	0.3
Question explanation	2.34	1.35	2.45
Reactions	7.53	5.4	39.15

About 40% of all statements in the three corpora function either as prefaces or supplements to questions. The British interviewers use a lot of statements functioning as a reaction/question, which contributes to cohesion, i.e. turn-linking. They are also used as effective tools for topic management and reacting to the content of the interviewee turns without having to resort to engaging in direct debate.

Reactions are most frequent in the Montenegrin political interviews (as much as 40%, as opposed to the British and the American corpus, which had the frequency 7.53% and 5.4% respectively). Reactions function as *feedback* in the tripartite exchange pattern and are used either to confirm the reception of information (receipt tokens) or to evaluate information. In this regard, the Montenegrin political interviewers are one step closer to everyday conversation. The analysis has shown that this particular corpus is marked by a variety of conventions which shape the interviewer's interactional role. The situation is different in the western media where the roles are well defined and imposed by broadcasting companies.

3. Conclusion

The interviewer turns in the analysed British political interviews - Questions asked in the British political interviews are more direct than in the American and the Montenegrin political interviews (yes/no questions make up 58.2% of all questions). The British interviewers use direct tools to manage the interview, but their interviews are the most coherent, having in mind that they use a lot of question/reaction elements which connect turns naturally. They also put less emphasis on their own personality and the role in the interview than their Montenegrin and American collegues and they use fewer explanations to help the viewers follow the interview. The British questions express the highest degree of adversarialness in the three groups of interviews. The indicators of adversarialness are a high frequency of complex questions (42%) (prepared, supplemented and multiple ones), because this type of questions exercises more pressure on the politician to give an answer, as well as very frequent yes/no questions, which impose limitations on the range of possible answers.

The interviewer turns in the analysed American political interviews – The interviewer turns in the American political interviews can be described direct, clear and dynamic, which is evident if we take into consideration the following facts. First of all, questions are more frequent than statements. Moreover, the number of incomplete questions is double when compared to the British group of interviews. Yes/no questions and directives are used more often and the range of grammatical questions in use is very wide. The interviewer turns in the American interviews are structurally complete (management elements are very frequent), and the interviewers insist on drawing conclusions at the end of each thematic cycle. The analysis has shown that the American interviewers tend to be objective and neutral, which is confirmed by the fact that compared to their British and Montenegrin collegues, they restrain more from reacting to and evaluating the interviewee turn (a small number of statements functioning as a reaction/question and a reaction). They also use more declarative questions which demand from the politician to confirm or reject the conclusions which interviewers have drawn from the conversation. In this way, the truth quality of conclusions drawn from the interview is constantly checked. In the American political interviews, the emphasis is on the interviewer's personality, having in mind the fact that the American interviewers frequently attribute information to themselves as a source.

The interviewer turn in the analysed Montenegrin political interviews – Compared to the British and American interviews, the Montenegrin interviewer turns are less dynamic and direct, as evident from the fact that there are very few incomplete questions and far fewer yes/no questions. In addition, the Montenegrin interviewers frequently use hedging devices. Interactional demands that the politicians are presented with are very high. Namely, the interviewers do not frequently prepare questions (there are fewer prepared and supplemented questions compared to the British and the American interviews) and use multiple questions far more frequently, which are naturally more difficult to answer. They often place themselves in the position of an independent observer and analyst, and speak less in the name of the public. They do not often limit the range of possible answers that politicians can provide. However, the greatest difference lies in the fact that they use more feedback and receipt tokens, i.e. they confirm the reception of information and sometimes even directly evaluate the content of information, which is not in accordance with standards of maintaining interviewer's neutrality employed in the British and the American media and is a feature of everyday conversation.

References

Clayman, S. (1988) "Displaying Neutrality in Television News Interviews", in (s.e.) **Social Problems**, Berkeley: University of California Press, Vol. 35, pp. 474-492.

Clayman, S. (1992) "Footing in the Achievement of Neutrality: the Case of News-Interview Discourse", in Drew, P. and Heritage, J. (eds.) **Talk at Work**, Cambridge: CUP, pp. 163-198

Clayman, S. (2001b) "News Interview", in Smelser, N.J. and Baltes, P.B. (eds.) **International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences**, New York: Elsevier Science LTD, pp. 10642-10645

Clayman, S. (2007) "Speaking on Behalf of the Public in Broadcast News Interviews", in Holt, E. and Clift, R. (eds.) **Reporting Talk**, Cambridge: CUP, pp. 221-243

Clayman, S. and Heritage, J. (2002) "Questioning Presidents: Journalistic Deference and Adversarialness in the Press Conferences of U.S. Presidents Eisenhower and Raegan", in Michael Pfau (ed.) **Journal of Communication** (202), New York: International Communication Association, pp. 749-777

Franklin, B. (1994) **Packaging Politics**, London, New York, Sydney, Auckland: Arnold.

Heritage, J. (1985) "Analysing News Interviews: Aspects of the Production of Talk for an Overhearing Audience", in van Dijk, T. (ed.) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis**, London: Academic Press, Vol. 3, pp. 95-117

Heritage, J. (1998) “Conversation Analysis and Institutional Talk – Analysing Distinctive Turn-Taking Systems”, in Cmejrkova et al. (eds.) **Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of IADA**, Tübingen: Niemeyer, pp. 3-17

Heritage, J. and Clayman, S. (2002) The News Interview***:*** Journalists and Public Figures on the Air***, Cambridge: CUP***

Heritage, J. and Roth, A. (1995) “Grammar and Institution: Questions and Questioning in the Broadcast News Interview”, in Fitch, K. (ed.) **Research on Language and Social Interaction**, London and New York: Routledge, Vol. 28, pp. 1-60

Martinez, E. R. (2001) **Political Interviews, Talk Show Interviews, and Debates on British TV: a Contrastive Study of the Interactional Organisation of Three Broadcast Genres,** Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela

Weizman, E. (2003), “News Interviews on Israeli Television: Normative Expectations and Discourse Norms”, in Stati, S. and Bondi, M. (eds.) **Dialogue Analysis**, Tuebingen: Niemeyer, pp. 383-39

UDK 811.111'342.41
UDK 811.133.1'342.41

Miloš D. Đurić

SOME ACOUSTIC PROPERTIES OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH VOWELS, OR WHY DID THE DIETARY, DRESSED IN THE ROUGE ENSEMBLE, HIDE THE BEIGE BONBONS IN THE GARAGE?

Abstract. *In the first part of the paper the author discusses certain previous and current approaches to English and French vowels. Then he attempts to explain very briefly the interface between acoustic phonetics and technical acoustics. Having considered the plausibility of comparing phonological systems, the author explains why he has chosen vowels, or more precisely, English and French vowels. Then, the author describes his recorded corpus and the used software. Finally, he presents the results obtained in the course of his acoustic analysis. Broadly speaking, this investigation is an attempt at establishing unified treatment of English and French vowels the theoretic framework of which is found within acoustic phonetics and technical acoustics.*

Key words: *Acoustic Phonetics, Technical Acoustics, English, French, Vowels, Corpus Analysis, PRAAT.*

1. Introduction

In the past decades or so, various issues in connection with acoustic phonetics and technical acoustics have been explored in their manifold aspects. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that many studies describing diverse sounds have revealed different acoustic aspects of vowels generally, and more specifically, acoustic properties of English and French vowels. In addition, increasing attention has been focused on sounds of some exotic languages, the explanation and rules of which could not be applied to some well-known European languages (like English, French and German). Meanwhile, however, a new factor may be said to have appeared on the phonetic scene. As some linguists say, like, for example, Professor Biljana Čubrović, "the time has finally come to compare and contrast some well-known European languages" (Čubrović 2008: private and personal communication).

Although, many different accounts shed light on possibilities of explaining certain aspects of phonology and phonetics by means of exotic languages data, these interesting, and yet monotonous areas of research only accelerated the need for some changes in different direction. Eventually, they have given rise to a reinterpretation of some properties of languages like English and French.

Practically, at the same time, this orientation, vigorously championed by researchers within this field, apparently did not receive any fresh impetus. However, in the meantime, a series of brilliant and challenging scientific papers and articles has appeared accounting for different aspects of English and French phonology as well as contact phonology (Čubrović 2002, 2005a, 2005b). Based on what has been said so far in these Professor Čubrović's accounts and backed by my analysis, I am inclined to consider these findings as crucial ones representing the theoretic framework of my study as well as the starting point of my further research on the subject.

2. Acoustic phonetics and technical acoustics – interface

Although, many different accounts shed light on various aspects of acoustic properties of sounds in world languages, they are not always sufficiently clear when applied to English and French. It is to be hoped that future models and accounts will eliminate the temporary chaos while describing acoustic properties of English and French.

Since the language may be treated as some sort of calculus, or rather, a set of certain rules governing the operations of construction and transformation permitted within the language generating forms, then, we may freely say that one plausibly promising field of an interdisciplinary research within acoustic phonetics, technical acoustics and phonology phonetics lies at the crossroads of interfaces between phonological theory, information theory, electrical engineering and recent advances in acoustics. Based on these interdisciplinary studies, there is ample evidence that words are stored in memory as sequences of discrete segments (Stevens 2000). Indisputably, one part of this evidence comes from acoustic data illustrating the implementation of most segments signalled by landmarks in the speech stream.

Therefore, it is possible to say that the analysis of these discrete segments may be enhanced and improved by means of techniques, models and accounts within acoustic phonetics and technical acoustics. In addition to this, it may be stated that acoustic phonetics and technical acoustics may provide clear and objective data for investigation of speech medium, and in this way contribute to the description of the phonological systems of the languages in question.

In order to carry out phonological contrastive analysis, one has to justify the plausibility of comparing phonological systems of two languages, or more precisely – English and French.

3. The plausibility of comparing phonological systems

Before I proceed, I may pose the following question: Are phonological systems of two different languages comparable? Biljana Čubrović (2002: 1) claims, quite correctly, that phonetic equivalents can be contrasted, such as articulatory and acoustic features. Furthermore, while illuminating some issues concerning the transphonemisation of nasal vowels, she holds that mapping of different phonological systems is possible, and that it results in the formulation of the most frequent adaptation paths, which she calls assimilation trajectories. Similarly, Ljubomir Mihailović (1970: 93-97) states that contrastive analysis can be regarded as valid in theory only if the data obtained are based on facts which are comparable and co-measurable. He challenges contrastive analyses based solely on phonological data as insufficiently convincing.

Taking into consideration Dr. Čubrović's insightful remark that it is always important to examine the two systems in their entirety, I have confined my research to English and French vowels anchoring my investigation in acoustic phonetics and technical acoustics. However, I must stress that I have taken into account only some plausible aspects of my research and unfortunately ignored some other tempting, and certainly profitable approaches to spoken discourse investigation, such as: jitter, shimmer, additive noise, and so on.

4. Why vowels anyway?

The objects of this investigation are English and French vowels. This choice was made for three reasons, which are pointed out by Dowd, Smith and Wolfe (1998: 3) who say that "vowels are sustained sounds, and thus feedback adjustment may be performed continuously in real time". In addition to this, thee authors also add that vowels are "produced with the mouth open, so it is technically easier to measure the resonance of the vocal tract using precise methods". And, "[f]inally, categorisation and interference are important in limiting the learning of accurate pronunciation of vowels and so feedback on vowel pronunciation is a useful goal for automated speech trainers."

In order to lend theoretical credence to my empirically conducted research I have adopted some unitary descriptive accounts of English and French vowels, found in the representative literature. My analysis has been informed by the pertinent linguistic literature (Chomsky and Halle 1968: 163-219; Crystal 1983: 379-381; Crystal 1989: 152-154; Čubrović 2005a: 35-125; Čubrović 2005b: 53-61; Čubrović 2009: 63-73; Dowd, Smith and Wolfe 1998: 1-20; Drašković 1996: 11-54; Đurić 2007: 69-77; Fromkin and Rodman 1983: 46-50; Gimson 1973: 90-148; Hlebec 1995: 29-61; Jones 1995: 12; Jones and Gimson 1977: xii-xxi; Mihailović 1966: 38-48; Mihailović 1984; Napoli 1996: 36-41; O' Connor 1980: 152-175; Polovina 1984: 32-41; Roach 2002: 18-20; Rohrer 1973: 232-241; Schane 1973: 9-14; Stevens 2000: 257-322; Vidović 1967: 24-61; Widdowson 1996: 30-45).

Taking into consideration that vowels have been classified as "acoustic events with a relatively open vocal tract" (Stevens 2000: 257), a sketchy answer I am suggesting at this point might lie in the assumption that these acoustic events may be accounted for solely in acoustic terms by scrutinising vowel properties when the vocal tract is in a relatively open configuration.

Generally speaking, since the hearer/message interpreter pragmatically infers the acoustic signal in a language as a more or less loose rendering of the original signal, it is inevitable that a representative corpus should be analysed. In the next section of the paper I describe my recorded corpus very briefly.

5. Corpus Description

My corpus was recorded for the purpose of the acoustic analysis. It consists of eight formal and five informal face-to-face interactions among colleagues and peers of the British and American nationalities. All the participants are upper middle class Caucasians, in their 30s and 40s, of masculine gender, mostly graduates of electrical engineering, the majority of whom possesses PhD in certain field of electrical engineering (such as: technical physics, acoustics, software engineering, computer science, signals and systems, etc.). The recordings were placed on two DVDs and one CD. The notation system applied for the transcription of the corpus was taken from the relevant linguistic literature (Lakić 2005; Polovina 1987; Savić and Polovina 1989).

In order to examine certain properties of English and French vowels, I applied standard acoustic software program for speech analysis, PRAAT being one such program. In the section to follow, I shall describe certain pertinent characteristics of this program.

6. Software description

I used PRAAT software, which already provides a full description of the parameters and other details, however I feel that certain parts of the software and the measurement adjustments should be mentioned. I used the standard window length comprising 0.005 seconds, each frame of which formed the part of the sound ranging between 0.0025 seconds before and 0.0025 seconds after the centre of that frame. The window length determined the bandwidth of the spectral analysis, i.e. the width of the horizontal line in the spectrogram of a pure sine wave. Nevertheless, for a Gaussian window, the bandwidth of –3 dB was equal to 1.2982804 per Window length. In order to get the broadband spectrogram, the bandwidth of which would be 260 Hz, I kept the standard window length of 5 ms. Afterwards, this window length in PRAAT was set to 30 ms (0.03 seconds) in order to obtain the narrowband spectrogram, the bandwidth of which totalled 43 Hz.

As regards the optimisation of the utilised software, the maximum number of points along the time window was used in order to compute the spectrum. For the purposes of computation speed, this software may have selected to change both the time step and the frequency step. Perhaps, this was the case because the time step never needed to be smaller than $1/(8\sqrt{\pi})$ of the window length, and the frequency step never needed to be smaller than $(\sqrt{\pi})/8$ of the inverse of the window length. For instance, if the window length were 30 ms, the actual time step would certainly not be less than $30/(8\sqrt{\pi})$ which equals 2.116 ms. On the other hand, if the window length was

5 ms, the actual frequency step would never be less than (√π)/8/0.005 which equals 44.32 Hz.

Needless to say, these criteria, which I used, are no more than some sort of pointers. Namely, they are neither hard-and-fast nor exhaustive, nor even unchallenged. However, it seems to me that the Gaussian window may be the solely shape I may consider seriously as a kind of acoustic candidate for this type of analysis.

7. Results

The recorded corpus was broken into smaller portions, each of which underwent an acoustic analysis. The detailed and in-depth analysis was carried out by means of PRAAT.

My acoustic analysis has provided the following results. Within my recorded corpus English and French nasalised vowels seem to exhibit the presence of extra peaks in frequency domain. Namely, I calculated one peak between the first two formants with amplitude P1, and for the other peak, I calculated that it is to be located only at lower frequencies. I carried out the acoustic measurement three times. In all three cases, the peak was below the first formant with amplitude P0. In addition to this, I noticed that the first formant amplitude (A1) was reduced to its amplitude both for English and French oral vowels.

Then I compared French nasal vowels with English nasal vowels. One specific case, which I measured, is the case of an English nasal vowel which follows a stop consonant. Although French makes an explicit distinction between oral and nasal vowels, it seems to me that this distinction might be well applied in acoustic analysis of English vowels.

Bearing the above said in mind, I measured English and French vowels in my recorded corpus and then compared the acoustic measurement results. Here is what I obtained in my analysis. First I measured the mean difference of A1-P1, which I calculated first for oral and then for nasalised vowels. By using PRAAT software I obtained the following result: the A1-P1 mean differences ranged from 10 dB to 15 dB, while the difference of A1-P0 ranged from 6 dB to 8 dB.

After I acoustically measured French vowels I obtained the following results. Firstly, I measured the A1-P1 difference. Secondly, I measured the difference between the minimally nasalised set and the maximally nasalised set of French vowels. The results showed that the measured difference displayed a range from 9 dB to12 dB. This is the range which I obtained in all three experiments. On the other hand, the A1-P0 difference went along the lines of the range between 3 dB and 9 dB.

Taking into consideration the results obtained from my acoustic measurement, broadly speaking, we may conclude that computing English and French vowels in certain contexts and in certain discourses might also be a time consuming activity, which is constrained by acoustic considerations of loss and gain. Although processing vowels might be relatively straightforward, the following, very general rule might be established for an acoustic analysis: the more processing effort an English or French vowel incurs, the more relevant it becomes in acoustic analysis. I do not want to say that this rule is always and universally applicable. However, it proved my assumptions right.

8. Conclusion

Rather than focus on some quite problematic and unstable approaches in purely phonological terms, which are at best arbitrary, I have considered some acoustic properties of English and French vowels by means of an extensive series of precise instrumental measurements. It seems to me that results from these measurements may be relevant for further study of English and French phonological systems. I have limited this brief discussion of mine to only some properties of English and French vowels, although, generally speaking, the study of English and French vowel properties might open potentially uncircumscribed areas.

In this sketchy analysis, I have presented the results which I obtained by measuring certain acoustic properties of English and French vowels. In order to verify the validity of my assumptions I performed the PRAAT measuring three times for each language under investigation and I calculated the phenomena under investigation three times both for English and French. Then I compared the results and presented my calculations in this paper. It seems to me that these results can be applied in the context of Second Language Acquisition, in the field of technical acoustics and acoustic phonetics, respectively. Furthermore, a contrastive acoustic study between English and French vowels may significantly contribute not only to our understanding of vowels and vowel clusters in English and French, but also of our comprehension of vowels and vowel clusters in general.

Although, I personally believe that I perhaps shed light on certain acoustic properties of English and French vowels, unfortunately I failed to explain why the dietary, dressed in the rouge ensemble, hid the beige bonbons in the garage.

References

Chomsky, N. and Halle, M. (1968) **The Sound Pattern of English**, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press

Crystal, D. (1983) **A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics**, London: Andre Deutsch

Crystal, D. (1989) **The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Čubrović, B. (2002) "Assimilation of Recent French Loanwords in English – Transphonemisation of Nasal Vowels", **The 10th ELSNET Summer School**, July 14-27

Čubrović, B. (2004) "Kuda ide RP?", **Philologia**, Vol. 2., pp. 39-44
Čubrović, B. (2005a) **Fonološka struktura novijih francuskih pozajmljenica u savremenom engleskom jeziku**, Beograd: Philologia i Filološki fakultet
Čubrović, B. (2005b) "Phonetic Assimilation of Recent French and German Loanwords in English – The Case of High Front Rounded Vowel", in Knežević, M. and Nikčević-Batričević, A. (eds.) **Reading Across Borders: Papers in Language and Literary Studies**, Nikšić: Faculty of Philosophy, pp. 53-61
Čubrović, B. (2009) **Profiling English Phonetics**, Belgrade: Philologia
Dowd, A., Smith, J. and Wolfe, J. (1998) "Learning to Pronounce Vowel Sounds in a Foreign Language Using Acoustic Measurements of the Vocal Tract as Feedback in Real Time", **Language and Speech**, Vol. 41, pp. 1-20
Drašković, V. (1996) **Francuski izgovor**, Beograd: Trebnik
Đurić, M. D. (2007) "Multidimenzionalna analiza gustine akustičke energije nekih glasova u diskursu elektrotehnike u savremenom engleskom jeziku", in Čubrović, B. and Daničić, M. (eds.) **Glas u jeziku, književnosti i kulturi**, Beograd: Philologia, pp. 69-77
Fromkin, V. and Rodman, R. (1983) **An Introduction to Language**, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston
Fudge, E. C. (1971) "Phonology", in Lyons, J. (ed.) **New Horizons in Linguistics**, Harmondsworth: Penguin, pp. 76-95
Gimson, A. C. (1973) **An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English**, London: Edward Arnold
Hlebec, B. (1995) **English Phonology**, Belgrade: Trebnik
Jones, D. (1995) **The Pronunciation of English. Definitive Edition**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Jones, D. and Gimson, A. C. (1977) **Everyman's English Pronouncing Dictionary. Fourteenth Edition**, London and New York: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd and E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc.
Lakić, I. (2005) **Diskurs pisanih medija o ratu**, Beograd: Filološki fakultet. Neobjavljena doktorska disertacija
Mihailović, Lj. (1966) **The Phonemic Elements of Modern English**, Beograd: Naučna knjiga
Mihailović, Lj. (1970) **Ogledi iz primenjene lingvistike**, Beograd: Filološki fakultet
Mihailović, Lj. (1984) **The Distribution of Phonemes in Modern English**, Beograd: Filološki fakultet
Napoli, J. D. (1996) **Linguistics**, Oxford: Oxford University Press
O'Connor, J. D. (1980) **Phonetics**, Harmondsworth: Penguin
Polovina, P. (1984) **Francuski pravopis**, Beograd: Filološki fakultet
Polovina, V. (1987) **Leksičko-semantička kohezija u razgovornom jeziku**, Beograd: Filološki fakultet
Roach, P. (2002) **Phonetics**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Rohrer, C. (1973) “The Treatment of the French Nasal Vowels in Generative Phonology”, in Fudge, E. C. (ed.) **Phonology**, Harmondsworth: Penguin, pp. 232-241

Savić, S. i Polovina, V. (1989) **Razgovorni srpskohrvatski jezik**, Novi Sad: Institut za južnoslovenske jezike i Filozofski fakultet

Schane, S. A. (1973) **Generative Phonology**, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall

Stevens, K. N. (2000) **Acoustic Phonetics**, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press

Vidović, V. (1967) **Engleski glasovi, naglasak, ritam i intonacija**, Beograd: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika Socijalističke republike Srbije

Widdowson, H. G. (1996) **Linguistics**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

UDK 811.111'373.48:070.485

Mirna Vidaković

NONCE WORDS IN ADVERTISING SLOGANS IN ENGLISH

Abstract: *Advertising slogans are an excellent source of a great number of lexical innovations. Copywriters have realized that by manipulating the morphological system of a language, they can create mind-grabbing and memorable slogans. This paper investigates nonce words in advertising slogans in English. The slogans belong to the categories of food and drink, and are mostly dated from the 1980s to the present day. The research is divided into two parts. The aim of the first part is to show how copywriters creatively apply word formation processes in order to produce wordplay and emphasize the expressiveness of their messages. The second part examines the problems which arise in the process of translating nonce words into Serbian and suggests procedures which can be used in order to render their meaning as effectively as possible.*

Key words: *advertising slogan, nonce word, word formation, translation*

1. Introduction

"There are several situations where it is perfectly in order to be strange, and indeed, where the breaking of rules is seen as a positive and desirable feature of communication." (Crystal, 1994: 400). Advertisements undoubtedly represent a discourse which favours breaking away from standard language, and this can be detected at all linguistic levels. This paper investigates the nonstandard features of advertising slogans at a morphological level. More precisely, it deals with nonce words. Slogans are an excellent source of a great number of extraordinary lexical innovations. Copywriters have obviously realized that by manipulating the morphological system and processes of a language, they can create slogans which will stick in our minds and challenge our creativity and imagination. The first part of this paper provides examples and analysis of word formation processes which are employed to create nonce words. The second part touches upon the subject of translation and presents the obstacles that are encountered in the process of translating the nonce words from the corpus into Serbian, with the aim of suggesting translational procedures to overcome them. However, before any analysis is undertaken, it is necessary to define the term "nonce word" and to see its relation to the term "neologism".

2. What is a Nonce Word?

The term "nonce word" is derived from the 16th century expression "for the nonce" and means "for the once, temporarily" (Bauer, 2006: 38; Crystal, 1994: 132). It relates to new lexemes created with the purpose of "solving an immediate problem of communication" (Crystal, 1994: 132). The fate of nonce words is unpredictable as they can either be forgotten after they have served their communicative purpose, or they can find their way into a language, start being used by the wide speech community, and eventually become a neologism. Therefore, the main difference between a nonce word and a neologism is reflected in the degree to which they are accepted by the speech community. Not all linguists, however, make such a difference. Stojičić (2006: 9), for example, talks about nonce words as "individual and stylistic neologisms" invented for one particular occasion, i.e. she treats them as a type of neologisms.

As far as the function of nonce words is concerned, apart from filling in the lexical gaps in communication, Crystal (1994: 400) adds that they also "introduce an element of informality, humour, or rapport into a situation." These latter features are of particular importance in advertising language in general, and that explains why nonce words are recognized and frequently used in advertising slogans.

What follows in the paper is a study of word formation processes employed to create nonce words in the advertising slogans from the corpus.

3. Word Formation Processes and Nonce Words in Advertising Slogans in English

The analysis of the nonce words from the corpus has revealed that copywriters manipulate morphemes and combine them in unusual and unexpected ways so as to create eye-catching forms and wordplay. Yet, it has been detected that these new formations are created within the boundaries of four main word formation processes: compounding, blending, affixation and conversion. It has also been noticed that there are cases when it is not just morphemes, but phonemes and their phonological properties as well that are exploited by copywriters when creating nonce words. This issue will be addressed briefly later in the paper.

The study will now proceed with an overview of the main word formation processes encountered in the nonce words from the corpus.

3.1. Compounding

Compounding is the process of joining two or more free morphemes into a lexeme. The main base of a compound has the same grammatical characteristics as the compound itself.

What follows are the examples of nonce compounds from the corpus.

Germany's <u>fun-lovin'</u> beer. (St. Paul). This is an example of an endocentric compound[200], formed from the noun *fun* and the present participle *loving*. The participle has been shortened to *lovin'* so as to immitate colloquial style. The compound can be paraphrased as: *German beer that makes people love fun.*

<u>Finger lickin'</u> good. (KFC). *Finger lickin'* is another example of an endocentric compound, made up of the noun *fun* and the colloquial form of the present participle *licking*, i.e. *lickin'*. From the syntactic point of view, this compound consists of a verb and an object, i.e. *one licks his/her fingers* (while eating food from KFC).

The next two examples illustrate how copywriters play with the process of compounding.

<u>WotalotIgot</u>. (Smarties). In this slogan, a sentence has been represented as a compound. There is a sequence of free bases: a question word *what*, a phrase *a lot*, a pronoun *I* and a verb *got*, which have been fused.[201] The careful choice of bases (we can detect rhyme and assonance in *wot* and *lot*) as well as fusion emphasize the rhythm and aid memorability of the slogan.

The friendly <u>pepper-upper</u>. (Dr. Pepper). This slogan shows how copywriters creatively employ compounding and suffixation. The nonce word *pepper-upper* has been created from the phrasal verb *pep up*, which means *to make something/someone more active or and full of energy.* At the same time, we can notice the similarity between the verb *pep* and the brand name *Pepper*, i.e. we see that the choice of the phrasal verb has been made intentionally. The copywriter has then replaced the first constituent of the phrasal verb with a part of the brand name The result is a slogan which conveys two meanings: it highlights the brand name, and at the same time suggests that the consumption of this product will make us more active and vigorous. In order to get the final nonce word, the copywriter has added the suffix *–er* to the particle *up*, which is quite an unusual action if we look back at the use of phrasal verbs in the process of compounding in general.[202] Yet, such suffixation is justified because it creates rhyme, which aids memorability of the compound. Similar examples can be found in the media – *waker-upper* and *washer-upper*, which are also recent creations.

3.2. Blending

"Blending is the formation of a word from a sequence of two bases with the reduction of one or both at the boundary between them, as in *brunch* from *breakfast* and *lunch*." (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 1636). This word formation process is very productive nowadays (Bauer, 1983: 236, Quirk et al., 1985: 1583). It is particularly frequent in advertising language, which Quirk et al. (1985: 1583) explain by the "daring playfulness" of blends which attracts the consumers. There are some unresolved issues

[200] Endocentric compounds represent a hyponym of the main basis, such as *beehive*, which is a type of *hive* (Bauer, 1983: 33, 201).
[201] Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1646) talk about the fusion of lexemes into one lexical unit.
[202] Bauer, 1983: 206.

concerning blends in general, but we will not be looking into them since they are not relevant for the analysis that follows.

Here are the examples of blends from the corpus.

Vintastic. (Domaine Boyar). This blend is made up of the initial segment of the noun *vino* (which is taken from Bulgarian – the product is of Bulgarian origin) and the final segment of the adjective *fantastic*. The meaning of the blend can be paraphrased as: *Domaine Boyar wine is fantastic*.

The secret is in schweppervesence. (Schweppes). The blend *schweppervesence* contains the initial segment of the brand name, *Schweppes*, and the final segment of the noun *effervescence*, which originates from the verb *effervesce*, and means *to bubble, hiss, and foam as gas escapes* or *to show liveliness or exhiliration*. By creating this blend, the copywriters have succeeded in using one slogan to convey three meanings, i.e. the slogan identifies the brand, informs us that the drink is fizzy and that it affects our mood positively.

It's jack-a-licious! (Jack-in-the-Box). This blend has been made up of the noun taken from the brand name, *Jack*, and the final segment of the ajdective *delicious*. The wovel *a* has been inserted at the boundary beween the two bases. The meaning of the slogan is: *food from the Jack-in-the-Box is delicious*.

Be Cointreauversial. (Cointreau). This blend has been created from the base *Cointreau*, which represents the brand name, and the final segment of the adjective *controversial*. The adjectival base largely affects the meaning of this blend, because it suggests that drinking this liqueur makes us daring and unconventional.

Every bubble's passed its fizzical. (Corona). The blend *fizzical* consists of two reduced lexemes, the adjective *fizzy*, which means *having bubbles of gas in it*, and *physical*, which refers to *a medical examination of a person's body*. The blend *fizzical* is actually homonymous with the base *physical*, which emphasizes its meaning, i.e. besides the information that the beer is fizzy, we find out that it is healthy as well.

Satis-smack-tion. (Honey Smacks). Two nouns, *satisfaction* and *smack* (which is related to the brand name) have been used to create the blend which represents the slogan. What makes this blend unusual is the fact that it is neither initial nor final segment that have been taken away, but the medial *sfact*, which has been replaced with *smack*. Therefore, playing with lexemes and the process of blending, the copywriter has conveyed two meanings: he/she has identified the brand and highlighted that consumers enjoy eating this cereal.

Chexellent, or what? (Frosted Chex). This blend has been made up of the part of the brand name, *Chex*, and a last part of the noun *excellent*, with the overlap in pronunciation. The message that the copywriter has conveyed is that *Frosted Chex is excellent.*

Innervigoration. (Gordon's and Tonic). This nonce formation is an example of superimpositional blending[203], where the base *inner* has been put over the base

[203] The term has been suggested by T. Prćić. in private conversation.

invigoration. The copywriter's aim has been to emphasize that the drink has a strong effect on our inner state and mood. A similar example of superimpositional blending can be found in the slogan for candy Aero, *Irresistibubble*, which was coined by Salman Rushdie.

3.3. Affixation

Affixation refers to attaching bound morphemes, i.e. prefixes or suffixes, to a base. A problem which may arise in connection with this process is that it is not always clear whether a certain segment is a bound or a free morpheme. The analysis which follows will also show how copywriters additionally try to confuse things by playing with morphemes and treat different word segments as "affixes".

The coffee-er coffee. (Savarin). This affixation is unusual because the inflectional suffix *–er*, which is added to adjectives to create a comparative form, is attached to a noun base. However, by doing this, the copywriter has managed to attract our attention, and has suggested that it is not just the coffee taste and strength that have been improved, but the overall quality of this brand. There is also an implication that this brand is better than others.

Guinless isn't good for you. (Guinness). The nonce word *Guinless* has been created as a part of a wordplay. The new lexeme is made up of the brand name *Guinness*, from which the segment *ness* has been removed. The copywriters have treated this segment as the suffix *–ness*, and replaced it with the suffix *–less*, which suggests that there is a lack of something, i.e. in this case, a lack of Guinness beer.

The Uncola. (7-up). This nonce word has been made up of the negative prefix *un-* and a plant name, *Cola*, which is used in the preparation of drinks such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi and the like. The copywriter has obviously aimed to emphasize the contrast between the drinks which contain the Cola plant, and 7-up, which does not.

Analysis of slogans from the corpus has also shown the frequent use of the suffix *–y*, especially in the category of food. We encounter lexemes such as: *buttery*, *crispy*, *minty* and the like. The meaning that it conveys is: *having the qualities of.* The following examples illustrate how this suffix is used to create nonce words.

Quiznos Sub. Mmmm … Toasty! (Quiznos Sub)

Crispety, crunchety, peanut-buttery Butterfinger. (Butterfinger)

They're tangy on your tongy. (Nick Nacks)

Finally, there is an example of affixation that also includes playing with phonological properties of English sounds, more specifically phonaesthesia[204].

More gluggable, less bubbable. (Still Tango) The lexeme *bubbable* is a product of a wordplay. The final segment of the base *bubble* has been replaced with a suffix –

[204] Phonaesthesia is a type of sound symbolism where certain sounds or sound clusters, called phonaesthemes, are directly associated with specific meanings. For example, the cluster /gl/ expresses the meaning of light, as in *gleam*, *glisten, glitter*, *glow* etc. (Schisler, 1997)

able, which suggests a bubbly quality of the drink. The nonce formation *gluggable* also contains the suffix *–able*, but the first segment, i.e. the base to which the suffix has been attached represents a nonce word whose creation is based on the phonaesthetic qualities of the phoneme /g/. Since this phoneme frequently occurs in lexemes denoting throat sounds, such as *gulch*, *gulp*, *guggle* and the like, we can derive the meaning of the nonce word, i.e. we can see that the lexeme refers to the consumption of the drink, more precisely its passage through the throat. The suffix *–able* informs us that it is difficult to resist drinking Still Tango.

3.4. Conversion

Conversion is another fairly frequent word formation process that we encounter in advertising slogans in English. It refers to changing a word's syntactic category without changing its form (for example, the verb *humble* has been formed from the noun *humble*) (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 1640). The study carried out on slogans has revealed that it is mainly the brand or product names that are used as verbs or adjectives. This is illustrated by the following examples:

Tuborg. Beer yourself. (Tuborg)
Weis. Berry yourself. (Weis)
Are you ready to Tanqueray? (Tanqueray)
Don't just book it, Thomas Cook it. (Thomas Cook)
You know when you've been Tango'd. (Tango)
How refreshing. How Heineken. (Heineken)
The Coke Side of Life. (Coca-Cola)

In the first five slogans, the nouns denoting the products (*beer, berry*) or brands (*Tango, Tanqueray, Thomas Cook*) have been converted to verbs, *to beer*, *to berry*, *to Tango* and *to Tanqueray, to Thomas Cook*. The last two examples contain conversions from nouns denoting the brands to adjectives: *Heineken* and *Coke*. In the slogan for Heineken, we can identify parallelism between the adjective *refreshing* and the brand name, while the slogan for Coca-Cola refers to a catch phrase, *always look on the bright side of life*, and therefore implies that Coca-Cola helps us look at things in a positive way.

4. Translation of Nonce Words

Newmark says "Neologisms are perhaps the non-literary and the professional translator's biggest problem" (Newmark, 1988: 140). Having in mind their relationship with neologisms, the same applies to nonce words as well. In his "Textbook of Translation", Newmark(1988: 144) says that "the translator has to distinguish the serious derived neologisms of industry from snappy ingenious derived neologisms (blends in particular) created by the media, (and) to consider their function (advertising? neatness? phonaesthetic quality?) before deciding whether to recreate them in the target language or to translate the completed components of the blends (e.g. oillionaire as oil millionaire).”

The examples from the corpus show that it is rarely possible to recreate the nonce words from the slogans in Serbian. In most cases we have to apply the process of creative transposition[205], or to translate the components of the nonce words separately. For example:

> *Germany's fun-lovin' beer*. (St. Paul) – NEMAČKO PIVO KOJE DONOSI ZABAVU.
> Finger-lickin' good. (KFC) – DOBRO PRSTE DA POLIŽEŠ.
> *Savarin. The coffeer coffee.* (Savarin) – SAVARIN. VIŠE OD KAFE.
> *Guinless isn't good for you.* (Guinness) – NE VALJA BEZ GUINNESSA.

The process of creative transposition has been applied to all the slogans above. The nonce word in the first slogan has been turned into a relative clause, while the nonce word in the slogan for KFC has been transformed into an adverbial clause. Obviously, the effect created by the use of the compounds in the source language has been lost in their Serbian translations. In the last two slogans we encounter suffixation which breaks the rules of word formation, and that explains the choice of creative transposition in the process of translating them.

> *Tuborg. Beer yourself*. (Tuborg) – BUDI ONO ŠTO JESI. PIJ TUBORG.

The Tuborg slogan contains a wordplay based on a catch phrase *be yourself*, so it conveys two meanings: *drink Tuborg* and *be yourself*. Such a wordplay cannot be recreated in Serbian. However, we can translate both components of the meaning separately.

Similar procedure has been applied to the slogan for Honey Smacks, where the blend has been divided into its bases, which have been translated separately.

> *Satis-smack-tion.* (Honey Smacks) – ZADOVOLJSTVO U ZALOGAJU.

In the following two slogans, the nonce words have been created by the process of conversion, and during their translation into Serbian they actually retained their original form, prior to conversion.

> *Are you ready to Tanqueray?* (Tanqueray) – JESI LI SPREMAN ZA TANQUERQAY?
> *How refreshing. How Heineken*. (Heineken) – BAŠ OSVEŽAVA. BAŠ HEINEKEN.

---

[205] A “shift” or “transposition” is a translation procedure involving a change in the grammar form from source language to target language ... Certain transpositions appear to go beyond linguistic differences and can be regarded as general options available for stylistic consideration.” (Newmark, 1988: 85–87).

Occasionaly, however, we do come across cases when it is possible to recreate nonce words in the target language to a greater or lesser degree. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon:

Be Cointreauversial. (Cointreau). The base of this nonce word, *controversial,* exists in Serbian in a similar form – KONTROVERZAN. If we retain the brand name, which is of French origin, we can translate this slogans as BUDI COINTREAUVERZAN.

You'll find there's no Camparison. (Campari). It is possible to retain the wordplay in this slogan, because the noun base *comparison* can be translated as KOMPARACIJA. If we change it to the adjective KOMPARATIVNO, we get the form which bears a certain resemblance to the brand name. Therefore, we can translate the slogan as NEUPOREDIVO CAMPARITIVNO. In this way, we have actually created a blend in Serbian, whose bases are the brand name *Campari* and the adjective KOMPARATIVNO.

5. Conclusion

The objects of the research in this paper were the nonce words in the advertising slogans in English. The analysis started from the hypothesis that copywriters manipulate word structure and word formation processes in order to create lexemes which will attract consumers' attention and make the slogans memorable. Therefore, the nonce words were first analysed from the point of view of their structure and formation. It has been detected that they were created by the four main word formation processes: compounding, blending, affixation and conversion. However, the analysis has also shown that there exist certain deviations from the word formation rules, and examples of how the copywriters actually play with bases and word segments, which helps to create wordplay, emphasize expressiveness and convey more meanings. The second part of the paper briefly looked into the process of translation of the nonce words from the corpus into Serbian. It has been noticed that it is rarely possible to recreate the nonce words, i.e. to convey all, the form, the meaning and the effect of the nonce word to the target language. It is mainly due to the unusual aspects of their formation or the wordplay that they contain. Yet, there can always be found a way to translate them using different procedures, but with the inevitable loss of a part of their meaning or the effect.

References

"AdSlogans. Where the Endline Comes First", taken from: www.adslogans.com

Bauer, L. (1983) **English Word – Formation**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

"Be Cointreauversial",
taken from: http//:www.cointreau.com/35i/be-cointreauversial.html.

Crystal, D. (1995) **The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language**,Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

"Database – Marketing and Advertising Slogans, Mottos, Taglines", taken from: www.textart.ru/database/slogan/list-advertising-slogans.html
Huddleston, R. et al.. (2002) **The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Newmark, P. (1988) **A textbook of translation**, New York, London: Prentice Hall International
Prćić, T. (1998) "Prilozi sa jednu savremenu tvorbu reči", **Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu**, knjiga XXVI, pp. 67–76
Quirk, R. et al. (1985), **A Grammar of Contemporary English,** London: Longman
Shisler, B. K. (1997) "The Influence of Phonesthesia on the English Language**"**, taken from: http://www.geocities.com/soho/studios/9783/phonpap1.html
Stojičić, V. (2006) **Morfološki postupci u tvorbi neologizama u engleskom jeziku**, Niš: Filozofski fakultet
Hornby,A.S., Wehmeier, S., McIntosh, C. (2005) **Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

UDK 811.163.4'42:32(497.11)

Nadežda Silaški
Tatjana Đurović
Biljana Radić-Bojanić

POLITIČKA SCENA KAO RATNO POPRIŠTE – POLITIČKI DISKURS SRBIJE SA ASPEKTA KOGNITIVNE LINGVISTIKE

Apstrakt: *Pod okriljem teorije pojmovne metafore i kritičke analize diskursa u radu se bavimo upotrebom metafora rata u savremenom političkom diskursu Srbije. Korpus istraživanja sastoji se od 250 primera ratnih metafora ekscerpiranih iz političkih rubrika dnevnih i nedeljnih novina, izjava političara, konferencija za štampu i saopštenja za javnost političkih stranaka, kao i iz komentara čitalaca na dnevne vesti objavljene na internet-stranicama tih novina u periodu između 2002. i 2008. godine. Glavni cilj rada jeste da klasifikuje opštu metaforu* POLITIKA JE RAT *u više podmetafora (npr.* POLITIČKA SCENA JE RATNO POPRIŠTE, POLITIČKE STRANKE SU ZARAĆENE STRANE, IZBORI SU BITKA, POLITIČKE IZJAVE/POSTUPCI SU ORUŽJE, *itd.), da ilustruje njihovu upotrebu različitim metaforičkim izrazima, te da iznese moguće motive čestog korišćenja ratnih metafora na savremenoj političkoj sceni Srbije, zemlje u kojoj su slike rata još uvek žive u sećanju mnogobrojnih glasača.*

Ključne reči: *pojmovna metafora, metafora* RATA, *politički diskurs, kritička analiza diskursa*.

1. Uvod

Poslednje dve decenije svedoci smo povećanog interesovanja istraživača za politički diskurs i publikovanja velikog broja lingvističkih radova koji se bave upotrebom i ulogom metafora u toj vrsti diskursa[206] unutar različitih njegovih žanrova i podžanrova. Ako, kako kažu Lejkof i Džonson (Lakoff/Johnson, 1980), RASPRAVA JE RAT a REČI SU ORUŽJE, onda politika, kao ciljni domen u procesu metaforizacije, predstavlja izuzetno pogodnu osnovu na koju se preslikava rat – politički proces u suštini podrazumeva raspravu između više političkih partija oko različitih tema značajnih za državu i društvo, u kojoj reči služe za plasiranje ideja i stavova biračkom telu, koje, pak, na osnovu uspešnosti stranaka u argumentaciji, na izborima donosi odluku o pobedniku. Pošto je „svrha svake

[206] V., između ostalog, Charteris-Black (2005), Musolff (2004), Chilton (2004), Chilton/Schaffner (2002), a kod nas Silaški/Đurović/Radić-Bojanić (2009), Radić-Bojanić/Silaški (2008), Silaški/Đurović (2009), itd.

kritičke studije metafora objašnjenje društveno konstruisanih značenja i provera njihovog ideološkog sadržaja" (Koller 2003: 9), u ovom ćemo radu pokušati da, kroz kognitivistički pristup analizi političkog diskursa, istražimo pragmatičku i stratešku ulogu metafora rata u političkom diskursu Srbije i otkrijemo skrivene strane političkih odnosa, dekonstruišemo ih i kritički rasvetlimo. Pod teorijskim okriljem teorije pojmovnih metafora (Lakoff/Johnson, 1980), kritičke analize diskursa (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough/Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2006; Van Dijk, 1993) i kritičke analize metafora (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005) istražićemo kako metafora rata funkcioniše u političkom diskursu Srbije, kao i moguće motive njene upotrebe u tom kontekstu.

Korpus ovog istraživanja sastoji se od 250 primera ratnih metafora ekscerpiranih iz političkih rubrika dnevnih i nedeljnih novina, izjava političara, konferencija za štampu i saopštenja za javnost političkih stranaka, kao i iz komentara čitalaca na dnevne vesti objavljene na internet-stranicama tih novina u periodu između 2002. i 2008. godine. U nastavku rada podrobno ćemo opisati konceptualizaciju politike kao rata u političkom diskursu Srbije, klasifikovaćemo nadređenu pojmovnu metaforu POLITIKA JE RAT u više podmetafora, te objasniti veze između ciljnog i izvornog domena, koje će biti ilustrovane odgovarajućim metaforičkim izrazima kao površinskim realizacijama podmetafora.

2. Metafore rata u politici

Rat je pojam po sebi bremenit metaforičnošću, te se na osnovu njega prikazuju odnosi i konstruišu analogije koje u velikoj meri počivaju na stvarnim osobinama rata. Prema rečima Čarterisa-Bleka, metafore rata se u političkom diskursu koriste u dva slučaja: da istaknu borbu *protiv* nekog društvenog zla sa negativnom konotacijom (npr. droge, terorizma, bolesti), ili, pak, da opišu borbu *za* neki pozitivno vrednovan, koristan društveni cilj (npr. ljudska prava, slobode, itd.) (Charteris-Black, 2004: 91). U srpskom političkom korpusu, međutim, osim i takve njihove uloge (rat *protiv* organizovanog kriminala, rat *protiv* korupcije, odnosno rat *za* bolji životni standard ili rat *za* bolje uslove studiranja), metafore rata mahom imaju ulogu konceptualizacije borbe *između* političkih partija za vlast i premoć na političkoj sceni Srbije.

Navešćemo jedan duži, dovoljno ilustrativan primer metaforičkih izraza grupisanih na jednom mestu, kojima se u političkom diskursu Srbije lingvistički realizuje metafora POLITIKA JE RAT:

> U finišu kampanje, kada su mnogi, možda, očekivali *primirje* između DS i DSS, te dve stranke su *rafalnom paljbom otvorile novi žestok front*. Da li *atak* iz DSS na račun kandidata za premijera DS Božidara Đelića i *povratni udarac* iz Krunske dovode u pitanje formiranje zajedničke Vlade Koštuničine i Tadićeve partije? Ostaje li prostora da oni u postizbornim danima *odlože oružje* i u zajedničkom interesu *sklope savez*? („Sve dalje od vlade", *Večernje novosti*, 11. novembar 2007.)

Pošto, kako kaže Čarteris-Blek (Charteris-Black, 2005: 13), „metafore utiču na naša verovanja, stavove i vrednosti jer koriste jezik za aktiviranje nesvesnih emotivnih asocijacija i utiču na vrednost koju pridajemo idejama i verovanjima na skali između dobrog i lošeg", i to tako što „prenose pozitivne ili negativne asocijacije raznolikih izvornih reči na metaforički cilj", neophodno je shvatiti sistematski karakter izbora metafora, nastavlja Čarteris-Blek, „ukoliko želimo da shvatimo način na koji se celokupni sistemi verovanja začinju i prenose" (*ibid*, 2005: 3). Rat podrazumeva oružani sukob između najmanje dve sukobljene strane uz primenu sile, nametanje volje i podređivanje drugih sopstvenoj moći. Kao primarni iskaz eksponiranja moći, politika je, s tačke gledišta kognitivne lingvistike, izvrstan primer apstraktnog, mnogim ljudima teško razumljivog, ciljnog domena, koji se, u procesu metaforizacije, savršeno uklapa u rat kao konkretniji, iskustveniji, i pragmatički izrazito delotvoran izvorni domen. Posebnost metafore rata u politici leži u činjenici da njen izvorni domen ni sam nije uniforman, pošto se sastoji iz mešavine fizičkog nasilja i vojne strategije (Koller, 2003: 7), o čemu jasno svedoče brojni metaforički izrazi iz korpusa.

3. Klasifikacija metafora rata

U narednih nekoliko odeljaka rada podrobno ćemo opisati konceptualizaciju politike kao rata u političkom diskursu Srbije, klasifikovaćemo nadređenu pojmovnu metaforu POLITIKA JE RAT u više podmetafora, te objasniti veze između ciljnog i izvornog domena i ilustrovati ih metaforičkim izrazima kao površinskim realizacijama podmetafora.

3.1. Politička scena kao ratno poprište

Srpska politička scena konceptualizuje se kao *ratno poprište* ili *bojno polje* na kome političke partije *dejstvuju* na *političkom frontu* u ratu za glasove građana. Novi front se otvara između pojedinačnih stranaka (ili koalicija) u situacijama kada dođe do razlika u ideološki suprotstavljenim stavovima po nekim konkretnim pitanjima ili događajima. Stranke *zauzimaju*, *stiču*, *obezbeđuju*, *čuvaju*, *učvršćuju* i *jačaju* svoje *pozicije na političkom frontu*, gde *vode iscrpljujuće* i *teške borbe*. Kao i u ratu, *napuštanje bojnog polja* negativno se evaluira kao predaja ili izdaja, odnosno odustajanje od pronalaženja rešenja za goruće probleme u društvu. Navešćemo nekoliko primera metaforičkih izraza karakterističnih za podmetaforu POLITIČKA SCENA JE RATNO POPRIŠTE:

(1) Tako će i ove dve stranke pokušati da izbore što bolje pozicije *za dejstvovanje na političkom frontu* i da budu što spremniji za deobu Verkovog političkog nasleđa.
(2) U razbuktalom ratu višestrukih *političkih frontova* (partijskih koalicija) koji vode iscrpljujuću borbu za umnožavanje moći i vlasti, građanska opcija se uglavnom oprezno držala po strani.

(3) Tako, na primer, Đinđić i Jovanović su bili na *prvoj liniji fronta* u akciji oduzimanja poslaničkih mandata DSS.
(4) Vlast se svojski bori da *sačuva i učvrsti stečene pozicije*, ne žaleći u toj borbi da upotrebi i argumente za koje naknadno traži dokaze.
(5) Nikolić ih je pozvao da *„ne napuštaju bojno polje*" i ocenio da bi idealno bilo da razgovaraju.

Kakav je „rat" između političkih stranaka u Srbiji? Da li nam detaljnija karakterizacija tog rata u diskursu može rasvetliti skrivene strane strategija i taktika ne samo njihovih izbornih štabova, već i dugoročnijih planova političkog vrha? Konceptualizacija rata između političkih partija u Srbiji poprima osobine nekoliko tipova ratovanja – *hladnog rata*, *rovovskog rata*, *gerilskog rata*, *rata prsa u prsa*, kao u sledećim primerima:

(6) Iako su se juče i u Demokratskoj stranci Srbije i u redovima demokrata trudili iz sve snage da u javnim nastupima prikažu da je u vladajućoj koaliciji sve u redu, *hladni rat* dve najjače stranke demokratskog bloka nastavlja se nesmanjenom žestinom.
(7) Glavna prepreka su još uvek neusaglašeni stavovi DS-a i DSS-a. O programu su se, makar formalno, dogovorili, ali o fotelje se još vodi *rovovska borba*.
(8) Ovaj politički rat je *rovovsko-gerilski*.
(9) Srpska radikalna stranka *vodi teški gerilski rat* protiv vladajućih stranaka.
(10) Borba se vodila *„prsa u prsa*". Politički analitičari nisu se usuđivali da procenjuju rezultate uoči drugog kruga – podsetio je Obradović dodajući da broj glasova koje je osvojio Nikolić govori o nezadovoljstvu građana stanjem u Srbiji.

U podmetafori POLITIČKA SCENA JE RATNO POPRIŠTE vidi se sva agresivnost, konfrontacioni karakter i ratobornost političkog diskursa u Srbiji, ispoljenih kroz više različitih metaforičkih izraza. U narednom odeljku biće više reči o procesu konceptualizacije „učesnika u ratu", odnosno političkih stranaka koje deluju na političkoj sceni savremene Srbije.

3.2. Političke stranke kao zaraćene strane

U ratu koji vode na političkoj sceni političke stranke u Srbiji su zaraćene strane koje se konceptualizuju kao *politički neprijatelji*, *politički protivnici* ili *sukobljene strane*. U vreme parlamentarnih ili predsedničkih izbora svaka stranka ima svoj *izborni tabor*. Za zaraćene tabore (=političke stranke) *vrbuju se*, *regrutuju* i ratuju *vojnici partije*. Partijska disciplina konceptualizuje se kao vojnička disciplina u političkom diskursu Srbije. *Vojnici* bespogovorno izvršavaju svoje partijske zadatke koje im zadaju „viši činovi" u stranačkoj hijerarhiji. Članstvo u političkim partijama podrazumeva neku vrste kolektivne pameti, gde je retko dozvoljeno javno izražavanje sopstvenog mišljenja, ukoliko se ono razlikuje od onog proklamovanog, partijskog, što se naročito odnosi na narodne poslanike u parlamentu. Stranke biraju svoje *saveznike*, ali i prelaze iz jednog *jednog zaraćenog tabora u drugi*, protivnički, ideološki suprotstavljen ili blizak tabor. Navešćemo nekoliko primera metafore POLITIČKE STRANKE SU ZARAĆENE STRANE.

(11) On ocenjuje da će Tadićeva najava o žestokom učestvovanju u predizbornoj kampanji svoje stranke biti povod *političkim neprijateljima* za napade i provokacije.
(12) Mesta za dogovor više nije bilo, a *sukobljene strane* su u *međusobnom ratu* sve više gubile osećanje mere.
(13) Žestoke udarce očekujem od demokrata i narodnjaka, jer će, *kao dojučerašnji saveznici*, imati potrebu da se dokazuju.
(14) *Iz oba zaraćena tabora* – iz samih vrhova DS i DSS – „ Novosti" su dobile uveravanja da će sve učiniti da dramatična politička kriza koja trese državne temelje, početkom naredne nedelje – prestane.
(15) Upravni odbori i direktorske fotelje deo su uloga – objašnjava Cvetićanin, ali podvlači da ima to i neslavnu stranu, koja je posle 5. oktobra još očiglednija i odnosi se na *brojne prelaske poslanika iz jednog tabora u drugi.*
(16) Čini se ipak da je Mladenović isuviše dugo bio *„vojnik partije"* i da je vreme da dobije neki „*viši čin*".
(17) *Partijska disciplina* im je najviši zakon. Sebe smatraju *vojnicima Partije*. Svaku dužnost prihvataju bespogovorno.

Ako su političke stranke zaraćene strane, kako se onda konceptualizuju predsednički ili parlamentarni izbori u kojima one učestvuju? U narednom odeljku biće više reči o podmetafori IZBORI SU BITKA.

3.3. Izbori kao bitka

U ratu se vode pojedinačne *bitke*, a političke stranke u svom ratu *biju izborne bitke*, koje mogu biti *odsudne*, *ljute*, *neizvesne*, *neravnopravne*, *na život i smrt*. *Frontovi* su aktuelne teme nametnute postojećom društveno-političkom situacijom u Srbiji, koje će u predizbornom periodu biti sredstvo za ubeđivanje glasača i na osnovu kojih će *izborni štabovi* koncipirati i definisati *izbornu strategiju* i *izbornu taktiku*. Ishodi pravog rata svode se na pobedu ili poraz zaraćenih strana. Na izborima, baš kao u pravom ratu, političke stranke ostvaruju *izborne pobede* ili *izborne poraze*. Navešćemo nekoliko primera iz korpusa:

(18) ... i stvorio uslov da *odsudna izborna bitka* ove godine bude između DS i SRS.
(19) ... da će *izborna bitka* u Srbiji biti *bitka na život i smrt*.
(20) ... da će se u drugom krugu izbora za predsednika opštine Kraljevo voditi *neravnopravna izborna bitka*.
(21) *Frontovi* na kojima će se voditi *izborna bitka*: Hag, NATO, državno pitanje, socijalna pitanja.

(22) Na ovim pitanjima se grade *izborne strategije* stranaka i koalicija.
(23) Glavni odbor i formalno rekao kakva je *izborna taktika* Srpskog pokreta obnove.

Uočljivo je potpuno odsustvo konceptualizacije biračkog tela u ovoj podmetafori. Sudeći po političkoj retorici, izbori se organizuju isključivo zarad političkih stranaka ili političkih lidera, kao poprište njihovih međusobnih obračuna, iz kojih izlaze kao pobednici ili gubitnici, ne zahvaljujući glasovima birača, već isključivo zahvaljujući svojoj spremnosti za „bitku" i raspoloživom „oružju".

3.4. Političke izjave/postupci kao oružje

Ako se u metafori RASPRAVA JE RAT reči konceptualizuju kao ORUŽJE, onda na političkoj sceni Srbije partije mogu da biraju između čitavog verbalnog *arsenala*. Političari i stranke iz zaraćenih tabora *osipaju paljbu* jedni na druge, *pucaju jedni na druge iz svih oružja* (*teške artiljerije*, *najotrovnijih strela*), trpe *baražnu vatru*, nalaze se *pod unakrsnom vatrom*, ili su *na meti* političkih protivnika. Navešćemo nekoliko primera iz korpusa:

(24) DSS se sukcesivno *našao* najpre *pod paljbom* Demokratske stranke.
(25) Umesto odgovora, nervozna vlast *je osula paljbu na opoziciju*, tvrdeći da nema pojma s ekonomijom.
(26) Funkcioner Nove Srbije Miroslav Markićević kaže da su premijer Vojislav Koštunica i ministar Velimir Ilić već nedelju dana *na meti* lažnih optužbi DS-a.
(27) Najotrovnije strele *između DS-a i DSS-a*
(28) To je bila kampanja u kojoj su socijalisti „*pucali*" *iz svih oružja* po radikalima
(29) Sva ona *baražna vatra*, sva ona *teška artiljerija* koju su koristile neke stranke da bi diskreditovale DS, morale bi na neki način da budu povučene.
(30) Sva je prilika da ćemo narednih nedelja biti svedoci *unakrsne vatre* između Demokratske stranke i radikala.

Konceptualizacijom rasprave kao rata, kroz podmetaforu REČI SU ORUŽJE, dosledno se ističu samo negativni aspekti rata, odnosno metaforičkim prenosom, politike. Neslaganje sa političkim protivnicima preslikava se isključivo kao fizički napad, na koji bi druga strana trebalo da uzvrati, a svaka kritika, bila dobronamerna ili ne, konceptualizuje se kao municija koja ima za cilj da na svaki način povredi i uništi protivnika. Otud, kako kaže Lejkof, „metafore ubijaju" (Lakoff, 1991), ne doslovno, ili bolje rečeno, ne uvek doslovno, već izazivanjem osećanja koja duboko utiču na druge ljude koji, prihvatanjem istog metaforičkog okvira, samo ga iznova oživljavaju.

3.5. Saradnja između političkih stranaka kao primirje

Saradnja između političkih stranaka u Srbiji konceptualizuje se kao *primirje*, *obustava sukoba*, ili *prekid vatre*. Ovakav militaristički žargon kojim se jezički realizuje podmetafora SARADNJA IZMEĐU POLITIČKIH STRANAKA JE PRIMIRJE ukazuje na dugotrajnost sukoba na političkoj sceni. Zabrinjava to što se međusobna saradnja političkih aktera doživljava tek kao *privremeno stanje*, koje će veoma brzo, čim se zadovolje stranački interesi, ponovo prerasti u otvoren sukob, što znači da se kooperativnost između političkih partija konceptualizuje kao *negacija sukoba*, kao primirje koje je samo predah do nastavka rata:

(31) Dva ključna čoveka u državi *su izgleda sklopila krhko primirje*.
(32) Predsednik Srbije Boris Tadić i premijer Vojislav Koštunica naložili su juče partijskim funkcionerima DS-a i DSS-a *da odmah obustave sve međusobne sukobe*.
(33) Da li je to samo *privremeno primirje* pre predsedničkih izbora ili je trajno pošto je DS zadovoljna većinom važnih ministarstava u vladi?
(34) Koštunica i Tadić dogovorili „*prekid vatre*"

U vreme prekida sukoba, političke stranke *zakopavaju ratne sekire*, pa čak i potpisuju *sporazume o nenapadanju*, koji još uvek ne podrazumevaju međusobnu saradnju, kompromise i zajedničko delovanje ka uniformnom cilju:

(35) Sve pod uslovom, dodaje on, da se konačno reši problem saradnje s Haškim tribunalom, *kao i da se zakopaju ratne sekire između DS i DSS*.
(36) Izgubila se ona osnovna vrednost demokratskog potencijala koje je nekada imala sa Zoranom Đinđićem, izgubio se politički kurs. *Politika nenapadanja*, kako bi to neko rekao.
(37) Koštuničin DSS sa sedam poslanika, DS i SRS su u ovom sazivu *potpisivali sporazume o nenapadanju*.

Obuzete ratnim sukobima, pobedama i porazima, zveckanjem oružjem i sklapanjem međusobnih paktova, da li se političke stranke ikada zapitaju kakva je uloga građana, birača u tom ratu? Da li birači na bilo koji način u njemu učestvuju, ili tek pasivno, kao u areni, posmatraju „ratne igre" političara? Sudeći po našem korpusu, birači su žrtve koje stradaju u političkim sukobima među strankama.

3.6. Birači kao žrtve rata

Ako se politika u Srbiji konceptualizuje kao rat, onda je logično očekivati da se u takvom metaforičkom, kao i u stvarnom ratu, pojave ratne žrtve. Podmetafora BIRAČI SU ŽRTVE RATA unutar nadređene metafore POLITIKA JE RAT jasno govori ko strada u ratu među političkim strankama u Srbiji. Birači, odnosno građani Srbije, konceptualizuju se kao *ratne žrtve*, koje postaju *taoci* političkih sukoba i trvenja političkih partija, nemoćni da učine bilo šta kako bi promenili postojeću političku situaciju nakon što su na izborima dali svoj glas nekoj od stranaka ili predsedničkom kandidatu. Navešćemo nekoliko primera:

(38) Kolundžija: Građani Beograda žrtve *formiranja republičke vlade*
(39) Birači *žrtve političkog rata*.
(40) Političke stranke drže Srbiju i njene građane kao *taoce*
(41) Građani su *taoci* političkih obračuna

Kao sredstva koja imaju moć isticanja i prikrivanja određenih željenih, odnosno nepoželjnih aspekata stvarnosti, metafore su veoma pogodne za upotrebu u politici. One predstavljaju neku vrstu kognitivne prečice, kojima se najsloženija politička i društvena pitanja svode na mnogo prijemčljiviji sistem korespondencija, razumljiv širokom spektru građana, birača na izborima. U narednom odeljku biće više reči o mogućim motivima korišćenja metafora rata u političkom diskursu savremene Srbije.

4. Mogući motivi korišćenja metafora rata u političkom diskursu Srbije

U političkom diskursu izbor metafora uglavnom se rukovodi retoričkim ciljem, *ubeđivanjem* (Charteris-Black, 2004: 248), kada se metafore *svesno* koriste radi kreiranja željenog kognitivnog okvira kod birača. Ako je to tačno u slučaju političkog diskursa u Srbiji, može se postaviti pitanje zašto bi metafore rata predstavljale korisno i efikasno sredstvo ubeđivanja, ako imamo u vidu njihove negativne asocijacije i konotacije, posebno u zemlji čiji su građani u poslednjih petnaest godina, direktno ili indirektno, učestvovali u tri rata, u kojoj su mnoge porodice, posredno ili neposredno, pretrpele lične gubitke, i u kojoj su sećanja na ratne strahote još uvek živa kod glasača, pogotovo kod velikog broja izbeglica sa pravom glasa u Srbiji. Lejkof i Džonson kažu da „nijednu metaforu nije moguće shvatiti, ili čak adekvatno reprezentovati nezavisno od njene iskustvene baze" (Lakoff/Johnson, 1980: 19). Naravno, takvo iskustvo nije samo „fizičko", već u velikoj meri „kulturološko", što znači da naš *svet* „doživljavamo na takav način da je naša kultura već prisutna u samom iskustvu" (Lakoff/Johnson, 1980: 57), pri čemu takva kulturološka osnova nije ništa manje važna od one fizičke. Međutim, ukoliko su metafore sredstvo za razumevanje jednog apstraktnog pojma iz neopipljivog, nematerijalnog ciljnog domena na osnovu drugog, konkretnijeg, izvornog domena, koji ima iskustvenu (a time i kulturološku) osnovu u ljudskim životima, što znači da su naši „primarni metaforički sistemi zasnovani ponajpre na našem direktnom fizičkom i društvenom iskustvu" (Ritchie, 2003: 130), tada razumevanje politike na osnovu rata kod mnogih ljudi u Srbiji ne samo da ima iskustvenu podlogu stvorenu putem *neposrednog iskustva* sa strahotama rata (a ne putem televizije ili filma, na primer, što je slučaj sa mnogim drugim, srećnijim narodima), već može prizvati slike koje sasvim sigurno nisu deo retoričkog cilja ubeđivanja. Zbog svojih snažnih emocionalnih konotacija takve slike mogu izazvati suprotan efekat – efekat *odvraćanja* ljudi od glasanja za one političke partije čiji metaforički jezik priziva slike rata, odnosno, odvraćanje od glasanja *uopšte*, ukoliko je metafora rata dominantna u sveukupnom političkom diskursu Srbije (kao što i jeste), a ne samo u retorici pojedinih političkih stranaka. Stoga, u skladu sa mišljenjem Čarterisa-Bleka i njegovom tvrdnjom da izbor metafora „zavisi i od individualnih i od društvenih faktora" (Charteris-Black, 2004: 248), ovde iznosimo tezu da u slučaju metafore rata u političkom diskursu u Srbiji sasvim sigurno postoji „društvena osnova za izbor metafora" (Charteris-Black, 2004: 248). Takođe smatramo da metafore rata u političkom diskursu u Srbiji učesnici u primarnom diskursu koriste najvećim delom *nesvesno*, da su duboko usađene u istorijski i kulturni kontekst, i da ih, pošto su „kulturološki upadljive" učesnici u sekundarnom političkom diskursu još više ojačavaju u svakodnevnim razgovorima (Ritchie, 2003: 131), što samo snaži njihovu poziciju u umovima i jeziku ljudi u Srbiji.

5. Zaključak

Prema mišljenju Lejkofa i Džonsona (1980), metafore ističu i čine koherentnim određene aspekte našeg iskustva, ali mogu i da „kreiraju stvarnost, naročito društvenu stvarnost" (1980: 156) i da funkcionišu „kao smernica za buduće postupke" (1980: 156). Ukoliko je to tačno, onda nam činjenica da su ratne metafore toliko prisutne u političkom diskursu Srbije, kao i činjenica da ih koriste predstavnici i primarnog i sekundarnog diskursa, govori o budućem toku naše politike i načinima funkcionisanja naših političkih partija u budućnosti: uzaludno je očekivati da će oni aspekti koje metafore rata prikrivaju kreirati našu stvarnost, naročito ako prihvatimo stav Lejkofa i Džonsona da metafore mogu biti „samoispunjavajuće proročanstvo" (Lakoff/Johnson, 1980: 156), tj. da se delovanje u budućnosti realizuje na osnovu preovlađujuće metafore. Moć metafora leži u tome što prikrivaju izvesne aspekte stvarnosti, te ako takvu metaforu prihvatimo kao istinitu (da POLITIKA JE RAT), time zamagljujemo ostale aspekte političkog delovanja, a to su, pre svega, uzajamna tolerancija, zajedničko delovanje za dobrobit države i naroda, te saradnja i kompromisi među političkim partijama (Howe, 1988: 99). I konačno, ako je tačno da „ljudi na vlasti nameću svoje metafore" (Lakoff/Johnson, 1980: 157), makar i nesvesno, dodali bismo, onda je neophodno da *građani Srbije* postanu svesni neprikladnog kognitivnog okvira u kojem se politika definiše kao rat, kako bi shvatili da mogućnost njihovog aktivnog učešća u kreiranju političke stvarnosti nije utopija, već da njihova aktivna uloga u tom procesu može da bude od presudnog značaja.

Literatura

Charteris-Black, J. (2004) **Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis**, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Charteris-Black, J. (2005) **Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor**, Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave-MacMillan

Chilton, P. (2004) **Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice**, London: Routledge

Chilton, P., Schaffner, C. (ur.) (2002) **Politics as Text and Talk – Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse**, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Fairclough, N. (1989) **Language and Power**, London: Longman

Fairclough, N., R. Wodak (1997) "Critical Discourse Analysis", u T. A. van Dijk (ur.) **Discourse Studies**, London: Sage, str. 258-284

Howe, N. (1988) "Metaphor in Contemporary American Political Discourse", **Metaphor and Symbolic Activity**, Vo. 3, No. 2, pp. 87-104

Koller, V. (2003) **Metaphor Clusters in Business Media Discourse: A Social Cognition Approach**, PhD thesis submitted at the Department of English at the University of Vienna. preuzeto sa sajta http://www.wu-wien.ac.at/inst/english/koller_diss.pdf

Lakoff, G., M. Johnson (1980) **Metaphors We Live By**, Chicago: University of Chicago

Lakoff, G. (1991) "Metaphor in Politics – An Open Letter to the Internet from George Lakoff", preuzeto sa sajta http://www.uoregon.edu/~uophil/metaphor/lakoff-l.htm

Musolff, A. (2004) **Metaphor and Political Discourse: Analogical Reasoning in Debates about Europe**, London: Palgrave Macmillan

Radić-Bojanić, B., N. Silaški (2008) "Sportizacija političkog diskursa – kako metafore prikrivaju političku stvarnost Srbije", **Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku**, LI: 1-2, str. 139-155

Ritchie, D. (2003) "ARGUMENT IS WAR – Or is it a game of chess? Multiple meanings in the analysis of implicit metaphors", **Metaphor and Symbol**, 18 (2), str. 125-146

Silaški, N., T. Đurović, B. Radić-Bojanić (2009) **Javni diskurs Srbije – kognitivističko-kritička studija**, Beograd: CID Ekonomskog fakulteta

Silaški, N., T. Đurović (2009) "Framing politics – metaphors in Serbian political discourse", **Slavic Cognitive Linguistics Conference** (SCLC-2009), 15-17 October, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic

van Dijk, T. (1993) "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis", **Discourse and Society**, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 249-283

Wodak, R. (2006) "Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis", in Verschueren, J. and J. Östman (eds.) **Handbook of Pragmatics**, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins

UDK 811.163.4'373.422

Nataša Kostić

CONTRAST PAIRS AND MARKED / UNMARKED DISTINCTION IN LANGUAGE USE

Abstract: *In this paper the reasons why antonymous pairs are used in a particular sequence within the sentence in written contexts are investigated. Many authors assume that markedness is the main reason for asymmetrical distribution of antonyms. Unmarked member can be used neutrally, that is, without such specific semantic content as the marked item, and when both members are used in the same sentence in antonymic relation the unmarked member occurs first. The aim of this paper is to investigate all the factors that can influence antonym sequence in the sentence by analyzing sentences that feature chosen antonymous pairs. Sentences were taken from the electronic corpus of the Serbian language. The analysis reveals that the majority of pairs investigated prefers certain sequence in the sentence and that there are several criteria that influence why a particular antonymous pair favours a certain sequence. As for the markedness criterion, the results show that, rather than actively determining antonym sequence, it is itself subject to the influence of other sequencing criteria.*

Key words: *antonymous pair, antonymy, markedness, antonym sequence*

1. Introduction

Antonyms are co-hyponyms whose relationship is defined by minimal contrast rule, that is, as many investigators have already noted (Clark, 1970; Hale, 1971, inter alia), antonymy can be basically defined in terms of minimal difference. In order to be minimally different two words must share all their crucial semantic propeties but one. In other words, members of a relational set are "minimally different" if they differ in only one relevant criterium. Given that antonyms are equal in many respects, we should not expect any preference for a particular sequence in a sentence. However, although antonymy is a reciprocal relation, members of an antonymous pair may not show symmetrical distribution in actual language use (Kostić, 2005).

This paper addresses the question whether and why antonyms in Serbian texts tend to occur in a particular sequence in the sentence. The analysis is based on examples taken from a representative Serbian electronic corpus (Untagged Corpus of Contemporary Serbian Language[207]) and includes fifty antonymous pairs. The number of

[207] *Untagged Corpus of Contemporary Serbian Language* is the largest of all the Serbian language corpora made by the Group for Language Technologies of the Faculty of Mathematics, University

antonyms chosen for this analysis is large enough to allow for safe conclusions, and the list was comprised respecting the following criteria:

1) At least 60% of all antonyms chosen shuld be adjectival pairs because antonymy is more widespread among adjectives than among other word parts[208];
2) At least 10% of all the pairs chosen should feature antonymous nouns, at least 10% should feature antonymous verbs, and another 10% should feature antonymous adverbs.
3) The list also contains antonymous prepositions, having in mind the intention to include as many word parts as possible[209].

The list of antonyms chosen for this analysis contains the following pairs (numbers in brackets refer to the number of sentences that feature that antonymous pair in our database):

blizu/daleko	*(20)*	*novi/stari*	*(689)*
bogat/siromašan	*(117)*	*otvoren/zatvoren*	*(44)*
bolestan/zdrav	*(37)*	*pametan/glup*	*(11)*
brz/spor	*(41)*	*početak/kraj*	*(382)*
brzo/sporo	*(10)*	*prvi/poslednji*	*(187)*
crni/beli	*(293)*	*pun/prazan*	*(20)*
dobar/loš	*(205)*	*rani/kasni*	*(47)*
dobiti/izgubiti	*(62)*	*rat/mir*	*(128)*
dobro/loše	*(43)*	*rušiti/graditi*	*(18)*
doći/otići	*(81)*	*sit/gladan*	*(9)*
dubok/plitak	*(6)*	*srećan/tužan*	*(6)*
dug/kratak	*(47)*	*svetli/tamni*	*(41)*
ispravan/pogrešan	*(10)*	*tanak/debeo*	*(11)*
ispred/iza	*(29)*	*težak/lak*	*(65)*
istina/laž	*(54)*	*topao/hladan*	*(78)*
iznad/ispod	*(32)*	*toplo/hladno*	*(16)*
jak/slab	*(32)*	*tvrd/mek*	*(24)*
kupiti/prodati	*(56)*	*ući/izaći*	*(71)*

of Belgrade; this corpus has 22,226,437 words and is available at www.korpus.matf.bg.ac.yu. It is a part of the project "Interaction of Text and Vocabulary" financed by the Ministry of Science and Technology of the Republic of Serbia since 2002.

208 Fellbaum says: "There is nothing special about antonymous adjectives, other than that antonymy is more pervasive among adjectives; rather, there is something special about antonymous concepts, no matter in what form these concepts are lexicalized" (1995: 285).

209 It is interesting to note that none of the studies about antonymy that have been cited includes antonymous prepositions.

lep/ružan	*(51)*	*uzeti/dati*	*(17)*
levo/desno	*(213)*	*unutrašnji/spoljašnji*	*(69)*
ljubav/mržnja	*(42)*	*veliki/mali*	*(485)*
malo/mnogo	*(80)*	*visok/nizak*	*(43)*
mlad/star	*(142)*	*vrh/dno*	*(36)*
mokar/suv	*(4)*	*živ/mrtav*	*(90)*
muški/ženski	*(343)*	*život/smrt*	*(266)*

Many authors assume that the main reason for asymmetrical distribution of antonyms is *markedness*[210], that is, semantic neutrality: *good* is not marked with respect to *bad*, that is a question *"did you have a good time*?*"* is less biased than "*did you have a bad time*?"*.* Some theorists[211] have gone so far to define antonymy as a relation between marked and unmarked items. Markedness distinctions feature especially among gradable adjectives, where marked (*young, short, bad*) and unmarked (*old, long, good*) adjectives are subject to distributional asymmetries. Lehrer (1985) finds that 80% of common gradable antonym pairs have a markedness distinction.

While different theorists use different criteria for determining which member of a pair is marked and which unmarked, the most common criterion is that the unmarked member is used neutrally, that is, without such specific semantic content as the marked member. Lehrer (1985: 400) lists the most common ways in which neutralization occurs for antonymous adjectives:

1. The unmarked member is neutralized in questions (*How tall / #short is he?*)
2. The unmarked member is neutralized in nominalizations (*warmth / #coolth*)
3. Only the unmarked member appears in measure phrases (*three feet tall / #short*)
4. If one member consists of an affix added to the antonym, the affix form is marked (*happy / unhappy*)
5. Only the unmarked member occurs with ratios (*twice as old / #young*)
6. The unmarked member is evaluatively positive / the marked is evaluatively negative (*good / bad*)
7. The unmarked member denotes more of a quantity (*big / little*)
8. If there are asymmetrical entailments, the unmarked member is less likely to be biased or committed (*X is better than Y:* X may be good or bad. *X is worse than Y:* X must be bad [not good]).

For a member of an antonymous pair to be labeled as unmarked it is not necessary to fulfill all the above listed criteria. Whichever member of a pair displays the most unmarked characteristics is the unmarked member. It means that not every unmarked item has the same set of these properties.

---

[210] Semantically *marked* member has more specific semantic content with respect to *unmarked* member that has more general semantic content which makes it semantically superior (e.g. *tall* (unmarked) / *short* (marked), *fast* (unmarked) / *slow* (marked)).

[211] Givón, 1970; Ljung, 1974; Handke, 1995.

Theorists differ as to whether markedness theory explains or merely describes these distributional differences. Some (e.g. Cruse, 1986; Lehrer, 1985) have presented arguments that markedness is, at least sometimes, lexically idiosyncratic, while others (e.g. Bartsch and Vennemann, 1972; Rusiecki, 1985) have treated markedness as a lexical feature without making any motivating arguments, which is tantamount to representing antonymy in the lexicon since words are not marked or unmarked in and of themselves, but are (un)marked in relation to another. It is not sufficient to say that *tall* is an unmarked term – instead it is unmarked with respect to *short*. Still, markedness is context dependent as well, as is evident in the semantic realm of natural (as opposed to grammatical) gender. While the masculine gender is commonly claimed to be unmarked and the feminine marked in English (e.g. Leech, 1974; Moulton, 1981), it is the feminine that is unmarked and the masculine marked when referring to occupations that are typically held by women. So, for example, *nurse*, *prostitute*, and *secretary* are unmarked for feminine gender, as demonstrated by the frequency (and necessity) of marking the masculine explicitly, as in *male nurse*.

The majority of antonymous pairs analyzed in Serbian electronic corpus exhibit distributional asymmetry in language use (Kostić, 2005). The remaining parts of this paper will deal with the question which factors influence the preference of one antonym sequence over another.

2. Statistical analysis of antonym sequence in the sentence

The table presented below provides data about the antonym sequence in each pair analyzed, in sentences in which both members are used in the relation of antonymy. The first column on the left side presents the percentage of all the cases of more frequent sequence, or the sequence in which the antonym on the left hand side (A1) precedes the antonym on the right hand side (A2). The second column on the left presents the number of corpus sentences in which this, more frequent, sequence was observed. The columns after the second antonym (A2) give the number of sentences in which the second antonym occurred first, which is in the last column presented in percentages.

%	No.	A1	A2	No.	%
90.5	(38)	ljubav	mržnja	(4)	9.5
88.4	(38)	dobro	loše	(5)	11.6
86.8	(178)	dobar	loš	(27)	13.2
86.8	(185)	levo	desno	(28)	13.2
84.2	(224)	život	smrt	(42)	15.8
81.2	(13)	toplo	hladno	(3)	18.8

79	(271)	muški	ženski	(72)	21
77	(7)	gladan	sit	(2)	23
76.5	(13)	dati	uzeti	(4)	23.5
75.8	(97)	rat	mir	(31)	24.2
75.2	(88)	bogat	siromašan	(29)	24.8
75	(27)	vrh	dno	(9)	25
75	(15)	blizu	daleko	(5)	25
74.6	(53)	ući	izaći	(18)	25.4
73.2	(30)	svetli	tamni	(11)	26.8
71.6	(58)	doći	otići	(23)	28.4
70.4	(31)	otvoren	zatvoren	(13)	29.6
70	(7)	ispravan	pogrešan	(3)	30
70	(26)	zdrav	bolestan	(11)	30
69.5	(130)	prvi	poslednji	(57)	30.5
69.2	(45)	lak	težak	(20)	30.8
69	(20)	ispred	iza	(9)	31
67.9	(53)	topao	hladan	(25)	32.1
67.7	(42)	dobiti	izgubiti	(20)	32.3
67.5	(258)	početak	kraj	(124)	32.5
66.7	(4)	dubok	plitak	(2)	33.3
66.7	(4)	tužan	srećan	(2)	33.3

%	No.	A1	A2	No.	%
66	(31)	kratak	dug	(16)	34
63.6	(7)	glup	pametan	(4)	36.4
63.6	(7)	tanak	debeo	(4)	36.4
63.4	(26)	brz	spor	(15)	36.6
63	(185)	crni	beli	(108)	37
63	(34)	istina	laž	(20)	37
62.7	(32)	lep	ružan	(19)	37.3
62.2	(56)	živ	mrtav	(34)	37.8
61.4	(423)	stari	novi	(266)	38.6
61.1	(11)	rušiti	graditi	(7)	38.9
60.7	(34)	prodati	kupiti	(22)	39.3
60	(19)	iznad	ispod	(13)	40
60	(12)	prazan	pun	(8)	40
60	(6)	sporo	brzo	(4)	40
59.4	(41)	unutrašnji	spoljašnji	(28)	40.6
55.8	(24)	visok	nizak	(19)	44.2
55.3	(26)	kasni	rani	(21)	44.7
54.2	(13)	mek	tvrd	(11)	45.8

53.8	261)	veliki	mali	(224)	46.2
53	(17)	jak	slab	(15)	47
51.2	(41)	malo	mnogo	(39)	48.8
50	(71)	mlad	star	(71)	50
50	(2)	mokar	suv	(2)	50

Table 1: Antonym sequence in Untagged Corpus of Contemporary Serbian Language

Of the total number of 50 pairs whose sequence was analyzed, 12 pairs do not show any marked preference[212] towards either sequence. Six pairs that exhibit a marked tendency to appear in the given sequence are: *ljubav / mržnja, dobro / loše, dobar / loš, levo / desno, život / smrt* i *toplo / hladno*. The frequency of the given sequence in our corpus ranges between 80% and 90.5%. The fact that increases the validity of this conclusion is the large number of sentences retrieved for these pairs of words (*dobar / loš* (205), *levo / desno* (213), *život / smrt* (266)).

The group of antonyms whose frequency of the given order is rather high and ranges between 70% and 80% comprises 13 pairs. Among them there are several frequently used pairs in our corpus (*muški / ženski, rat / mir, bogat / siromašan, ući / izaći, doći / otići*) as well as some less frequently used ones (*gladan / sit, dati / uzeti, vrh / dno, blizu / daleko, svetli / tamni, otvoren / zatvoren, ispravan / pogrešan, zdrav / bolestan*). The largest group of antonyms is comprised of pairs who exhibit a moderate preference towards the dominant sequence: in a total of 19 pairs examined the tendency for the antonymous pair to be used in the given sequence ranges between 60% and 70%. Finally, one quarter of all the antonyms analyzed has no marked preference towards either sequence: the frequency in this group ranges between 60% in the case of *iznad / ispod, prazan / pun, sporo / brzo* and 50% in the case of *mlad / star* and *mokar / suv*. These figures do not suggest that there is any dominant sequence of antonym use here: if we, for example, analyze word pair *sporo / brzo* we can see that in six corpus sentences *sporo* is used before *brzo* and in four cases the sequence is reversed; had we had one sentence more with the sequence *brzo / sporo* the members of this pair would have equal status. Such pairs are better described as having not (yet) developed a preference for either sequence in the sentence.

[212] Marked preference is here defined as a frequency of one antonym preceding another in at least 60% of all sentences.

3. Factors that influence antonym sequence in the sentence

Table 1 shows that the majority of antonymous pairs favour a certain word sequence in the sentence. The remaining parts of this paper examine the reasons why one sequence is given preference over the reverse of that sequence in written texts and how pervasive these factors are. Below are six factors given in the order of importance.

1) Positivity

If one member of an antonymous pair has more positive connotations than another, it is often mentioned first. As Lyons notes, "the positive opposite tends to precede the negative when opposites are co-ordinated" (1977: 276). This factor influences the largest number of antonymous pairs analyzed. For example, *ljubav* has positive meaning when compared to *mržnja*; in our corpus *ljubav* is used before *mržnja* in about 90% of all sentences retrieved. This pair exhibits the most prominent tendency to be used in a sequence in which more positive member is given priority and some other pairs in our list follow the same principle: *dobro / loše* (88.4%), *dobar / loš* (86.8%), *život / smrt* (84.2%), *toplo / hladno* (81.2%), *dati / uzeti* (76.5%), *bogat / siromašan* (75.2%), *vrh / dno* (75%), *svetli / tamni* (73.2%). Less markedly influenced by this criterion of antonym sequencing are *otvoren / zatvoren* (70.4%), *ispravan / pogrešan* (70%), *zdrav / bolestan* (70%), *lak / težak* (69.2%), *topao / hladan* (67.9%), *dobiti / izgubiti* (67.7%), *istina / laž* (63%), *lep / ružan* (62.7%) i *živ / mrtav* (62.2%). Pairs that do not exhibit any marked preference towards either sequence but which can still be said to be under the influence of the criterion of positivity are *iznad / ispod* (60%), *mek / tvrd* (54.2%) and *jak / slab* (53%). A clear pattern can be identified here: antonyms with positive associations are being given priority over antonyms with negative associations. In other words, in cases when one antonym can be said to have more positive associations than another, a large number of pairs have a preference for that member to be mentioned first. However, some counter-examples are unavoidable and six pairs seem to flout the convention: *rat / mir, crni / beli, gladan / sit, tužan / srećan, glup / pametan* and *rušiti / graditi*. In our corpus *rat* occurs before *mir* in three quarters of sentences, *gladan* precedes *sit* in 77%, *tužan* appears before *srećan* in 66.7%, *glup* before *pametan* in 63.3%, *crni* precedes *beli* in 63%, and *rušiti* is used before *graditi* in 61.1% of all sentences in which both words are used together. To a greater or lesser degree, each of these pairs are occurring with their negative partner before their positive partner, although we also have to bear in mind the fact that at least with some of them the frequency of use in the given order is not very high. Each of these counter-examples will be returned to and possible explanations will be discussed. However, in general, it would appear that positivity is a key factor in determining which antonym should appear first in a sentence.

2) Temporal sequence

If one antonym is prone to temporally precede the other in the real world, this sequence will be reflected in the order of antonyms in the sentence. Typical example is the pair *početak / kraj* (67.5%). Antonym sequence in these cases reflects the sequence of events in the real world; to reverse this normal sequence in language would be marked. This factor also plays a role in cases like *prvi / poslednji* (*prvi* precedes *poslednji* in 65.9% of sentences) and *stari / novi* (61.4%). In the case of *stari / novi* the chronology is reflected in the sense that, for example, *old houses* were built before *new houses*. Our consciousness of the temporal dimension also affects the sequence of use of other two verb pairs: if entering usually precedes going out and coming to a place precedes leaving it, then it is easier to explain why in three quarters of sentences verb *ući* goes before *izaći* and verb *doći* is in 71.6% used before *otići*. Generally speaking, what is perceived first and happens first tends to be mentioned before what is perceived later and happens later. Thus antonymous pair *blizu / daleko* (75%) can also be said to illustrate the sequence in both temporal and visual dimensions. It is interesting to note, however, that pair *mladi / stari* is not influenced by this factor and that both sequences are equally used.

3) Magnitude

The order of several adjectival antonyms in the sentence is governed by the concept of magnitude. The member that denotes more of a quantity (height, length, size, speed, etc.) usually comes first. Adjective *dubok* comes before adjective *plitak* in 66.7% of all corpus sentences; *brz* is used before *spor* in 63.4% of sentences. Pairs that exhibit a slight preference for the sequence governed by the factor of magnitude are *visok / nizak* (in 55.8% of sentences *visok* precedes *nizak* probably because it denotes more of a quantity), and *veliki / mali*, that can in fact hardly be said to show any preference at all (53.8%) for this sequence.

4) Idiomaticity

Some word pairs seem to favour a certain sequence, not because of abstract semantic criteria, but because they have developed semi-idiomatic status. The best example of this is pair *crni / beli* which, having in mind the pervasive influence of the criterion of positivity, should be more frequently used in the reverse sequence. Still, corpus sentences testify that the phrase *crno beli* is used in 63% of all the sentences that feature this word pair and in almost all the cases with this sequence it refers to a football club “Partisan”.

Idiomatic status also has the phrase *rat i mir* which is used in three quarters of all sentences examined, despite the fact that *mir* is the more positive term. A possible reason for this could be Tolstoy’s novel *War and Peace* (1896), translated into Serbian *Rat i mir*, which perhaps set a precedent for these antonyms to occur in that order.

Another case could be made for the pair *levo / desno,* typically found in very frequent phrases *čas levo, čas desno* and *gledati levo desno* in 86.8% of sentences.

5) Other factors

One of the most striking preferences among antonymous pairs is that of *muški* and *ženski*. The former precedes the latter in 79% of sentences. The criterion of positivity should not apply[213] so we are only left with the option of recognizing gender itself as a criterion of antonym sequence. It could be that in languages use there is a tendency for things male to be given priority over things female. Still, the tendency of *muški* to precede *ženski* in the sentence is so strong that gender alone may not be the only explanation.

As for the criterion of markedness, it is quite logical to expect the unmarked antonym, where one can be identified, to be the first-mentioned antonym in the sentence. McCarthy notes that irreversible binomials can be seen as "moving from unmarked to marked term in antonymous pairs" (1998: 148), citing *high and low* and *good and bad* as examples. Evidence from the corpus suggests that markedness is a relevant factor, but that this may be a symptom rather than a cause of antonym sequence. The unmarked antonym is usually the more positive antonym (*dobar* is unmarked, *loš* is marked), denotes more of a quantity (*dubok* is unmarked, *plitak* is marked). In other words, there are overlaps between factors that determine markedness and criteria which determine antonym sequence in written texts. Besides that, not all antonymous pairs tend to put their unmarked member first: thus *lak* comes before *težak* in almost 70% of sentences, and *kratak* before *dug* in 66%. Although these pairs may be exceptions to the rule, it is evident that markedness is not always the decisive factor of antonym sequence in the sentence, but is itself subject to the influence of other sequencing criteria.

6) Sequence criteria are sometimes ignored

Semantic and other factors that have been found to influence antonym sequence in the sentence can account for the majority of pairs analyzed. Their influence is rather stable and the reasons for their existence, as well as why some sequences are stronger than others, can only be speculated about. The tendency to give priority to positive antonyms over negative antonyms could reflect speakers' intuitions to mention better or more acceptable alternative first; if that is the 'rule' in spoken language it is reasonable to expect the same in written language as well. If we are more willing to accept good things rather than bad things in life and if we value life more than death, then the tendency to mention *dobar* before *loš* and *život* before *smrt* seems quite natural for us as language users. Sequencing antonyms according to the criterion of magnitude suggests that in language use the visual dimension is reflected: what we perceive first we articulate first. Still, sequencing antonyms is sometimes a reflection of temporal dimensions, so chronologically earlier antonyms appear first in sentences. In written language a tendency to adhere to an established antonym sequence can also be noted, as the criterion of idiomaticity testifies; it means that once a given word sequence is accepted as a norm it tends to become relatively fixed in the lexicon.

---

[213] Although Lyons does apply the theory of 'positive antonym; negative antonym' even in cases like this one, arguing that a positive term can be identified in irreversible binomials such as *man/woman* and *food/drink* (1977: 276).

Nevertheless, there are several pairs in our sample whose dominant sequence is either not influenced by the above mentioned factors or it cannot be accounted for by any of them. First of all, there are six pairs whose sequence in the sentence does not follow the tendency of the majority of pairs to mention the positive member first. These pairs are: *gladan / sit* (77%), *tužan / srećan* (66.7%), *glup / pametan* (63.6%), *rušiti / graditi* (61.1%), and two pairs whose dominant preference is 60%, which is relatively weak: *prazan / pun* and *sporo / brzo*. In the majority of these cases the number of sentences extracted is not a solid proof regarding the stability of this sequence; thus *gladan / sit* was found in 9 sentences, *tužan / srećan* in only 6, *glup / pametan* in 11, and *sporo / brzo* in 10 sentences. Of the total of 18 sentences in which antonymous pair *rušiti / graditi* is used, in 11 cases *rušiti* precedes *graditi* and in 7 cases the order is reversed; and of the total of 20 examples for *prazan / pun,* this word order appears in 12 sentences, while in 8 the sequence is reversed. These data suggest that the differences are not very important and that we cannot label these pairs as having a stable tendency towards a certain word order.

There are also two pairs that do not respect the criterion of magnitude – *kratak / dug* (66%) and *tanak / debeo* (63.6%) and that put the marked member and the one denoting less of a quantity in the first place. Finally, there are antonymous prepositions *ispred / iza* (69%, or 20 out of 29 corpus sentences) whose dominant sequence could be the confirmation of a thesis that what is perceived first tends to be mentioned before what it perceived later.

4. Conclusion

Dominant tendencies of antonym sequence do exist when antonyms are used in the same sentence in written text and a vast majority of pairs are influenced by several criteria of antonym sequencing. The results of the analysis presented in this paper suggest that once a sequence is established, it tends to become fixed. There are several criteria that can influence the preference of one sequence over another. The most dominant factor is positivity, or the tendency for pairs with one positive and one negative term to mention their positive term first (in cases in which such distinctions can be made – *vrh / dno, bogat / siromašan, ljubav / mržnja*). Other factors are temporal sequence (when applicable – *prvi / poslednji*), magnitude (more substantial antonym tends to precede the less substantial one – *dubok / plitak*), idiomaticity (*crno beli*), and gender (*muški / ženski*).

However, the factors that rule antonym sequencing are not rigid rules and it is possible to flout the accepted word sequence. Analyzing some sentences in which the dominant word order is reversed we uncovered two main reasons why this is possible. In the majority of cases the syntactic distance between antonyms is greater than usual, so flouting the convention is not so noticeable; or there appears to be a specific purpose in contexts where some rhetorical effect may be intended, in which case semantic and pragmatic conditions govern the choice of antonym which is to be mentioned first.

References

Bartsch, R. and Vennemann, T. (1972) **Semantic Structures**, Frankfurt: Athenäum

Cruse, D. A. (1986) **Lexical Semantics**, Cambridge: CUP

Fellbaum, C. (1995) "Co-occurrence and antonymy", **International Journal of Lexicography**, No. 8, pp. 281–303

Givón, T. (1970) "Notes on the semantic structure of English adjectives", **Language**, Vol. 46, No. 4, pp. 816-837

Handke, J. (1995) **The Structure of the Lexicon: human versus machine**, New York: Mouton de Gruyter

Kostić, N. (2005) **Semantičko-pragmatička analiza antonimije u engleskom i srpskom jeziku**, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Faculty of Philology: University of Belgrade

Leech, G. (1974) **Semantics**, Middlesex: Penguin

Lehrer, A. (1985) "Markedness and antonymy", **Journal of Linguistics**, No. 21, pp. 397-429

Lyons, J. (1977) **Semantics** (2 vols.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Ljung, M. (1974) "Some remarks on antonymy", **Language**, Vol. 50, No. 1, pp. 74-88

McCarthy, M. (1998) **Spoken Language and Applied Linguistics**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Moulton, J. (1981) "The debate over 'he' and 'man'", in Vetterling–Braggin, M. (ed.) **Sexist language**, Totowa, NJ: Littlefield Adams, pp. 100-115

Rusiecki, J. (1985) **Adjectives and Comparison in English**, London: Longman

UDK 811.131.1'373.4

Radmila Lazarević

HROMATSKA TERMINOLOGIJA U ITALIJANSKOM JEZIKU: UPOTREBA NAZIVA ZA BOJE

Apstrakt: *Leksičko-semantičko polje boja odavno je zanimljivo kako lingvistima, tako i antropolozima. Međutim, opšta lingvistika ne posvećuje dovoljno pažnje razlikama u upotrebi hromatskih termina u različitim jezicima. Ovaj rad se bavi praktičnim poteškoćama koje nastaju pri prevođenju i komunikaciji uslijed tih razlika, pri čemu se usredsređuje isključivo na pridjeve kao na najizrazitijeg predstavnika hromatske terminologije. Primjerima su ilustrovane morfološke i semantičke karakteristike raznih tipova hromatskih pridjeva, kao i poteškoće koje razlike između italijanskog i crnogorskog/srpskog pričinjavaju u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji i prevođenju s jednog jezika na drugi.*

Ključne riječi: *boje, crnogorski, frazeologija, hromatski, italijanski, leksika, prevođenje, pridjevi, srpski*

1. Uvod

Riječi i izraze koji označavaju boje i nijanse upotrebljavamo svakodnevno. Ovo leksičko polje spada u one grupe riječi koje je semantički najlakše izdvojiti u većini jezika, pa predstavlja gotovo idealnu građu za lingvističku analizu određenih pojava, naorčito kad je opšta lingvistika u pitanju. Ljudska percepcija boja još je od XIX vijeka predmet izučavanja u lingvističkim okvirima i izvan njih. Pored fizike, fiziologije i medicine tu su i interdisciplinarne oblasti poput psiholingvistike, kognitivne lingvistike, neurolingvistike itd.

Međutim, prilikom analiza koje su u domenu opšte lingvistike i bave se percepcijom boja kao takvom nezavisno od pojedinačnih jezika, često se zanemaruje praktična strana problema, naročito kad se radi o različitim jezicima i njihovom međusobnom odnosu. U ovom slučaju pozabavićemo se nazivima za boje u italijanskom jeziku, i poteškoćama koje razlike između italijanske i naše nomenklature stvaraju u razumijevanju i prevođenju, odnosno u komunikaciji uopšte.

Pod „nazivima za boje“ u ovom izlaganju podrazumijevamo pridjeve i pridjevske sintagme koje označavaju boje i nijanse. Razumije se, u isto leksičko-semantičko polje spadaju ne samo pridjevi koji označavaju boje već i sve imenice i glagoli izvedeni iz njih, ali ovdje ćemo se usredsrijediti na pridjeve kao najtipičnije i najpogodnije za analizu. Broj primjera je morao da bude sveden na najmanji mogući zbog ograničenog prostora, ali nadamo se da će biti dovoljan da ilustruje svaki od navedenih slučajeva.

2. Morfološka i semantička klasifikacija

U morfološkom a i semantičkom pogledu, specifičnosti ovih italijanskih pridjeva možemo podijeliti u dvije grupe. Prvu grupu čine prije svega pridjevi za osnovne boje, kojih prema klasifikaciji Berlina i Kaya ima 11 (1969: 2):

rosso/-a – crven/-a/-o
arancione (arancio) – narandžast/-a/-o
giallo/-a – žut/-a/-o
verde – zelen/-a/-o
blu *ili* azzurro/-a – plav/-a/-o
viola – ljubičast/-a/-o
rosa – ružičast/-a/-o *ili* roze
marrone – smeđ/-a/-o *ili* braon
grigio/-a – siv/-a/-o
nero/-a – crn/-a/-o
bianco/-a – bijel/-a/-o

Kao što vidimo, ovo uključuje i imenice koje su preuzele ulogu pridjeva kao *viola* – ljubičica i ljubičast, *arancione* – pomorandža i narandžast, *rosa* – ruža i ružičast. Pored ove osnovne podjele, u prvu grupu možemo uključiti i pridjeve koji su često u upotrebi a ne spadaju u tih 11 boja ili predstavljaju njihove nijanse (*bruno*, *violetto*, *turchese*, itd.); među njima su česte pozajmljenice ili popridjevljene imenice, kao *malva*, *beige*, *ocra*, kakvima kod nas odgovaraju takođe pozajmljenice (*tirkizan*, *bež*, *teget*, *oker* itd.).

Drugu grupu čine pridjevi i pridjevske sintagme koji označavaju nijanse osnovnih boja i u sebi sadrže ili tvorbenu osnovu ili čitav pridjev iz prve grupe (npr. od *rosso – rossiccio*, *rossastro ili rosso fuoco*).

Takođe, posebnu grupu u semantičkom pogledu čini frazeologija vezana za boje, u smislu ustaljenih sintagmi, o čemu će biti još riječi kasnije. Pogledajmo najprije po čemu su karakteristični pridjevi prve grupe.

I grupa: pridjevi za osnovne boje

Semantički, pridjeve ove grupe možemo podijeliti na **a)** one koji pokrivaju opšti spektar značenja, odnosno koji se mogu upotrijebiti uz bilo koju imenicu te određene boje (nazovimo ih ovdje **opštim**), i b) one kojima je upotrebna vrijednost sužena, tj. koji se mogu koristiti da označe samo određene pojmove. U ove druge uglavnom spadaju, kao najkarakterističniji i najčešći, pridjevi koji označavaju hromatske pojedinosti vezane za ljudska bića, tj. ono što je kod nas Milka Ivić nazvala **ljudskim bojama** (1995: 47). Pored njih tu se mogu svrstati i pridjevi, često nepromjenljivi, koji opisuju samo nežive pojmove.

a) Kad je riječ o **opštim** pridjevima, oni koji su najspecifičniji i najteži za razlikovanje i prenos u druge jezike odnose se na **plavu** boju, pa ćemo te izraze iskoristiti za ilustraciju ove grupe pridjeva.

Italijanski jezik za označavanje plave boje (koja se ne odnosi na ljudske osobine, odnosno ne pokriva kao kod nas boju kose) ima dva glavna pridjeva: *azzurro* i *blu*. Uz njih je i *celeste*, koji se međutim daleko manje koristi. Postoji naravno još niz izraza za nijanse plave boje, ali u smislu prethodne podjele oni pripadaju drugoj grupi.

U dvojezičnim rječnicima naći ćemo objašnjenje da *azzurro* odgovara našoj svjetlijoj plavoj, *blu* tamnoplavoj ili teget, a *celeste* boji neba ili opet svjetloplavoj. Ipak, nije tako jednostavno kako se čini, jer nam ovo ne govori ništa o tome kako se ti pridjevi zapravo upotrebljavaju, u kojim situacijama se koristi prvi, a u kojim drugi i treći. Nije ni tako oštra podjela između svjetloplave i tamnoplave u odnosu na „običnu" plavu boju. Recimo, italijanski jednojezični rječnik *Zingarelli* definiše *azzurro* kao boju koja može da varira od sasvim svijetle, što uključuje *celeste*, do tirkizne boje. *Blu* je definisano kao više tamnih nijansi plavog (*azzurro*), dok jedino odrednica *celeste* nije opisana preko neke druge nijanse plave boje, već preko poređenja s konkretnim čulno opažljivim pojmom, kao što je nebo (mada i u toj odrednici nalazimo *azzurro* kao prvi sinonim).

Pošto se *azzurro* najčešće sreće i u definicijama ostalih sinonima za plavo, možemo zaključiti da je ovo bar relativno najrasprostranjeniji i najopštiji pridjev za određivanje onoga što bi kod nas predstavljalo plavu boju, bez posebnih naznaka o intenzitetu, odnosno o tome koliko je svijetla ili tamna. No i dalje treba, a posebno u prevođenju, obratiti pažnju na specifične načine upotrebe ovih pridjeva. Na primjer, iako *celeste* označava boju neba *par excellence* kad se s tom bojom neki predmet upoređuje, vedro dnevno nebo samo po sebi, ako uz njega treba staviti pridjev za boju, nikada neće biti *celeste* već samo *azzurro*. *Azzurro* je takođe i boja dresova italijanske reprezentacije, po kojoj su i poznati kao *azuri*, mada je ta boja dosta tamnija od boje neba, bliža definiciji za *blu*, i može nam djelovati nelogično. Prema tome, na osnovu svega rečenog, *azzurro* možemo shvatiti kao hiperonim u odnosu na sinonim *celeste*, a bar donekle i *blu*. *Blu* će sigurno odgovarati našoj teget i sličnim nijansama tamnoplave boje, ali će se u mnogo slučajeva takođe uklopiti u pojam *azzurro*.

Plava boja nas dovodi i do druge grupe pridjeva, tzv. **ljudskih boja**. Ovi pridjevi se koriste na specifičan način u različitim jezicima, a ovdje možemo poći od našeg. Način na koji mi u našem jeziku (crnogorskom, srpskom, hrvatskom) koristimo pridjev *plav* da označimo boju kose jedinstven je u odnosu na druge jezike. Često i oni imaju poseban pridjev koji se odnosi samo na plavu, odnosno žutu boju kose, ali niko drugi ne koristi za tu boju isti pridjev kojim se označava boja neba, ili mora, pošto se razumije se u čulnom pogledu radi o sasvim različitim bojama (Kreisberg, 2001: 76). Milka Ivić je došla do zaključka da je u starim narodnim govorima plava boja ranije imala mnogo opštije značenje, označavajući prije svega otvorenost, svjetlinu neke stvari u kontrastu prema tamnom, a tek kasnije dobila značenje konkretne boje koja danas ima (1995: 65). Ovo predstavlja dobar primjer karakteristične upotrebe pridjeva kad se odnose na ljudske osobine. Takvih pridjeva sa suženim značenjem naravno ima i u italijanskom, i često se ne poklapaju s našim načinom upotrebe.

Tu su, u odnosu na pomenut pridjev za boju kose, *biondo* za plavu, odnosno svijetlu kosu ili bradu. Za razliku od ovoga, u slučaju riđe ili crvene kose imamo suprotan primjer: dok kod nas postoji pridjev *riđ* koji će se odnositi baš na kosu, Italijani tu koriste opšti pridjev *rosso*. Za crnomanjaste i tamnopute ljude koristiće se ili pridjev *moro*, koji spada u tipične ljudske boje, pridjeve ograničene upotrebe, ili opštiji *bruno*, koji ima šire značenje mrke, tamnosmeđe ili uopšte tamne boje i može se koristiti u širem kontekstu. *Castano* spada u rjeđe slučajeve poklapanja jer označava kestenjastu boju, uglavnom kose i očiju, dok bi *marrone*, premda takođe označava smeđu boju, više odgovaralo našem pridjevu *braon* koji se ne koristi u vezi s ljudskim osobinama (Kreisberg, 2001: 89).

Uz *braon*, postoji još pridjeva ograničene upotrebne vrijednosti, koji za razliku od pomenutih ne vezujemo za živa bića, već uglavnom za predmete, često za tkanine ili enterijer. To su najčešće pozajmljenice koje označavaju pojedine nijanse, kao npr. italijanski *malva*, *beige*, *ocra*, kakvima kod nas odgovaraju takođe pozajmljenice kao *bež*, *teget*, *oker*, *drap* i slične. Najčešće se ne mijenjaju u rodu i broju, bez obzira na imenicu uz koju stoje.

II grupa: pridjevi za nijanse osnovnih boja

U drugu grupu pridjeva, onih koji označavaju nijanse osnovnih boja, spadaju **a) izvedenice pomoću sufiksa** i **b) višečlani izrazi** nastali kompozicijom pridjeva za osnovnu boju i imenice s kojom se taj pridjev poredi. Da vidimo kako funkcionišu jedni i drugi.

a) U prvom slučaju imamo izvedenice dobijene dodavanjem sufiksa, kojih u italijanskom za ovu namjenu ima mnogo više nego kod nas. Npr. od *azzurro* možemo napraviti *azzurrognolo*, *azzurretto*, *azzurrastro*, od *rosso* – *rossiccio*, *rossastro*, *rossetto*, *rossaccio*, *rossigno* itd., od čega bismo našom sufiksacijom dobili samo plavičast/plavkast ili crvenkast, a za ostalo bismo morali da se dovijamo opisnim putem. Međutim, nisu sve ove izvedenice iste upotrebne vrijednosti, niti su neutralnog značenja kao naše. Pošto dosta sufiksa pomoću kojih se ovi pridjevi izvode služi za alteraciju, odnosno građenje deminutiva ili pežorativa, iskazuju ne samo približnost i sličnost nekoj boji već joj pridaju i određeni emotivni naboj. Stoga takve izvedenice često imaju ponešto negativnu konotaciju zamućene, nejasne ili prljave boje, pa se ne mogu koristiti uvijek i u bilo kom kontekstu (Kreisberg 2001: 131).

b) U drugom slučaju imamo pridjevske izraze koji su na granici između sintagmi i složenica, tako da ni među lingvistima ne postoji saglasnost u koju grupu ih svrstati. Sastoje se iz kombinacije pridjeva za osnovnu boju, koji ide na prvo mjesto, i najmanje jedne imenice (uz koju može ići i pridjev koji će je dodatno odrediti), a koja označava konkretan predmet sa čijom se bojom ta nijasna upoređuje. (Naravno, sasvim je uobičajeno dodavanje bližih odrednica kao što je naše *svjetlo-* ili *tamno-* na osnovne boje, gde je isto ponašaju italijansko *chiaro* i *scuro*, tj. *cupo*).

Tako izraz *rosso fuoco*, što bi kod nas bilo ekvivalentno plamenocrvenoj boji, predstavlja zapravo poređenje **crven kao vatra** ili **plamen** (*rosso come il fuoco*) u kome je izostavljen predlog *come*.

U savremenom italijanskom jeziku postoji tendencija da se sve više izraza gradi na ovaj način, i ne samo kad je riječ o nazivima boja. No ipak je, kad je riječ o ovom leksičkom polju, ta pojava uzela toliko maha da je sasvim prirodno stvarati i nove kovanice za svaku zamislivu nijansu. Samo od pridjeva *verde*, pored svih izvedenica koje se mogu dobiti sufiksacijom, ima još mnogo složenica za razne nijanse zelene boje kao što su *verde pisello*, *verde smeraldo*, *verde mela*, *verde cobalto*, *verde bottiglia*, *verde pino*, *verde oliva*, *verde limone*, *verde pistacchio* i još mnogo drugih, od kojih je dosta njih već ustaljeno i relativno često u upotrebi, a nama iz perspektive stranaca često nije baš lako da ustanovimo o kojoj se tačno nijansi radi. Nekad postoje ekvivalenti, kao što su *maslinastozelena* za *verde oliva* ili *smaragdnozelena* za *verde smeraldo*, ali kad se zelena boja upoređuje sa bojom jabuke, pistaća ili prazne flaše često imamo problema da sebi tačno predstavimo nijanse, prosto zato što to nisu asocijacije koje u svom jeziku povezujemo s nekom određenom nijansom zelene boje, a isti je slučaj i sa izrazima kao što su *rosa fucsia*, *blu pavone*, *giallo zolfo* itd. Stoga valja biti posebno pažljiv s ovakvim slučajevima prilikom prevođenja, a nekada nema drugog izlaza do otići na internet i potražiti o kakvoj se tačno boji radi da bismo je mogli adekvatno opisati.

3. Frazeologija u vezi sa bojama

Razumije se, kako u prevođenju tako i u razumijevanju italijanskih tekstova frazeologija stvara posebne teškoće i u ovoj kao i u drugim oblastima. Postoji mnogo ustaljenih izraza koji uključuju boje a koji u našem jeziku ili uopšte ne postoje kao takvi ili određenoj boji u italijanskom izrazu odgovara neka druga u našem. Klasičan primjer za to je naša *bijela kafa*. Za Italijane ona nema boju, to je prosto kafa s mlijekom (*caffellatte*), dok je naše *crno vino* Italijanima crveno (*vino rosso*). S druge strane, italijanski ima odrednicu *giallo* i *rosa* za određene žanrove književnosti i filma (žuto se odnosi na krimiće i trilere a roze na romantične teme), a za ovo kod nas ne postoji ekvivalent. Opet, Italijani nemaju izraz za *žutu štampu* kao mi, ali zato imaju „žute sindikate" (*sindacato giallo*), u negativnom značenju, jer izraz označava sindikat koji ne zastupa interese radnika već je u dogovoru s poslodavcima ili kompanijama.

Ovo katkad ne samo da stvara probleme pri nalaženju pravog rješenja u prevodu već može izazvati i nesporazume kad se desi da postoji ista sintagma koja u polazišnom i ciljnom jeziku ima sasvim različito značenje. Takva je recimo sintagma *morte bianca*. Kod nas *bijela smrt* znači smrt od smrzavanja. U italijanskim rječnicima nalazi se i ta definicija, ali ono što *morte bianca* označava u govornoj praksi sasvim je drukčije. U štampi i svakodnevnom govoru Italijana *bijela smrt* će se najprije odnositi na nesreću i smrt na radnom mjestu, ili eventualno na sindrom iznenadne smrti novorođenčadi u medicinskom smislu. Takođe i *peste bianca* u italijanskom označava nešto sasvim različito od naše *bijele kuge*: odnosi se na tuberkulozu, ili u novije vrijeme često i na narkomaniju.

4. Zaključak

Iz navedenog možemo zaključiti da je italijanski sistem tvorbe hromatskih pridjeva znatno fleksibilniji, te da pruža više mogućnosti za iskazivanje najrazličitijih nijansi od crnogorskog/srpskog. Međutim, u našem jeziku, premda su mogućnosti kombinovanja ograničenije, u semantičkom pogledu pridjevi dobijeni sufiksacijom imaju daleko širu i češću primjenu. Otuda proizilazi da će leksičko polje boja u italijanskom biti obimnije nego u srpskom, barem kad je riječ o pridjevima.

Ipak, sa semantičkog stanovišta, postoje i ograničenja paradigmatskih mogućnosti kombinovanja: ukoliko ima više sinonima za nijanse boje koja našem oku izgleda isto ili nam razlika djeluje neznatno, iz toga ne slijedi da se svakim od tih sinonima mogu opisati svi predmeti te boje. Kolokacije **pridjev+imenica** koje važe za jedan jezik ne moraju važiti za drugi, pa je način upotrebe hromatskih pridjeva tema koja ima veliki potencijal za dalje proučavanje i kad je riječ o uticaju kulture i drugih vanjezičkih faktora na određeni jezik, a i sa aspekta prevođenja i učenja italijanskog jezika.

Literatura

Berlin, B. and Kay, P. (1969) **Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution,** Berkeley: University of California Press

Ivić, M. (1996) "O izrazima plav i modar: nova saznanja", **Južnoslovenski filolog, LII,** str. 11-17

Ivić, M. (1995) **O zelenom konju: novi lingvistički ogledi**, Beograd: Slovograf

Klajn, I. (2002) **Tvorba reči u savremenom srpskom jeziku: slaganje i prefiksacija,** Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva - Institut za srpski jezik SANU; Novi Sad: Matica srpska

Klajn, I. (2003) **Tvorba reči u savremenom srpskom jeziku: sufiksacija i konverzija,** Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva - Institut za srpski jezik SANU; Novi Sad: Matica srpska

Kreisberg, A. (2001) **Storie colorate**, Pescara: Ed. Tracce

Marello, C. (1996) **Le parole dell'italiano: lessico e dizionari,** Bologna: Zanichelli

Zingarelli, N. (2005) **Il nuovo Zingarelli: vocabolario della lingua italiana**, Bologna: Zanichelli

UDK 811.163.4'42(497.16)

Slavica Perović

APOLOGIES – CULTURALLY CONDITIONED DISPREFERREDS

Abstract: *The paper investigates the pragmatics of apologies in Montenegro and two broad groups could be identified: 'to say is to do' and 'to do is to say'. Apologies are highly conventionalized with a wide range of verbal and non verbal (emotional) redressive devices. The variety of illocutions that the compensating phrase has showed that apologizing in Montenegro is a normal part of the social register insofar as it is not face threatening. But being highly FTAs, apologies for Montenegrins are more power-related than politeness related. It turned out that the universality of politeness came second to the universality of power. Generally, they constitute dispreferred seconds.*

Key words: *apologies, politeness phenomena, FTA, IFID, cultural script, CA, face*

1. Introduction

In a previous paper (Perović, 2008) we examined the speech act of apology as a politeness phenomenon and applied the theory of cultural scripts of Anna Wierzbicka supported by Goffman's theory of face. In this paper we would like to test our results through the postulates of CA (*conversational analysis*), primarily through preferred and dispreferred responses or seconds. Our hypothesis is that the two approaches of analysis can individually give the same results and that they are also complementary in creating a more reliable apparatus for detecting the high sensitivity of apology to culture and its specific linguistic realisation.

This research of apology has been triggered by a frequently-heard phrase in Montenegro which goes like this: “I never apologise”. The statement in itself implies either that apologising is not a part of the social register and consequently is not universal or that this particular feature of interpersonal rhetoric has some other interpretations. To test this we applied a questionnaire based on a DCT (*Discourse Completion Test*) with the aim of finding out, first, to what extent the students in Montenegro apologise, second, what redressive device they apply, and finally, which verbal and non-verbal strategies of apologising they use.

Redressive devices in the cultural scripts of a negative politeness society tend to transcend categories (the linguistic is combined with the emotional, even the (un)ethical (lies)) to lessen the high potential of FTA in apologies. The results show that there are two major strategies of apologising in Montenegro: *to do is to say* which comprises the absence of a speech act and/or the absence of any compensating act and *to say is to do* with the presence of a speech act and/or presence of a compensating act. How is this reflected in CA analysis? How does it verify?

2. Position of apologies in adjacency-pair sequence

CA analysts say that conversation contains frequently occurring patterns and that the utterance of one speaker makes a certain response on the part of the next speaker very likely. Conversationally, apologies can occupy a number of different sequential positions other than the first parts of adjacency-pair sequences, with different implications for the organization of apologising as an action (J. Robins, 2004: 10). Basically, their sequential position defines their relevance for the organization of apologising as an action. One sequential position that apologies can take is the initial turn-constructional unit; in this position apologies prospectively index a possible offence, but it is typically subordinate to the adjacency-pair action being pursued in the remainder of the turn. When analyzed as initial turn-constructional unit their seconds can both be preferred and dispreferred responses. However, in this research we have the situation that apology is sequentially positioned as the second-pair part of an adjacency pair sequence and operates something like a complaint to which an apology may be a specifically relevant response because it raises the relevance of someone having (possibly) committed an offence. Conversationally such apology constitutes a closure of a sequence of talk and the sufficiency of apology as a response (J. Robins, 2004: 10). DCT (*Discourse Completion Test*) captures this position in eliciting apology.

3. Apologies as dispreferred responses

Each first pair-part of the adjacency pair has its preferred second. This is known as preference structure. In the literature, apologies are classified both as preferred and dispreferred responses depending whether they are observed within the occurring pattern in discourse or pragmatically. In Joan Cutting's classification apologies constitute preferred actions or turns because a certain speech act is best complemented by another, for example, a complaint is best remedied by an apology (cf. Cutting, 2003). Yet, pragmatically, apologies tend to be classified as dispreferred responses. The high level of FTA to the individual occurs in the speech act of apologising, especially in a society which cultivates collective values of pride and non-humiliation. Apologies as an act of communication belong to a strategy of negative politeness and Montenegrin society is a society that cherishes negative politeness. It is especially obvious through apologies gathered in the corpus which not only exhibits all characteristics of despreferreds but also acquire some elements of accounts.

One of the most striking characteristics of dispreferreds is that they tend to be longer, more elaborate and that they take more time when delivered. Yule says: "The overwhelming effect of a dispreferred is that more time and more language are used than in the preferred. (...) Generally speaking, when participants have to produce second-part responses that are dispreferred, they indicate that they are doing something very marked“ (Yule, [1996] 2003: 80-82). Levinson is more specific regarding this most striking feature of dispreferreds:

> “This is a general pattern: in contrast to the simple and immediate nature of preferreds, dispreferreds are delayed and contain additional complex components; and certain kinds of seconds like request rejections, refusal to offers, disagreements after evaluative assessments, etc., are systematically marked as dispreferreds“ ([1983] 1985: 308).

Most interesting apology dispreferreds would be those that constitute “non-minimal turns“ recognized both by Yule and Levinson, but also “minimal“ or even verbally non existent second turns which were a peculiarity of our corpus. Namely, the cultural scenario

> Scenario 1
> [people think like this]:
> When I feel I am doing something that threatens the face of another,
> it is good for people to know what to expect;
> it is good for people to not expect me to do something
> which will threaten my face even more.

generally defines all apologies in the corpus as dispreferred with a lot of nuances among them.

3.1 Minimal turns as dispreferreds

Semantically, the content of “*sorry*-based unit“ propositions relate to preconditions which must be true for apology to be possible. So statements relating to: the cause of X, the speaker’s responsibility for X, the speaker’s willingness to repair damage for X or to promise that X will never again be repeated all function as apologies (cf. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984). The most direct apology realisation is an illocutionary force indicating device (IFID), which functions as a routine, formulaic expression of apology. Next, there is the statement without IFID or with it, containing mention or reference to one or more elements from the aforementioned collection of specified propositions, but not containing an explicit performative verb of apology. The third way, very common in our corpus, was the non-verbal or affective mode. Although apologies belong to preferred responses to complaints, their discoursal preference turns into conversational or pragmatic dispreference because apologies are culturally conditioned and closely ingrained into mentality which results in different linguistic realisations. One good third of the responses resorted to evasive strategies to transform the verbal speech act of apology into a non-verbal one (emotions), that is the reason why so many kisses, embraces and tears. As Levinson indicates, the two essential features of dispreferred actions are thus: that they tend to occur in a marked format, and that they tend to be avoided ([1983] 1985: 333). Our corpus offers evidence for both.

Table 1. Emotions /(non verbal) as minimal/non existent dispreferreds

a) *Tenderness* - hug, kisses
(1) I just approach and kiss her
(2) I hug and kiss her
(3) Here's a kiss. There you go!
b) *Bodily reaction*
(4) I stand there with tears in my eyes
c) *Gesture* - disarming smile, slap my forehead, start to wring my hands, start pacing on the spot
(5) I apologise in an endearing little voice and wring my hands
(6) Slap your forehead, hug your mother (or girlfriend)
d) *Significant look (and statement)*
(7) Nothing! I would just look at her significantly and maybe (depending on my mood) say: "You're having fun, aren't you?" ('smiley' added)
e) *Direct act*
(8) going into own room with the intention of offering a film from own personal library
(9) finding another film from the same genre in the home collection
f) *Written apology and act*
(10) I don't say anything, rather I go and buy a present the following day and write an apology on a little piece of paper
g) *Plan*
(11) I don't apologise, I take him to dinner, I think up something interesting
(12) If all else fails, I postpone the meeting

The above rests on the following scenario:

Scenario 2
Something happened to part Y of X's body
people could see this
because of this, people could know:
this person feels something now
because this person thinks something now
(A. Wierzbicka, 1999: 54-55).

These strategies, in terms of apologising, mean that the offender has an awareness of his wrongdoing and a feeling of contrition as well as a readiness to undergo a process of abasement or mortification on the road to seeking forgiveness for the wrongdoing and to undo the harm as much as possible. The corpus provided evidence that students try, through their apologies, to find a way of avoiding apology according to a rigid scenario but to nevertheless be polite. Emotional compensation in the service of the speech act of apology has shown to be very functional in the family environment and sentimental relationships, where social distance is almost non-existent and the degree of imposition, be it hierarchical or some other power-related form is, in principle, negligible. This is in compliance with Yule who says that “conversations between those who are close familiars will tend to have fewer elaborate dispreferreds than conversations between those who are still working out their social relationship“ ([1996] 2003: 82).

3.2 Non-minimal turns as dispreferreds

To say is to do is another large group, the majority of which belongs to preferred seconds because they comply with the requirement to be redressive and undo the harm. Nevertheless, a significant number of them could be classified as dispreferreds because of their non-minimal nature. They exhibit a significant amount of written language even though apology is performed in the familial setting. According to Yule, more language would represent more distance between the end of the first part and the end of the second part. The expression of a dispreferred would represent distance and lack of connection. From a social perspective, it is easy to see why participants in a conversation might try to avoid creating contexts for dispreferreds. It must follow, then, that conversations between those who are close familiars will tend to have fewer elaborate dispreferreds than conversations between those who are still working out their social relationship (*Ibid.,* 82). Our results show exactly the opposite. It is between the members of the family and in emotional relationships that the majority of students performed dispreferred seconds with a particular pragmatic and conversational purpose in mind: to undo the harm and obtain absolution. The following is the working proportion: in the majority of instances, the closer the students are, the harder they try and the more lavish dispreferreds they perform. They accumulate, augment, and intensify the speech act of apology and combine them with other speech acts which pragmatically function as apologies, elaborate on the redressive phrase performing various degrees of conventionality of IFID. The high level of conventionality in the apology led to a highly elaborate speech act of apology which had many of the characteristics of hedging, as well as exaggeration in compensatory phrases, all of which was directly connected with the need for the listener not to feel offended and for the relationship between the listener and the speaker to remain unaffected. A high degree of conventionality and indirectness usually coincides with dispreferred seconds. The higher the place on the conventionality scale the greater the possibility that the second turn of the adjacency pair will be dispreferred.

Table 2. Degree of conventionality of IFID – degree of despreferred

a) *Intensification of illocution*

(13) Pardon me, pardon me, I'm really sorry.

b) Augmentation of illocution

(14) I love you. Kiss. I'm getting a big surprise ready for you tomorrow.

c) *Accumulation of illocution*

1. Explanation and promise

(15) Honey, the eighth wonder of the world just happened! I didn't buy a present today, but I'll do it tomorrow.

(16) I didn't buy you anything, but tomorrow I'm taking you to dinner.

2. Command or advice

(17) Never mind presents, love is what matters.

3. Promise instead of apology

(18) Mother, I'm bringing you the film tomorrow.

(19) Oh man, I forgot to bring you the film again. Here, I promise I'll do it tomorrow.

(20) I tell her I forgot and that I'll bring it when I remember.

(21) I'm bringing you the film tomorrow.

4. Excuse instead of apology

(22) I say, "the shop was closed."

5. Apology and explanation

(23) Pardon me, I'm in too much of a rush, the book got left on the table.

6. Apology with intensification + explanation + promise

(24) I'm *really* sorry, I forgot. I'll definitely bring it next time.

7. Advice and promise

(25) After Bruce Willis you don't need a melodrama. We'll do that tomorrow.

d) *Promise*

(26) It won't happen again, I promise.

(27) Honey, forgive me this once.

(28) I promise it won't happen again, at least till next time.

e) *Action and speech act*

(29) I kiss her and say, "we'll do it tomorrow".

f) *Type is token*

(30) I'm your present.

(31) I've got some red ribbons at home. I get one, tie it round my head and say, "I'm your present".

(32) What better gift do you want than me!

g) *Self-deprecation*

(33) I can't believe it! This is the most stupid thing I've done in my life!

(34) I'm a real hopeless case.

(35) Boy, I'm really stupid!

h) *Self-reflection*

(36) I forgot. What can I do! I'll get it for you tomorrow for sure.

i) *Meta-apology*
(37) I feel so bad that I can't even apologise.
j) *Awareness of the situation*
(38) Mother, 'Die Hard III' is a better film.
(39) Excellent film!
(40) Well done Mum!
(41) What do you want melodrama for when you've got Bruce Willis!
k) *Wit*
(42) If Bruce Willis had played in 'Titanic' he would have saved all the passengers.
l) *Exclamation*
(43) Ooops!
m) *Meta-discourse*
(44) I try and think of something where I won't have to apologise, and if not… ??? Man, tough question!
(45) There's no apology needed there, loves understands all if it's sincere.
n) *Propositional optionality*
(46) I lie, what else can I do?

Such a variety in apologising is the product of the peculiarities of interpersonal rhetoric and social norms of politeness which in the speech act of apology recognise a multitude of forms typical to this cultural pattern. Indirectness is probably universal and is inversely proportional to the action of FTA: the greater the indirectness (longer the 'non-minimal' turn), the less the threat to face of the person apologising. Since the awareness of the existence of wrongdoing is fairly strong, one gets the impression that those doing the apologising cannot iron things out with just one speech act and feel the need for some kind of reinforcement. Intensification, augmentation and accumulation of illocution were examples of the need to offer adequate atonement through apology, but there was also slight overstatement and in this overstatement non-verbal and verbal elements were frequently combined.

4. The syntax and lexicon of apology

While preferred responses tend to be briefer, linguistically simpler, supportive or compliant and oriented towards disclosure, dispreferred responses are linguistically more complex and involve non-compliance or conflictual action which is linguistically reflected in features like syntactic diminishers (cf. Edmondson, 1981, Edmondson and House, 1981, House and Kasper, 1981, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984). They signal indirectness and it is one of the most obvious signs of non-minimal turns or dispreferred. Indirectness of apology and hedging in this speech act arise, among other things, from the need not to dramatise the responsibility of the speaker and for it not to threaten him/her, while at the same time appeasing or placating the listener.

Table 3. Syntactical diminishers – indicators of dispreferreds

a) *repetition*

(47) *Sorry*, *sorry*.

b) *mood - indicative (rarer)*

(48) I *apologise*.

c) *mood – imperative (more frequent)*

(49) *Pardon me.*

(50) *Pardon me, forgive me, excuse me*

d) *intensifier*

(51) I deeply *apologise*.

e) *clausal complements*

(52) You do know *I'm sorry*, don't you?

f) *interrogative phrase*

(53) You do know I'm terribly sorry, *don't you*?

g) *politeness*

(54) *Please,* forgive me.

e) *presence of pronoun* ***I***

(55) *I* apologise.

g) *question, negation, interrogative phrase*

(56) *You're* not angry with me, *are you?*

h) *Presence of indirect object* ***to you***

(57) Mother, I apologise *to you*.

We would specially emphasise the presence of the universal concept of the substantive *I* (*ja*), which in Serbian/Montenegrin is not obligatory since the person of the speaker is indicated by the verb ending, yet the speakers have found it necessary to include it and in so doing emphasise the sincerity of the wish for forgiveness by way of the apology and the connection between 'think-feel', that being 'to be sorry'. The imperative and the indicative as two grammatical universals, raise awareness of the difference in usage of the compensatory phrase, which at the level of lexical semantics and in the domain of the individual word is of particular importance. Thus, the most common verb is left in the sieve, so to speak, in two moods, indicative – '(I) apologise' and '(You) forgive/pardon me'. The pragmatic realisation of these two semantic variants of the compensatory phrase in Serbian/Montenegrin depended on the principle of sincerity and the level of FTA. Although they are interchangeable and play an equal discoursive role of the same performative type and the same illocutionary power, they do not have the same relevance or the same degree of readiness to satisfy the demands of the negative face of the listener. 'I apologise' as a statement of apology means, "through the implied universal substantive *I*, I acknowledge my guilt and all that proceeds from that action", while 'forgive me' by the same mechanism of the implied substantive (*you*) takes on the meaning of including the listener in the communicative act of apology, whose negative face is otherwise under threat. The listener, by his or her own accession, is meant to contribute to this interaction and in some way to increase his or her own threat to face. In other words, the speaker shares his or her guilt with the listener and the listener accedes to this cooperation. An analysis at the level of lexical semantics shows that the truly relevant phrase is the first, 'I apologise' but that in the research the second, '(You) forgive me' was more, much more common, as the expression which implied somewhat less loss to face.

5. The structure of the IFID

The speech act of apology was frequently an elaborated structure with clearly identifiable parts: the sequence of apology was divided into the 'head act', which bore the largest part of the illocutionary force of apology, the introduction to the head act, most often represented by an address term of some kind, and adjuncts to the head act, which had different linguistic realisations. Contrary to the findings of Blum-Kulka and Olstein, who were able to express and present this speech act with a performative verb wherever there was an IFID, we came to see that we had a situation where our speech act went beyond the varieties of a single performative verb. The head act itself was often a combination of a number of speech acts, and equal heed had to be paid to the address term as well as to the adjunct to the head act, since those illocutionary extensions presented a pragmatic peculiarity of the speech act of apology in our corpus. Thus the rigid scenario, which found a way out in hedging, resulted in a high level of conventionalisation, and so pragmatic augmentation of the illocution at the syntactical level appeared as a highly dilute head act.

The head act (which would be a preferred second) is expanded by an introductory speech act which is most often an invocation (Mum!) or an exclamation (oh no!) as well as by the addition of a head act which is some form of elaboration of a proposition relating to the conditions of the apology. Lightening the "blow" to face is contributed to by the dislocation of the discoursive focus from the FTA, which contains some IFID, to adjuncts to the head acts which take on the pragmatic function of the act of apology itself. Reduction of FTA is thus achieved through the extension of illocution and especially through the elaboration of the explication of IFID, which is the most common extension of the speech act of apology. In the Montenegrin scenario, the apology, in accordance with the difficulty of the task it sets before the negative face of the speaker, is equal to the difficulty that is appropriate in the English scenario to requests and demands under the same interactive circumstances. Apart from non-minimal turns, we had all the additional characteristics of dispreferred seconds: *delays, prefaces,* even *accounts* (Levinson, [1983] 1985: 334) or *pre-sequence* (Yule, [1996] 2003: 82) represented through *introduction to the head act* and *adjuncts to the head act* and their combinations.

Table 4. Structure of the IFID

a) head act

(58) Pardon me!

(59) Forgive me!

(60) I'm sorry.

b) introduction to head act + head act

(61) Honey, pardon me!

(62) *Ummm*, oh boy, I'm really sorry.

(63) Marija, I'm really sorry that...

(64) Mother, forgive me...

c) introduction to head act + head act + adjunct to head act

(65) Honey, forgive me, I'll give it to you tomorrow.

d) head act + adjunct to head act

(66) I'm sorry, I didn't get round to buying you a present.

(67) I'm sorry, I honestly forgot.

(68) I'm sorry, I didn't have any money to buy you a present today.

(69) I'm sorry dear, you'll get your present tomorrow – anyway, my love for you is the greatest present.

The following is an example given by a female student which combines all the aforementioned elements of the speech act of apology:

Table 5. Maximal 'non-minimal turn'

Introduct. to head act	*head act x 2*	*intensifier/ head act again*	*adjunct to head act*
(70) Oh, Mum,	sorry, sorry,	I'm *really* sorry,	it's just not our day today.

In order for verbal non-apology to be accepted as a social norm it needs to have the same significance for both the speaker and the listener. If the listener (mother, girlfriend, boyfriend) accepts the omission of an explicit apology phrase and accepts as its valid replacement every conventionalised indirect statement with the illocutionary force of an apology, then it is important that we expand the definition of an apology. This means that the listener in the role of speaker in a similar situation probably would equally apologise. This analysis of the corpus of apologies offered us evidence that an environment produces such forms and formulae as are acceptable to it. All the aforementioned examples that function as apologies, and we assume they function, can be presented by a universal cultural scenario:

Scenario 3
[people think like this]:
When I want to say/show I am sincerely sorry for something
I can express/show this through the words/emotions

that would be directed to me in the same situation.

6. Conclusion

CA confirmed all our findings made through the theory of cultural scenario and the category of face where apologies constitute a high degree of FTA. Pragmatically, that was a fertile ground for apologies to be analysed as dispreferreds.

First, dispreferred seconds were obvious through non-minimal turns which meant elaborate phrases of apologies, very often apologies combined with accounts, especially obvious in what we labelled as adjuncts to the head act. Non minimal turns covered highly conventionalized apologies, indirectness and headging.

Second, there was accumulation, augmentation and intensification of speech act of apology as well as a combination of different speech acts to function as apology.

Third, syntactic diminishers demonstrated elements of dispreferreds on the linguistic level.

Fourth, the structure of IFID in our research, especially, introduction to the head act covered most of Levinson's delays and prefaces and Yule's pre-sections

Fifth, they constitute dispreferred seconds because they “try hard“ to undo the harm and provoke absolution which would be preferred responses in naturally occurring English in a less rigid cultural scenario.

All these findings of CA analysis are in compliance of our previous findings. Apologies as dispreferreds confirm high conventionalization and indirectness, but they also confirm the social norm of apologies as preferreds as they are normally delivered in everyday interpersonal communication. The cultural script revealed that they are more dispreferred seconds in Montenegrin scenario than they are dispreferred in the Anglo one.

The form of students’ answers revealed the existence of several different cultural scripts in apologising. If apologies were a part of everyday etiquette or if the compensating phrase through an explicit IFID had a low degree FTA, the students apologised routinely. When apologising meant a high degree FTA they apologised reluctantly and in a highly conventionalized way, often through emotional compensation or not at all. People apologise as they are apologised to. The problem may arise interculturally, but that is another issue.

‘To do is to say’ saves face, and is in accordance with the cultural norm and the principles of politeness for the given cultural scenario and is equally acceptable to the listener and the speaker. ‘To say is to do’ is shared as a cultural norm both among the Montenegrins and among all those who have apology as a universal.

References

Blum-Kulka S. & E. Olshtain (1984) "Requests and Apologies: A Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns (CCSARP)", **Applied Linguistics** 5 (3), pp. 196-212

Brown, P. & S. R. Levinson (1987) **Politeness**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Cutting, J. (2003). **Pragmatics and Discourse: A Resource Book for Students**, London: Routledge

Edmondson, W. & J. House (1981) **Let's Talk and Talk About It**, Munich: Urban and Schwarzenberg

Edmondson, W. & J. House (1981) **Spoken Discourse. A Model for Analysis**, London: Lomgman

Edmondson, W. J. (1981) "On saying you are sorry", in F. Coulmas (ed) **Conversational routine**, The Hague: Mouton, pp. 273-288

Gill, K. (2000) "The moral functions of apology", **The Philosophical Forum 21** (1), pp. 14-21

Grundy, P. (2000) **Doing Pragmatics**, London: Arnold

Gumperz, J. J. (1982) **Discourse Strategies**, London: Cambridge University Press

Hall, E. T. (1976) **Beyond Culture**, New York: Doubleday

Holmes, J. (1990) "Apologies in New Zealand", **English Language in Society** 19, pp.155-199

Lakoff, R. (2003) "Nine Ways of Looking at Apologies: The Necessity for Interdisciplinary Theory and Method in Discourse Analysis", In D Schiffrin, D Tannen and H. Hamilton (eds) **The Handbook of Discourse Analysis**, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 199-214

Lazare, A. (1995). "Go ahead, say you're sorry", **Psychology Today** 28 (1), pp. 40-43

Leech, G. (1983) **Principles of pragmatics**, London: Longmans

Levinson, S. (1985) **Pragmatics**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Matsumoto, Y. (1988) "Reexamination of the universality of face: Politeness phenomena in Japanese", **Journal of Pragmatics** 12, pp. 403-26

Mbaye, A. (2005) "The Pragmatics of Public Apologies", **Language, Literacy and Culture Revie**, pp. 32-39

Nwoye, O. G. (1992) "Linguistic politeness and socio-cultural variations of the notion of face", **Journal of Pragmatics** 18, pp. 309-328

Obeng, S. G. (1999) "Apologies in Akan discourse", **Journal of Pragmatics** 31, pp. 709-734

Perović, S. (2008) "Apologizing and Cultural Scripts", **Cognitive Modeling in Linguistics - Proceedings of the X –th International Conference**, Vol. 2, Kazan: Kazan State University Press, pp. 123-140

Power, M. T. (2000) "Reconciliation, restoration and guilt: The politics of apologies", **Media International Australia** 95, pp. 192-194

Robinson, J. D. (2004) “The Sequential Organization of ‘Explicit’ Apologies in Naturally Occurring English”, **Research on Language and Social Interaction**, *37*

Wierzbicka, A. (1987) “Kinship semantics: Lexical universals as a key to psychological reality”, **Anthropological Linguistics**, 29 (2), pp. 131-156

Wierzbicka, A. (1992) **Semantics, Culture, and Cognition: Universal human concepts in culture-specific configurations**, New York: Oxford University Press

Wierzbicka, A. (1994a) “’Cultural scripts’: A new approach to the study of cross-cultural communication”, in Pütz, M. (ed.) **Language contact and language conflict**. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 69-88

Wierzbicka, A. (1994b) “’Cultural scripts’: A semantic approach to cultural analysis and cross-cultural communication”, ***Pragmatics and Language Learning***, *Monograph Series* 5, pp. 1-24

Wierzbicka, A. (1994c) “Emotion, language and ‘cultural scripts’” in Kitayama S. and Markus, H. R. (eds) **Emotion and culture: empirical studies of mutual influence**, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, pp. 130-198

Wierzbicka, A. (1999) “Emotional Universals”, **Language Design** 2, pp. 23-69

Wierzbicka, A. (2002c) “Russian cultural scripts: The theory of cultural scripts and its applications”, **Ethos** 30 (4), pp. 401-432

Wierzbicka, A. (2006) **English: Meaning and Culture**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Yule, George. (2003) **Pragmatics**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

UDK 811.163.4:801.6
UDK 811.111:801.6

Stanimir Rakić

O AKCENTU I KVANTITETU SLOŽENICA U SRPSKOM I ENGLESKOM JEZIKU

Apstrakt: *Kriterij jedinstvenog akcenta je glavni kriterij za razlikovanje složenica i fraza u engleskom jeziku, dok u srpsklom jeziku služi pre svega za razlikovanje složenica i polusloženica, koje se od fraza razlikuju drugim kriterijima, npr. nepromenljivošću prve sastavnice ili spojenim pisanjem. U srpskom jeziku, međutim, iskrsava problem razlikovanja složenica i polusloženica jer razliku između glavnog i sporednih akcenata nije uvek jednostavno utvrditi. Pravopis (1993) konstatuje da se jednoakcenatske, 'spontane' složenice u srpskom jeziku sastoje od tri ili četiri sloga, i da se zarad toga cilja često krate prve sastavnice. Podela reči na metričke stope (Hayes 1981, 1995) pokazuje da i u tom slučaju pored jednog glavnog akcenta mogu javiti i sporedni akcenti, ali su oni u srpskom jeziku slabije izraženi u normalnom tempu govora. U srpskom jeziku se kao dodatni (pomoćni) kriterij za razlikovanje složenica i polusloženica može primeniti kraćenje dužina u prvoj sastavnici. Ovo kraćenje je posledica kraćenja trohejske stope koje se ne može primeniti na postakcenatske dužine na kraju reči. Nasuprot tome, u engleskim složenicama kraćenje dužina prve sastavnice nije uvek primenljivo jer su sastavnice posebne prozodijske reči koje čuvaju ekstrametričke elemente na kraju reči. a pored toga postoje u engleskom jeziku i sistematski izuzeci u odnosu na trohejsko kraćenje.*

Ključne reči: *srpski jezik, engleski jezik, složenice, polusloženice, akcenti, kvantitet, trohejska stopa, kraćenje vokala.*

1. Uvod[214]

U srpskom jeziku nepromenljivost prve sastavnice razlikuje složenice od fraza (sintagmi). U engleskom jeziku ta razlika ne postoji jer je zbog oskudne fleksije prva komponenta nepromenljiva i u velikom broju fraza. Bauer (1998) čak dokazuje da se u skupu imeničkih konstrukcija tipa N+N ne mogu jasno razlikovati složenice, koje su morfološki objekti od fraza, koje su sintaksičke konstrukcije. Bauer tvrdi da nijedan predloženi kriterij nije sam po sebi dovoljan, a ni svi zajedno ne razdvajaju jasno složenice od fraza. Plag (2003) takođe uviđa nedovoljnost pojedinih kriterija, pa

[214] Neke elemente ovoga članka autor je izložio u svom referatu na konferenciji FDSL 8 u Potsdamu u decembru prošle godine (v. http://www.uni-potsdam.de/fdsl_8/program.html)

predlaže da se sve imeničke konstrukcije tipa N+N tretiraju kao složenice jer smatra da ne postoji principijelna osnova za razlikovanje elementata toga skupa. Hudleston i Pullum (2002) ocenjuju da postoje granični primeri konstrukcija tipa N+N koje je teško klasifikovati na jedan ili drugi način, ali ipak tvrde da to ne sprečava razlikovanje jasnih (prototipskih) primera složenica i fraza. Oni formulišu nekoliko testova čije zadovoljavanje predstavlja dovoljan i nužan uslov da bi neka konstrrukcija N+N bila fraza. Slično shvatanje zastupa i Giegorich (2004), mada ga na drugi način obrazlaže.

U srpskom jeziku jedinstveni akcenat je glavna odlika složenica, to je stav oko kojega nema sporenja u savremenoj lingvistici. Drugačije stoje stvari s pojmom polusloženica. Prema Pravopisu iz 1960.determinativne konstrukcije nose jedan akcenat, a naporedne dva, ali se u Pravopisu iz 1993. dodaje da složenice često zadržavaju dvostruki akcenat, ili pak jedan glavni, a drugi neobavezni ili oslabljeni, i to bez obzira na njihovu strukturu. Na javljanje dvostrukog akcenta utiče kako smisaona raščlanjenost značenja, tako i dužina složenice. Tako naporedni spoj *glu%vone#m* ima jedan akcenat, a odredbeni *národnooslobo∃dilački#* dvojni. U Rakić (2006) sam uočio da je za akcenat složenica važna pozicija glavnog akcenta, ukupna dužina složenice i morfološki sastav prve sastavnice. U ovom prilogu se primenom metričke fonologije Hayes (1995) ispituje akcenat i kvantitet trosložnih i četvorosložnih složenica i utvrđuju njihova moguća razlikovna svojstva u odnosu na polusloženice. Primena metričke fonologije takođe omogućuje da se tačnije utvrde razlike i sličnosti u prozodiji srpskih i engleskih složenica.

U srpskom jeziku se dugi vokali prve sastavnice krate, dok u engleskom to kraćenje izostaje. Primena metričke fonologije pokazuje da ova razlika proističe otuda što u engleskom jeziku sastavnice zadržavaju status posebnih prozodijskih reči, dok u srpskom one tvore jednu prozodijsku reč. Ovo svojstvo srpskih složenica može biti jedan dodatni (pomoćni) kriterij za razlikovanje složenica i polusloženica. Na nekoliko izabranih primera pokazujemo kako se vrši podela reči na stope u srpskom jeziku. U rečima s uzlaznim akcentom podela ide s desna nalevo, a u rečima sa silaznim akcentom s leva nadesno pri čemu postakcenatske dužinu imaju ulogu sekundarnih akcenata. Materijal za srpski jezik čini korpus složenica iz Klajnove *Tvorbe reči u savremenom srpskom jeziku,* prvi deo, a za engleski jezik korpus složenica ekscipiran iz LDCE (2003).[215]

Članak je organizovan na sledeći način. U 1. odeljku se analizira primena kriterija akcenta u srpskom jeziku, u 2. odeljku uticaj broja slogova prve komponente na akcenat složenica u srpskom jeziku, u 3. odeljku trohejsko kračenje vokala u engleskom i srpskom jeziku, 4. odeljku kraćenje jambske stope LT u trohejsku stopu LL u srpskom jeziku, u 5. odeljku kraćenje dužina vokala prve sastavnice u srpskom jeziku, u 6. odeljku čuvanje dužina vokala prve sastavnice u engleskom jeziku. Najzad u 7. odeljku se sumiraju rezultati i formulišu zaključci.

[215] O svojstvima toga korpusa videti Rakić (2009).

2. Kriterij akcenta u srpskom jeziku

Stevanović (1981) ocenjuje da je jedinstven akcenat i dovoljan i nužan uslov da bi skup od dve reči postao složenica. Tako neki nazivi zadržavaju transparento značenje delova, ali su ipak složenice jer nose jedinstven akcenat (npr. *Ti∃togra#d, Ku∃ča#jplanina*). Obrnuto, nazivi *Hèrceg-No%vi, Ša⊥r-plani∃na, Hàjdūk-Véljko* nisu složenice jer sastavnice ovih naziva zadržavaju posebne akcente. Stevanović ove reči klasifikuje kao polusloženice jer nepromenljive prve sastavnice pokazuju tešnju vezu sastavnih elemenata. Nepromenljivost prve sastavnice je takođe važan uslov za sticanje statusa složenice, ali Stevanović kriteriju jedinstvenog akcenta daje prednost. Tako su prilozi *br%že-bo%lje,ka%d-ta%d, ma%nje-vi%še* svi polusloženice jer sastavnice nose posebne akcente. Sraslice *mno%gopoštova#ni#* i *visoko∃cenjeni#* su složenice jer imaju jedinstven akcenat, ali se mogu razumeti i kao fraze (sintagme) *mno%go po%štova#ni#* i *vi%soko ce⊥njeni#* ako se izgovaraju sa dva akcenta. Razlika između ovih izraza je jedino u akcentu. Izuzetke u odnosu na pravilo jedinstvenog akcenta predstavljaju složenice *psèudoklàsični, svr%zimàntija, svr%zibráda* i superlativi tipa *na⊥jveličanstve∃niji#* u pridevima koji imaju mnogo slogova. U ovom slučaju Stevanović izgleda dozvoljava da pretegne kriterij jedinstvenog pisanja nad kriterijem jedinstvenog akcenta.

Klajn (2002) navodi primere stranih pozajmica tipa *dízel-mòtōr, dízel-go%rivo, špe%rplo%ča, šâh-klûb* u kojima sastavnice nose posebne akcente, pa prema kriteriju jedinstvenog akcenta definiše ih kao polusloženice. U nekim od tih primera moguća je i oscilacija u akcentu, pa bi se tako mogli klasifikovati i kao složenice (npr. *špe%rploča* ili *šâh-klu#b*).

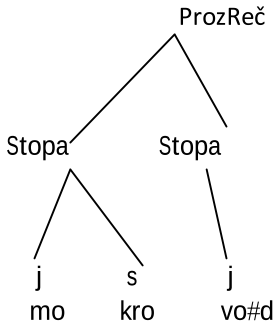
3. Odsecanje slogova prve sastavnice

U srpskom jeziku akcenat ne samo da razlikuje složenice i polusloženice, već utiče i na segmentni sastav složenica. U Pravopisu (1993: 85) se naglašava da je za jednoakcenatske, samonikle složenice karakteristična težnja da prva sastavnica ima samo dva sloga, tako da se dvosložni pridevi često uzimaju bez spojnog vokala (npr. *zele∃ngaća, crve∃npe###rka*), a slično skraćivanje prve sastavnice zapaža i Klajn (2002):

(1) mo%krovo#d (<mokraćovod), to%plom(j)er (<toplotomjer), du%bore#z (<dubokorez), zi%mzele#n (<zimozelen), vra∃ps(j)eme (<vrapčije s(j)eme), vre%meplo#v (<vremenoplov), Babogrédac („čevek iz Babine grede“).

Klajn uočava i kraćenje druge sastavnice u primerima *vodoze⇔mac* i *dvo∃godac*. Vidimo da se u (1) kraćenjem postiže trosložna struktura koja je prototip prirodnih, ’spontanih’ složenica u srpskom jeziku (Pravopis 1993). Ta struktura ograničava mogućnost javljanja sporednog akcenta u reči jer se krajnji slog reči uglavnom računa kao ekstrametrički. Odsecanje sufiksa može uticati na govornika da prvu sastavnicu ne prepozna kao određenu leksičku reč, pa ne koristi već ustaljen akcenat reči, već spoj tretira kao novu reč s posebnim akcentom. Primećujemo da se u znatnom broju slučajeva odsecanje vrši tako da preostali deo reči čini jednu metričku stopu, a to znači da odsecanje nije proizvoljno, već određeno prozodijskim obrazcom – u srpskom jeziku je to trohejska stopa. Tako se akcenat reči *mo%krvo#d* može predstaviti na sledeći način:

(2)



U (2) prva sastavnica *mokraća* je svedena kraćenjam na dva sloga tako da čini jednu trohejsku stopu. U trohejskoj stopi prvi slog čini glavu stope koja nosi akcenat, dok je u jambskoj stopi to drugi slog. Trohejske stope se simbolički mogu predstaviti sa parom (j,s), a jambske sa parom (s,j), gde *s* znači ’slab’ i *j* ’jak’. Jednosložne stope se dozvaljavaju ako je slog težak, a one sa lakim slogom u većini jezika se izbegavaju – mogu se dozvoliti samo u posebnim okolnostima, npr. na ivici domena. Trohejske stope tipa (TL), gde T označava težak slog,[216] a L lak slog, se redovno skraćuju u tip (LL) (Prince 1990).

U metričkoj fonologiji podela reči na stope je određena sa dva parametra: izborom vrste stope, pravcem delenja reči na stope, s desna nalevo (←) ili s leva nadesno (→). Položaj glavne stope određuje primarni akcenat reči. U srpskom jeziku, u rečima s uzlaznim akcentnom, glavni akcenat reči određuje stopa na desnom kraju reči pri čemu se krajnji slog računa kao lak ako je težak, a kao ekstrametrički ako je lak. Prema opštoj teoriji, ekstrametrički mogu biti samo elementi na početku ili kraju reči (v.Hayes (1995)). U rečima sa silaznim akcentom podela reči na stope ide s leva nadesno, dok glavni akcenat određuje stopa na početku reči, a u tom slučaju nisu potrebni posebni uslovi za ekstrametričnost krajnjeg sloga reči.[217] U oba slučaja sekundarne

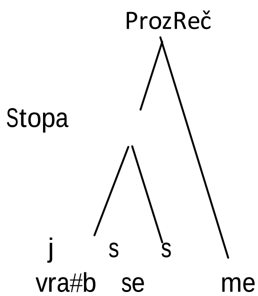
[216] Težak slog je zatvoren slog ili otvoren slog s dugim voaklom, a lak slog je otvoren slog s kratkim vokalom.

[217] Trohejska stopa obično pretpostavlja naizmenično ređanje sekundarnih akcenata u reči. U srpskom jeziku sekundarni akcenti su slabije izraženi, ali njihovo postojanje potvrđuje zapažanje akcentologa Jokanović-Mihajlov (2008) da se u sporijem tempu govora javljaju sekundarni acenti u dužim rečima. Kao što bi se moglo očekivati, u njenoj analizi se pretežno javljaju binarne stope: (3)dva *tra%gi-ko∃mična* lika, razvoj *va%zduho-plo∃vstva*, *tri⇔deseto-go∃dišnjaci*, *tre%će rázredni#* liker, *pre%ko-oke∃a##nska#* plovidba, *pre%po-ru∃∃čuje#m* vam, *ne%pri-zna⊥te* zasluge. Jokanović-Mihajlov uočava da je „svuda ritmički obrazac zasnovan na kraćem prvom i dužem drugom delu, sekundarni kratkosilazni akcenat na početku reči i uzlazni kao osnovni, na odgovarajućem unutrašnjem slogu“ (str. 38). Jokanović-Mihajlov primećuje da se sekundarni akcenti javljaju u sporijem govoru ili čitanju, ali dodaje da takav izgovor može preći i u manir. Bitna

akcente određuju ostale stope, a to znači da u slučaju reči sa silaznim akcentom na prvom slogu, krajnji slog reči nosi sekundarni akcenat ako je težak. To znači da u složenici *mo%krovo#d* krajnji težak slog nosi sekundarni akcenat. Ovakav zaključak je saglasan sa ocenom Belića (1948:108) da „sve dužine iza akcentovanog sloga dobijaju karakter nizlaznih sporednih dugih akcenata“.[218]

Na sličan način se izvodi i akcenat reči *glu%vone#m* koju Klajn navodi kao primer koordinativne složenice koja ima jedan akcenat. Stope se određuju s leva nadesno, pa se dobija podela (glu#vo)$_S$(ne#m)$_S$. Prva stopa ima strukturu (TL), pa primena trohesjskog kraćenja daje (gluvo)$_S$(ne#m)$_S$. Rezultat je dakle složenica *glu%vone#m* sa kratkosilaznim akcentom u kojoj krajnji slog nosu sekundarni akcenat. U stvari, trosložne složenice u kojima prva sastavnica zajedno s veznim vokalom ima samo dva sloga po pravilu imaju samo kratak glavni akcenat jer u slučaju da prva dva sloga čine trohejsu stopu tipa (TL) obavezno dolazi do kraćenja pošto vezni vokal nema dužinu. Stoga kratkosilazni akcenat na početnom slogu (npr. *mo%krovo#d*) ili kratkouzlazni na veznom vokalu (npr. *žuto∃kljun*) preovlađuju u prirodnim, ’spontanim’ trosložnim složenicama u srpskom jeziku. (v. Rakić 2004). Svođenje prve sastavnice na dva sloga koje zapaža Klajn je dakle bitno za javljanje krakoće na prvom slogu. Pokažimo na primeru reči *vra∃pseme* kako se određuje raspored stopa u slučaju uzlaznog akcenta.

(4)



Data reč se rastavlja na stope s desna nalevo, pa se dobija (vra#b.se)$_S$ /me/. Slog *me* je eksrametrički, on ostaje izvan stope i vezuje se direktno za prozodijsku reč. U trohejskoj stopi (vra#b.se)$_S$ krati se dužina prvog sloga prema pravilu trohejskog kraćenja koje navodimo u sledećem odeljku. Glava stope je slog *vrab*, koji nosi glavni akcenat reči. Posle obezvučavanja dobija se *vra∃pseme.*

---

je ovde činjenica da govornici nehotično u sporijem govoru otkrivaju položaj sekundarnih akcenata, a pretežno binarni karakter stopa postaje jasniji ako se u (3) izdvoje neutralni sufiksi -*ni#*, -*ski#* i pojedini deklinacioni nastavci koji ne menjaju akcenat osnove.

[218] Podsetimo se da su Vuk Karadžić (1852) i Đuro Daničić (1925) anticipirali ovaj stav označavajući dužinu znakom za dugosilazni akcenat.

4. Trohejsko kraćenje vokala u engleskom i srpskom jeziku

Za metričku fonologiju je posebno značajan rad Prince-a (1990) koji formuliše opštevažeći princip „naglasak ide na težak slog“ (Weight-to-Stress Principle):

(5) Ako je slog težak, on nosi naglasak.

Prince izvodi i logički obrt koji tvrdi da nenaglašen slog mora biti lak:

(6) Ako je slog nenaglašen, on je lak.

Pravilo (6) zahteva kraćenje nenaglašenih slogova. Pravila (5) i (6) omogućavaju jasniju tipologiju mogućih stopa u jezicima širom sveta. Uzimajući u obzir da slogovi mogu biti laki (L) ili teški (T) Prince predlaže sledeću hijerarhiju stopa:

(7)	jamb:	(LT)	>	(LL,T)	>	(L)
	trohej:	(LL,T)	>	(TL)	>	(L)

(7) pokazuje da je (LT) optimalna jambska stopa, dok su optimalne trohejske stope (LL) i (T). Težak slog T može da čini trohejsku stopu jer se pretpostavlja da sadrži dve more, dok se lak slog, s jednom morom, nerado, samo u posebnim okolnostima, prima kao posebna stopa. Optimalne stope su dakle binarne jer sadže dva sloga ili dve more. Hijerarhija stopa (7) je saglasna sa principom 'naglasak ide na težak slog' (Weight-to-Stress Principle). Pravila (5) i (6) su prvobitno formulisana kao univerzalni principi, ali praktična primena tih pravila pokazuje da se oni ne mogu apsolutizovati.

Iz hijerarhije (7) proizilaze određene posledice po kvantitet. U trohejskom sistemu se očituju dve težnje: prvo, lake stope (L) se eliminišu, i drugo, stope (TL) se krate u (LL), jer su (LL) i (T) optimalne trohejske stope prema hijerarhiji (6). Eliminacija lake stope se sreće u engleskom jeziku u dvosložnim rečima u kojima je prvi slog lak, a drugi po pretpostavci ekstrametrički. U nekim engleskim dijalektima taj konflikt se rešava tako što se duži prvi slog u rečima tipa *police* /pó:lìs/, *Detroit* /dí:tr□it/, *cement* /sí:ment/, *Arab* /é:rΘb/ jer ekstrametrički drugi slog ne može da nosi glavni akcenat reči.[219]

Kraćenje stope (TL) u stopu (LL) u engleskom jeziku je poznao kao pravilo trosložnog kraćenja kojim se krati naglašena antepenaltima. Myers (1987) je pokazao da je trosložno kraćenje u stvari trohejsko kraćenje teškog sloga u stopi (TL). Zbog ekstrametričnosti trohejsko kraćenje u engleskom jeziku se može primeniti tek na antepenultimi jer je penultima zaštićena u imenicama i izvedenim pridevima ekstrametrikalnošću krajnjeg sloga. Tipični su sledeći primeri u kojima se krati antepenultima u rečima *óminous* [‘□mIn↔s] < ómen [‘↔Ym↔n] i sánity [‘sΘnItI] < sáne [‘seIn]:

(8a) ó:men → (ó:)<men>

(b) ó:men+ous → (ó:men)<ous> → óminous [‘□mIn↔s]

---

[219] Alternativa je eliminacija pravila ekstrametričnosti, pa se reči *police*, *Detroit* and *cement* izgovaraju u nekim dijalektima engleskog jezika sa akcentom na drugom slogu /p□’lIs/, /DI’troIt/ and /sI’ment/. U reči *Arab* takođe se eliminiše ekstrametričnost drugog sloga uz njegovo kraćenje /’&r@b/, tako da se cela reč izgovara kao trohejska stopa (LL).

(c) sá:n+ity → [sá:ni]<ty> → sánity [‘sΘnItI], (v. Prince 1991).

U (8) je bitan momenat da slogovi *men* i *ni* gube svojstvo ekstrametrikalnosti u izvedenim rečima jer samo elementi na kraju reči mogu biti ekstrametrički. U stopama $(ó:men)_S$ i $(sá:ni)_S$ vrši se trohejsko kraćenje. Dijahronijski se ono kombinuje sa pojavom pomeranjem vokala u engleskom jeziku (Vowel Shift).Važno je primetiti da su *-ous* i *-ity* sufiksi 1. reda. Ipred sufiksa 2. reda (tkz. neutralnih sufiksa) nema kraćenja:

(9) parson /’pA:s@n/ → parsonage /’pA:s@nIdZ/,
dealer /’di:l@/ → dealership /’di:l@ΣIp/

Sufiksi *-age* i *-ship* su sufiksi 2. reda koji ne menjaju ni akcenat ni dužine osnove na koju se dodaju. Drugi sufiksi 2. reda koji se ponašaju na isti način jesu *-ness, -less, -ly, -al, hood, -ing, -age, -ling, -let, -dom, -ship, -er* (imenički) i *-y, -ish, -like, -some, -ful, -ed, -ing. -worthy* (pridevski). Fudge (1984) navodi još neke sistemske izuzetke u odnosu na pravilo trohejskog kraćenja.

U srpskom jeziku se takođe javlja trohejsko kraćenje stope (TL) u stopu (LL). Poznato pravilo srpskoga jezika je da akcenat ne može pasti na poslednji slog višesložnih reči. Možemo dakle pretpostaviti da se u srpskom jeziku pravilo ekstrametričnosti sastoji u tome što se krajnji teški slogovi računaju kao laki, dok su laki potpuno ekstrametrički.[220] Takva definicja ekstrametričnosti je nužna da bi se moglo razumeti sledeće pravilo kraćenja:

(10) Dužina krajnjeg sloga osnove se krati ispred višesložnih sufiks ili sufiksa koji se sastoje iz jednog zatvorenog sloga (Rakić 1996).

Ovo pravilo ilustruju sledeći primeri:

(11a) glâs > glàsāč, bômba> bòmbāš, sôm > sòmina., mètōd >metòdika, brigáda >brigàdist, dìvljāk>divljàkuša, zêc > zèčić, itd.

(b) ljût > ljûtnja, ríbār > ribárče.

U (11a) se sufiksi *-a#č, -a#š, -ist, -a#k* i *-ić* računaju kao laki, a dvosložni sufiksi *-ina, -ika, -uša* se takođe svode na lake slogove jer se krajnji laki slogovi računaju kao ekstrametrički. Stope tipa (TL) se dakle krate u (LL), npr. (gla⊥.sāč)> (glà.sāč). U (11b) nema kraćenja jer se sufiksi *-nja* i *-če* sastoje iz lakih slogova koji su ekstrametrički. Npr. *ljûtnja* se rastavlja na $(ljût)_S$/nja/, gde nema kraćenja jer je krajnji slog ekstrametrički. U *glàsāč* se kraćenje ipak vrši jer se krajni težak slog računa kao lak

[220] Uslov da se teški slogovi računaju kao laki omogućava da reč *je∃len* dobije kratkouzlazni akcenat na prvom slogu jer se može formirati trohejska stopa $(jelen)_S$. Isto tako *gla∃sa#č* može dobiti akcenat na penultimi.

5. Kraćenje jambske stope tipa LT u trohejsku tipa LL u srpskom jeziku

U latinskom jeziku je poznato pravilo Brevis Brevians kojim se redukuje slog iza akcenta.[221] Ovo pravilo skraćuje npr. krajnje duge vokale u dvosložnim rečima sa prvim lakim slogom (npr. *ego:* > *ego, cito:* > *cito, modo:* > modo). U tvorbi reči u srpskom jeziku ovo kraćenje se ostvaruje u nekoliko različitih procesa. U tim procesima se krati postakcenatska dužina stvarajući na desnom kraju reči od stope (LT) trohejsku stopu (LL).

(12a) dòdir < dodírnuti, pòpis < popísati, o∃tkup < otkúpiti, do%rada < doráditi (Rakić 1999);

(b) golòbrad < bráda, dugònos < nôs, belo∃kril < krílo, žuto∃kljun < kljun⊥, krivo∃ust < ústa (Rakić 1998);

(c) bèskraj < krâj, bèzglav < gláva, bèzruk < rúka, be∃splatan < pláta;

(d) člankòliz < lízati, životòpis < písati, nogòstup < stúpati, čoveko∃ljub < ljúbiti (Rakić 2004);

U (12a), u konverziji glagola u imenice, bazična dužina glagolske osnove se krati, sufiksi i nastavci se odsecaju tako da se na levom kraju imenice formira trohejska stopa čija je struktura (LL).[222] U pridevskim složenicama u (12b) bazična dužina imeničke osnove se krati, a sufiksi se odsecaju tako da se na kraju složenog prideva takođe formira trohejska stopa tipa (LL). Slično kraćenje postakcenatske dužine nalazimo i u primerima (12c) i (d), gde se takođe odsecaju sufiksi druge sastavnice i na desnom kraju reči formira trohejska stopa (LL). Ovo kraćenje je u stvari kraćenje jambske stope (LT) koja ne odgovara trohejskom obrascu. Odsecanje sufiksa nije haotično, već je određeno profilom trohejske stope kako se i predviđa u prozodijskoj morfologiji (Mc Carthy i Prince 1986).

6. Kraćenje dužina prve sastavnice u srpskom jeziku

U srpskom jeziku dužine prve sastavnice se redovno skraćuju. Prvo, krate se sve dužine koje prethode akcentu:

(13) žuto∃kljun < žu⊥t, doma∃zet < ze⊥t, rukovo∃dilac < rúka, brodográdnja < bro⊥d, grkoka∃tolik < Gr⊥k, vuko∃dlak < vu⊥k. .

Da li je kraćenje dužina pred akcentom posledica pravila (6)? Reči *žu⊥t, kri⊥v, bro⊥d,* Gr⊥k, *vu⊥k* sastoje se iz jednog teškog sloga, pa bi sve mogle da formiraju jednosložnu stopu (T), a to znači da mogu nositi sekundarne akcente. Razmotrimo primer imenice *brodográdnja* u kojoj uzlazni akcenat pada na drugu sastavnicu. Bazični oblik ove složenice se deli na stope s desna nalevo:

(14) (bro#do)$_S$(gra#d)$_S$/nja/

---

221 Prince (1990) tumači ovo pravilo kao integrisanje monomoraičke stope ispred stope s teškim slogom kraćenjem teške stope (L)(T) > (LL). U trohejskom sistemu ova 'popravka' je nužna jer stopa LT nije moguća trohejska stopa.

222 U imenici *glàsāč* ne krati se dužina krajnjeg sloga jer se taj slog inače tretira kao lak.

Lak slog *nja* je ekstrametrički, on ne utiče na akcenat reči. Stopa $(bro\#do)_S$ nije optimalna prema hijerarhiji (7) jer ima strukturu (TL). Ona se ne može popraviti delenjem na dve stope $(bro\#)_S$ $(do)_S$ jer bi se dobila monomorfna stopa $(do)_S$, koja se takođe izbegava. Trohejsko kraćenje stope $(bro\#do)_S$ proizvodi strukturu $(brodo)_S(gra\#d)_S$/nja/, u kojoj je skraćena dužina prvog sloga. Kraćenje dužina pred akcentom u rečima tipa (14) nije dakle posledica pravila (6), već posledica trohejskog kraćenja.

Primer *žuto∃kljun* sa kratkouzlaznim akcentom je drugačiji jer se ne može primeniti trohejsko kraćenje prvog sloga u strukturi $(žu\#t)(okl ju\#n)_S$ jer vokal *o* pripada drugoj stopi. Druga stopa ima strukturu (LT), što nije trohejska stopa. Kraćenjem se dobija $(žu\#t)(okljun)_S$ bez dužine na krajnjem slogu. Glavni akcenat određuje krajnja stopa, što se može pokazati zvezdicama.

(15) *

* *

$(žu\#t)_S(okljun)_S$

Usled pravila ritma gubi se sekundarni akcenat na slogu *žu#t*, jer glavni akcenat pada na susedni slog, a primenom pravila (6) taj slog se krati. Dobija se, dakle, rezultat:

(16) *

$(žut)_S(okljun)_S$

Akcentovane i neakcentovane dužine se takođe krate u imeničkim složenicama:

(17a) vȋd > vi%dokrūg, víno > vi%nogrād, vȋs > vi%sorāvan, glâs > gla%sovīr, zȋma > zi%molīst,

(b) dùvān – duvànkesa, čùvār – čuvàrkuća.

Složenice (17a) imaju kratkosilazni akcenat na prvom slogu. Složenica *vi%dokrūg* se rastavlja na stope s leva nadesno, i u tom slučaju nije potrebno uvesti ograničenje za ekstrametričnost krajnjeg sloga – glavni akcenat određuje stopa na početku reči. Bazični oblik te složenice se razlaže na stope na sledeći način:

(18) $(vi\#do)_S(krūg)_S$

Primenom pravila trohejskog kraćenja dobija se $(vi\#do)_S$ > $(vido)_S$, tj. umesto stope (TL) dobija se stopa (LL). Rezulat je dakle složenica *vi%dokrūg* s kratkosilaznim akcentom na prvom slogu. Postavlja se pitanje zašto se ne krati neakcentovana dužina krajnjeg sloga prema pravilu (6)? Odgovor je da krajnji slog zadržava sekundarni akcenat jer se ne nalazi u direktnom susedstvu s glavnim akcentom koji u ovom slučaju pada na prvi slog. Postakcenatske dužine na krajnjem slogu u složenicama tipa (18) se ne krate jer se na njih ne može primeniti trohejsko kraćenje.

Primeri (17b) pokazuju da se i postakcenatske dužine prve sastavnice krate. Pokažimo to na primeru složenice *duvànkesa.* Bazični oblik *duvānkesa* se razlaže na stope na sledeći način:

(19) $(du)_S(va\#nke)_S$/sa/

Slog *sa* je ekstrametrički, a slog *du* čini monomornu stopu koja ne utiče na akcenat reči. Stopa $(va\#nke)_S$ nije optimalna jer ima strukturu (TL). Kraćenjem vokala dobija se stopa $(vanke)_S$ čije je struktura (LL), koja ujedno određuje akcenat reči, tj. dobija se oblik *duvànkesa.*

Posledica kraćenja opisanih u odeljcima 4 i 5 jeste da u srpskom jeziku u imeničkim složenicam s prostom drugom komponentom preovlađuju dva akcenatska obrasca: složenice sa silaznim akcentom na prvom slogu tipa *vi%dokru#g* i složenice s uzlaznim akcentom na veznom vokalu ili drugoj komponenti tipa *vuko∃dlak* i *bubazláta* (Rakić 2004: 429-434). Svojstva ovih akcenatskih obrazaca proizilaze diretno iz metričke analize primenjene u ovom članku.

7. Čuvanje dužina vokala u prvim sastavnicama u engleskom jeziku

U engleskom jeziku ne postoji ograničenje na dužinu vokala u prvoj sastavnici. Kako je akcenat u engleskom jeziku određen takođe trohejskom stopom nameće se pitanje zašto se u engleskom jeziku ne krate dugi vokali prve sastavnice? U engleskom jeziku svaka sastavnica predstavlja posebnu prozodijsku reč, a kako imenice i pridevi mogu sadžati teške slogove na drugom ili trećem slogu od kraja, prve sastavnice u složenicama se takođe mogu javljati u tom obliku. U (20) je posebno naveden izgovor prvih sastavnica.

(20) a. ’gatepost /geIt/
’peanut /pi:/
’greasepaint /gri:s/
’baseball /’beIs/

b. ’auction .bridge /’□:kΣ@n/
’corner,stone /’k□:n@/
’fortune ,hunter /’f□:tΣ@n
ba’nana ,skin /b@’nA:n@/

c. quo'tation mark /kw@Y’teIΣ@n/
di,rector-’general /daI,rekt@/
’bargaining ,chip /’bA:g@nIN/
bi,polar dis’order /baI,p@Yl@/

U primerima (20a) i (b) dužine u prvim sastavnicama se ne krate. U (20a) prve sastavnice su teški slogovi tipa (T), koji ne podležu kraćenju. Da su sastavnice složenica posebne prozodijske reči vidi se i po tome što nema jednačenja po zvučnosti u *baseball* /’beIsb□:l/. Uslovi za trosložno kraćenje nisu ispunjeni ni u (20b) jer se svaka sastavnica ponaša kao posebna prozodijska reč, a to znači da krajnji slogovi prvih sastavnica u (20b) ostaju ekstrametrički, npr. *’auction* ima strukturu (’auc)$_S$/tion/ gde je krajnji slog ekstrametrički. U (20c) uslovi za trosložno kraćenje takođe nisu ispunjeni jer u navedenim složenicama težak prvi slog gradi trohejsku stopu (T), u kojoj nema kraćenja ako je naredna stopa isto tipa (T), kao npr. u (quo)$_S$('ta)$_S$/tion/. Drugačiji je slučaj složenice*’bargaining ,chip* u kojoj je prva sastavnica izvedena sufiksom 2. reda *-ing*, dakle neutralnim sufiksom koji ne utiče na izmenu ni akcenta ni kvantiteta.

8. Zaključak

Srpski i engleski jezik pripadaju tipološki različitim jezicima, ali u prozodiji dele neke zajedničke crte. Uzlazni akcenti u srpskom jeziku se određuju s desnog kraja reči kao i oni u engleskom, a glavna razlika se sastoji u tome što se u srpskom jeziku u određivanju akcenta krajnji teški slogovi u imenica računaju kao laki, dok su oni u engleskom jeziku ekstrametrički. Tako npr. u srpskom jeziku u reči *gla∃sa#č* akcenat pada na penultimu, a u engleskom jeziku u reči *ánecdote*, koja takođe ima težak krajnji slog, akcenat pada na antepenultimu. Pravilo trohejskog kraćenja se na isti način primenjuje u oba jezika, a takođe i kraćenje jambske stope (LT) u trohejsku (LL). U građi složenica osnovna razlika se sastoji u tome što su u engleskom jeziku sastavnice posebne prozodijske reči, dok u srpskom jeziku one čine jednu prozodijsku reč – ta činjenica se potvrđuje kraćenjem prvih sastavnica. Zbog prozodijske nezavisnosti sastavnica, u engleskom jeziku je problematično razdvajanje složenica i fraza, a u srpskom se ta neizvesnost delimično javlja u razdvajanju složenica i polusloženica jer su u polusloženicama sastavnice takođe prozodijski nezavisne. Opstaje naravno još jedna važna razlika, a to je tonska razlika akcentovanih slogova u srpskom jeziku, i s tim povezano svojstvo da se u rečima sa silaznim akcentom stope određuju s leva nadesno čega nema u engleskom jeziku.

Metrička analiza otkriva da je trohejsko kraćenje odgovorno za raspodelu kvantiteta u trosložnim i četvorosložnim imeničkim složenicama u srpskom jeziku. Dužine se mogu javiti samo na krajnjem slogu trosložnih složenica (tip *mo%rkovo#d*) i penultimi četvorosložnih složenica (tip *brodográdnja*). Analiza je ovde uglavnom obuhvatila imeničke složenice N+N, ali se verovatno može primeniti i na druge tipove složenica. Kraćenje dužina prve sastavnice je mogući dodatni kriterij za razlikovanje složenica i polusloženica u srpskom jeziku.

Literatura

Bauer, L. (1998) "When is a sequence of two nouns a compound in English", **English Language and Linguistics**, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 65-86.

Belić, A. (1948) **Savremeni srpskohrvatski književni jezik,** I deo: Glasovi i akcenat, Beograd.

Daničić, Đ. (1925) **Srpski akcenti**, Beograd i Zemun: Srpska kraljevska akademija.

Fudge, E. (1984). **English Word Stress**, London: George Allen & Unwin.

Hayes, B.(1995) **Metrical Stress Theory: Principles and Case Studies**, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Huddleston, R. and Pullum, G.K. (2002) **The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language,** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jokanović-Mihajlov, J. (2008) "Reči sa dva akcenta u savremenom srpskom jeziku", **NSSVD**, Vol. 37, No. 1, str. 35-42

Karadžić, V. (1852) **Srpski rječnik istumačen njemačkijem i latinskijem riječima**, Beč: Štamparija Jermenskog manastira.

Klajn, I. (2002) **Tvorba reči u savremenom srpskom jeziku**, Prvi deo: Slaganje i prefiksacija, Beograd: Institut za srpski jezik.

LDCE (2003) **Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English**, Third Edition. Edingurgh Gate, Harlow, Essex: Longman.

McCarthy, J. and Prince, A. (1986) **Prosodic Morphology**, Ms.,University of Massachusets and Brandeis University, Mass. [Verzija s komentarima1996, štampana kao tehničko saopštenje br. 32, Rutgers Center for Cognitive Science]

Myers, S. (1987) "Vowel Shotening in English", **Natural Languages and Linguistic Theory 5,** pp. 485-518

Plag, I. (2003) **Word Formation in English**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Prince, A. (1990) "Quantitative consequences of rhythmic organization", in Deaton, K., Noske, M. and Ziolkowski, M. (eds.) **CLS26-II: Papers from the Parasession on the Syllable in Phonetics and Phonology**, Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society, pp. 355-398

Rakić, S. (1996) "Pravilo kraćenja u srpskohrvatskom jeziku", **Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku**, Vol. 39, No.1, str.141-156

Rakić, S. (1998). "O pridevskim složenicama tipa pridev + imenica", **Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku**, Vol. 41, No. 1, str. 107-127

Rakić, S. (1999) "O nultim sufiksima i izvođenju nastavcima *–O. –a, -o/-e*", **Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku**, Vol. 42, No. 1, str. 225-254

Rakić, S. (2004) "O akcentu i dužini imeničkih složenica", **Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku** , Vol. 47, No. 1-2, str. 425-444

Rakić, S. (2006) "O strukturi složenica u srpskom jeziku", **NSSVD,** Vol. 35, No.1, str. 367-376

Rakić, S. (2009) "Some Observations on the Structure, Type Frequencies and Spelling of English Compounds", **Skase,** Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 59-83

Stevanović, M. (1981) **Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik I**, Beograd: Naučna knjiga.

UDK 811.111'374.2

Svetlana R. Stojić

ONCE UPON A TIME *THE DICTIONARY* WAS BEING MADE – A STORY IN HONOUR OF SAMUEL JOHNSON

Abstract: *Samuel Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language was first published in 1755. This monumental work, often simply referred to as 'the Dictionary', appeared in numerous editions, abridgments and adaptations, serving as a standard of English for more than a hundred and fifty years to be superseded only by The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) at the beginning of the twentieth century. Many scholarly and popular works have been written about the Dictionary. This paper adds to them by attempting a brief survey of the social and intellectual climate in Britain in the first half of the 18th century – the time of the codification of the English language – and of Johnson's work on the Dictionary. With this paper, the author wishes to mark the **commemoration-worthy occasion of** the 300th anniversary of Samuel Johnson's birth.*

Key words: *dictionary, the English language, lexicographer, lexicography, standard*.

1. Introduction

"Dictionaries are like watches: the worst is better than none, and the best cannot be expected to go quite true." (Johnson: Letter to Fransesco Sastres, August 21, 1784)

Today there are numerous monolingual English dictionaries based on larger or smaller language corpora that, thanks to electronic devices, can be constantly updated. Most of the dictionaries that are used today are, in fact, distant relatives or perhaps great-grandchildren of one such reference book that once upon a time was simply called the *Dictionary*.

This text is a story of *The Dictionary of the English Language* compiled by Samuel Johnson, and this story takes us on a journey back to the 18th century – to the time of the codification of the English language.

In the late 17th and the early 18th centuries there was a widely felt need for the stability of the language and for canons of correctness (McArthur 1992: 549) and many learned people publicly expressed their wish to see English regulated, ascertained and fixed so that their children and grand children could not only be proud of their mother tongue but could also read the works of authors who had lived long before them.

Since the establishment of the academies in other European countries, first in Italy in 1542 and 1572, and then in France in 1635, there had been proposals that

England, and later Britain, should have a similar institution. Some of the advocates of an academy were John Dryden, Daniel Defoe, Joseph Addison and Jonathan Swift.

However, there were also opponents of that idea, one of them being Samuel Johnson who thought that an academy could not serve as a language authority, explaining in his work *Lives of the Poets* that:

> We live in an age in which it is a kind of publick sport to refuse all respect that cannot be enforced. The edicts of an English academy would, probably, be read by many, only that they might be sure to disobey them. The present manners of our nation would deride authority. (quoted in Wells, 1973:37)

In the continuing absence of a corresponding academy for Britain, "the lack of a major English dictionary was by the early eighteenth century a source of embarrassment to the English nation in general and to the English intellectual world in particular" (Mustain 2007).

The Italians had a national dictionary, published in 1612. It had taken their Academy 20 years to prepare it. The French got their dictionary in 1694, their Academy of forty scholars had spent 55 years preparing it, and another 18 years (1700-1718) revising it.

It is true that at the time English dictionaries were available, for example, Henry Cockeram's *English Dictionarie: or, An Interpreter of Hard English Words* (1623), Edward Phillips*'s The New World of English Words* (1658), John Kersey's *A New English Dictionary* (1702) and Nathaniel Bailey's *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721).

However, the intellectual public in Britain really wanted a magisterial dictionary that would serve as a standard of good usage, a comprehensive dictionary that would be similar to those compiled by the two great continental academies.

2. Johnson's dictionary

A group of London book-sellers approached Johnson and then contracted him in June 1746 to produce a dictionary in three years. In the same year he wrote an outline for his *Dictionary*.

At the time Johnson was 35 years old. He was born 300 years ago, in September 1709 in Lichfield, a place near Birmingham in England. As a baby he suffered from an infection which affected both his sight and hearing. He is said to have been deaf in the left ear and almost blind in the left eye. His father was a bookseller in Lichfield, so young Johnson had an opportunity to read a lot, and indeed he was a voracious reader. In 1728 he studied at Oxford, but lack of money forced him to leave thirteen months later. In 1737 he went to London and there he took various writing jobs. He was also planning to produce an edition of Shakespeare's works. When his plans failed, he decided to compile a dictionary, so when he was approached by a group of book-sellers, he decided to undertake the task. It was agreed that he would be paid 1575 pounds and all expenses would come out of this sum. "His advance was one of the largest of the eighteenth century until that time" (Korshin 2005: 18).

He wrote his *Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language*, published in August 1747, and addressed it to Lord Chesterfield whose patronage he hoped to attract. Lord Chesterfield is still believed by many[223] to have failed to produce financial backing, giving Johnson a miserly sum of £10.

In his *Plan* Johnson (1746: 3-20) elaborated the methods and techniques he would use in compiling the dictionary, bearing in mind that "The chief intent of it is to preserve the purity, and ascertain the meaning of our English idiom" (Johnson 1746: 6). In the course of his work on the *Dictionary* he realized he would not be able to carry out everything he had proposed to do, and his perception of his role as a lexicographer changed. Nevertheless, the *Plan* is a "masterful analysis" and a "remarkable document" of lexicographic tasks and activities. "For someone who had never before compiled a dictionary, Johnson's grasp of lexicographic problems he would be confronted with is extraordinary". (Landau 1989: 48). Some of the problems he envisaged have not been solved by modern lexicography to this day.

In order to work on the *Dictionary*, Johnson hired six copyists or amanuenses to help him. They worked in the garret of the house in 17 Gough Square in London, which is now a museum open to public. Johnson is thought to have consulted a copy of a 1736 revised edition of Nathaniel Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, but he also wanted to read a wide range of scientific and technical texts as well as a large number of books by distinguished men of letters that would serve as a source of illustrative quotations.

He selected a 'golden age' to provide a corpus of his work. In his opinion, this was the period that ran from the later sixteenth century (or from the time of Sir Philip Sidney) until the English Restoration of 1660. Shakespeare, Milton and Dryden alone account for a third of all quotations (McArthur 1992 :549), although he also used quotations from the works of over 500 other authors (Crystal 2005: xix). Obviously, he wanted to omit his contemporaries so as not to be "misled by partiality" (Johnson 1773: 145).

Thus Johnson would pore over numerous works of great English authors, underlining and marking what he thought would be useful, and citing the word's first letter in the margin. If he did not like the original sentence, or if a phrase did not convey the exact meaning he needed, he did not hesitate to alter it. Then he would pass the book to one of his six assistansts. They would copy out the quotations onto slips of paper. They would underline the word that was to be illustrated, mark the slip with a large letter for the initial of the word, and file it. When all the slips were collected, Johnson began to write his definitions.

[223] For a different account see Korshin 2005: 24-25.

Along with all other activities that followed, it was a very hard job to do even according to the standards of this electronic age. No wonder it could not be finished in three years. Anne McDermott, a senior lecturer in English at the University of Birmingham, "believes it was the quotations that triggered the collapse: they were full of verbs, which the older dictionaries ignored. When Johnson tried to tackle the verbs, he came up with 133 meanings, and 363 quotations, for 'to take' alone" (*Guardian* 3 Aug 2006).

According to the results of her research, Johnson completely abandoned the work on the *Dictionary* when he realized he would miss his deadline. It took the publishers years to realize what had happened. He resumed the work only when the publishers threatened they would break into his house and take the manuscript which they hoped was almost finished. "Although this time he could afford only two assistants, they raced through the work and finished in two-and-a-half years" (*Ibid*).

The *Dictionary* was finally completed when it appeared in 1755 in two large folio volumes[224]. It was 2,312 pages long including the preliminaries, namely the famous Preface, a short History of the English Language and an outline Grammar (51 pages). It contained 140,871 definitions for 42,773 entries. According to David Crystal (2005: xvii) definitions are "the dictionary's primary strength, and its chief claim to fame". Johnson's biographer Boswel also thought that definitions were entitled to the first praise: "The definitions have always appeared to me such astonishing proof of acuteness of intellect and precision of language, as indicate of genius of the highest rank. This is which marks the superior excellence of Johnson's Dictionary over others equally or even more voluminous …"(Quoted in Crystal 2005: xli).

In the first edition there are over 113,000 quotations from various literary sources as well as from scientific, medical, legal and theological works. These numerous quotations that illustrate the meaning and usage of words are considered to have been Johnson's main innovation. As John Carey puts it:

> Nothing remotely comparable had been done before, and it made his dictionary into a superior prototype of the internet – a bulging lucky-dip of wisdom, anecdote, humour, legend and fact. Nobody but Johnson could have done it, because nobody had read so much" (The Sunday Times, 27 March 2005).

In the Preface to the *Dictionary*, Johnson admitted the impossibility of fixing the language forever, but he still hoped that the changes could be slowed down so that English could be preserved for the future generations. Thus he made a plea by saying:

> "Life may be lengthened by care, though death cannot be ultimately defeated: tongues like governments, have a natural tendency to

[224] The first seventy sheets were printed in 1750.

degeneration; we have long preserved our constitution, let us make some struggles for our language" (Johnson, 1773:151).

Johnson's view that languages are born, and that they degenerate and die like people was characteristic of that time, and so was the tendency to link language and nation.

Some of Johnson's definitions of words are frequently quoted as expressions of either his sense of humour or of his personal views.

His description of 'oats' as "A grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people" is probably the best known. There are opinions that Johnson was prejudiced against the Scottish people, but as five of his copyists were Scots, would it be right to suppose that he wanted to offend them?

Although he defined 'pension' as "An allowance made to any one without an equivalent", which "in England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country", he eventually agreed to accept an annual pension awarded to him by the new monarch George III in 1762, which improved his circumstances.

He obviously had Lord Chesterfield's unrealized financial support in mind when he defined a 'patron' as "One who countenances, supports or protects. Commonly a wretch who supports with insolence, and is paid with flattery".

His personal experience is also interwoven in the definition of the word 'lexicographer' – "A writer of dictionaries; a harmless drudge, that busies himself in tracing the original, and detailing the signification of words".

He offered us a glimpse of his pragmatic attitude towards his mother tongue when he described the 'sonnet' as a form "not very suitable to the English language" ("SONNET. A short poem consisting of fourteen lines, of which the rhymes are adjusted by a particular rule. It is not very suitable to the English language, and has not been used by any man of eminence since Milton.").

At times the definitions are too short and inadequate, for example, when he defines 'Sonata' merely as "A tune" due to his alleged indifference to music.

Since nobody is perfect, sometimes Johnson makes mistakes, as when he defines the word 'pastern' as the knee of a horse when it is in fact the part of a horse's foot between the fetlock and hoof. This error was not corrected for eighteen years.

In the 1830s Thomas Macaulay coined a word 'Johnsonese' which has often been used pejoratively for Johnson's elevated style and his preference for Latinate vocabulary. An oft-quoted example of this style is his definition of 'network' as "Any thing reticulated or decussated, at equal distances, with interstices between the intersections". In actual fact, Latinate vocabulary is not typical of this work. (see McArthur 1992 :549).

The peculiarity of the *Dictionary* is that it had no entries for the letter "X" as Johnson claimed that it began no word in the English language. "In fact there are over thirty words recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as having occurred in English before Johnson's time, several of which were in use in his century" (Crystal 2005: xvii).

The *Dictionary* soon went into a second edition that appeared in 165 weekly sections, and an abridged octavo version was also published. For the fourth edition, which became available in 1773, Johnson revised the text substantially. He corrected errors, made some deletions and added a further 3,000 illustrative quotations from technical literature and other works. The *Dictionary* went into several more editions during Johnson's lifetime both in folio and abridged versions and new editions continued to be published well into the nineteenth century. It served as an authority on the language and as a standard of English and remained so until the advent of the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Shortly before the first edition of the *Dictionary* was published, Johnson had received an honorary master degree from Oxford University in 1755. He was awarded an honorary doctorate by Dublin University in 1765 and another doctorate by Oxford University in 1775, and is often simply referred to as Dr Johnson.

3. Conclusion

The critical reception of the Dictionary was mostly positive (see Sledd/Kolb 1955). Its publication "was lauded as a national as well as a linguistic triumph" and Jonson was praised for beating "fourty French" (Mugglestone 1995 :27). Nevertheless, there were also very negative reviews and comments, and some of his contemporaries and later lexicographers even demonised him. Noah Webster, for example, had a very ambivalent attitude towards Johnson's work. On the one hand, he admired his achievement, but wishing to surpass it, he was also very critical of it. This ambivalence can be detected from one of many Webster's commentaries:

> Johnson's writings had in Philology, the effect that Newton's discoveries has in Mathematics, to interrupt for a time the progress of this branch of learning; for when a man has pushed his researches so far beyond his contemporaries, that all men despair of proceeding beyond him, they will naturally consider his principles and decisions as the limit of perfection on that particular subject, and repose their opinions on his authority, without examining into their validity (quoted in Sledd/Kolb 1955 :1).

In spite of all its possible imperfections and deficiencies, Johnson's *Dictionary* enjoyed unique authority among successive generations in the matter of word choice and word meaning. "Its influence was especially profound among authors. As a young man Robert Browning read both its folio volumes in their entirety in order to 'qualify' himself for the career as an author" (Hitchings 2006 :5). In 1880 a Bill was actually thrown out of Parliament because a word in it was not in "the Dictionary" (Whitehall 1963: 6).

The achievement of the *Dictionary* made Johnson a national icon (Hitchings 2006 :6). He was also famous during his lifetime as an important literary figure, and a number of biographies were published shortly after his death. The most famous was by James Boswell in 1791.

He is also said to be the second most-quoted person in English after Shakespeare. In English-speaking countries the latter part of the eighteenth century is often called the Age of Johnson.

Although the *Dictionary* was superseded by the OED at the beginning of the 20th century, it has never been forgotten by lexicographers, linguists, and language enthusiasts.

In the 250 years since it first appeared on April 1755, Johnson's work has appeared in at least 52 editions, 13 adaptations, 120 abridgments, 309 miniature versions, 7 printed facsimile editions, 4 sets of selections, and 2 CD ROMs. It has been the subject of more than 350 published works, including at least 28 books and a book-length bibliography ... the number of passing references in general books about Johnson, English literature, the English language, or dictionaries generally is probably beyond the power of anyone to count (Lynch/McDermott 2005: 1-2).

Volumes have been written on the *Dictionary*, but research on it has not been completed yet. Some scholars believe that much has to be done to unpack the myths surrounding Johnson's work, and to reveal the truth about the genius of this lexicographic giant.

References

Crystal, D. (ed.) (2005) **Dr Johnson's Dictionary. An Anthology**, London: Penguin

Hitchings, H. (2006) **Defining the World: The Extraordinary Story of Dr Johnson's Dictionary**, Picador

Lynch, J./McDermott, A. (eds.) (2005) ***Anniversary Essays on Johnson's "Dictionary"***, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Johnson, S. (1746) The Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language. in Crystal, D. (ed.) (2005) **Dr Johnson's Dictionary. An Anthology**, London: Penguin, pp. 3-20

Johnson, S. (1773) Preface to *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) in Bolton, W. F. (ed.) (1966) **The English Language. Essays of English and American Men of Letters 1490-1839**, Cambridge: The University Press, pp. 129-56

Korshin, P. J. (2005) The mythology of Johnson's *Dictionary*, in Lynch, J. and McDermott, A. (eds.) ***Anniversary Essays on Johnson's "Dictionary"***, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 10-23

McArthur, T. (ed.) (1992) **The Oxford Companion to the English Language**, Oxford: OUP

Mugglestone, L. (1995) **'Talking Proper'. The Rise of Accent as Social Symbol**, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Mustain, J. E. (2007) "Samuel Johnson & The Dictionary", http://www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/spc/rbc/other_colls/johnson.html

Sledd, J.H. and Kolb, G.H. (1955) **Dr. Johnson's Dictionary. Essays in the Biography of a Book**, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Whitehall, H. (1963) The Development of the English Dictionary, in Dean, L.F. and Wilson, K. G. (eds.) **Essays on Language and Usage**, New York: OUP, pp. 3-10

UDK 811.11'366.582
UDK 811.133.1'366.582

Tijana Ašić
Veran Stanojević

ASPECTUAL INSTRUCTIONS AND CONSTRAINTS IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH PAST TENSES

Abstract: *In this paper we show that the proper explanation of the differences in the usage of the preterital tenses in French and English has to be based on three parameters: aspectual instruction of the tense, aspectual constraints it imposes on the ontological nature of the predicates it is combined with and the relation between the reference point and event point. On the basis of these semantic parameters we compare the French Aorist with the English Past tense and the French Imperfect with the English Past progressive tense, explaining the differences in their distribution and stylistic effects.*

Key words: *tenses, semantics, aspect, pragmatics, instruction*

1. Introduction

One of the most prominent similarities between English and French, at a semantic level, concerns the richness and complexity of their temporal systems. Unlike many other languages (see Ašić, 2008) they possess numerous verbal tenses whose differences cannot be accounted for in terms of the simple opposition past-present-future. This is particularly noticeable in the domain of past tenses: although all of them by default designate eventualities situated before the moment of speech (S), they significantly differ in the way they represent the structure of eventualities and in the choice of the event perspective.

Hence, our basic assumption is that, for a proper treatment of verbal tenses in general and especially in these two languages, we have to take into consideration three types of instructions encoded by verbal forms (see Stanojević & Ašić, 2008):

a) Temporal localization of the event
b) Aspectual, concerning the way the eventuality is viewed (as global or progressing)
c) Discursive, related to the notion of temporal order: temporal progression, temporal regression and simultaneity.

In this paper we will show that these three types of information can explain not only the differences between the past tenses within a single language but also the dissimilarities in the usage of the apparently equivalent past tenses in English and French.

2. Semantic analysis of preterital tenses

Since Reichenbach's revolution in the temporal ontology (1947) it has been widely admitted that the temporal instruction cannot be reduced to the simple fact that tenses situate the eventualities in the present, past or future period. The additional information that they obligatorily convey is whether the eventuality in question is observed from the moment of speech or from some other moment on the temporal axis. Thus, the temporal instruction can be defined as a relation between three pertinent points on the time axis: speech point (S), event point (E) and reference point (R).

It should ne noted that the minimal condition that a tense has to satisfy in order to be labelled as past (preterital) is: $R<S$. This means that the point from which the eventuality is observed cannot coincide with the moment of speech.

As for the aspectual instruction, it concerns the meronymic (part-whole) relation between E and R. Here two types of relation are possible. either $R \subseteq E$, or $E \subseteq R$. In the first case E is viewed as ongoing in the moment serving as a reference point- (E has existed before and after a particular point in time R or, if R is an interval, it has lasted all along R). In the second case E is accomplished in R. This is clearly illustrated by the opposition *l' imparfait – passé simple* in French:

The above introduced grammatical (view-point) aspect, should not be conflated with the lexical aspect, denoting the opposition between telic and atelic eventualities (Vendler, 1957).[225] Finally, the discursive instruction refers to the so called temporal order between the eventuality in focus (E) and its temporal antecedent. Temporal antecedent should be understood as a moment introduced in the previous context that serves as an anchor for the computation of the temporal location of the eventuality newly introduced in the discourse. If the temporal antecedent is not explicitly given it should be pragmatically calculated.

3. Encoding temporal and aspectual information in English and French

A very important characteristic of the English verbal flectional system is that in this language aspectual and temporal information are syntactically (derivationally) and morphologically separately encoded. Namely, one of the characteristics of simple tenses is that a conjugated lexical verb takes only a temporal marker which function is to distinguish the present situation from the past one. (*He plays* VS *He played; He enters* VS

[225] As shown in the work of Borik and Reinhart, the perfective-imperfective opposition and telic-atelic distinction are two independent categories (Borik & Reinhart, 2004).

He entered). So the aspectual interpretation of a predicate depends on the lexical nature of a verb (telic or atelic) and on the presence of complements.

In complex tenses the temporal information is yielded by auxiliary verbs (*John is/was sleeping)*, while the aspectual information (VProg/Perf) is encoded by participles. The basic function of a progressive aspect in English is to indicate a dynamic action in the process of happening. Attention is focused on some internal stage of the process which is viewed as something directly observed, unfolding before our eyes. By contrast, the *ed-* form marks an action as complete and presents it as a single whole in which internal structure the speaker is not interested. It should be highlighted that there are no progressive participles in French conjugation. Progressivity is just one of the possible interpretations of the French imperfect.

4. The formal analysis of the past tenses in French and English

1) The passé simple

The passé simple (aorist) is regularly used in French in narration to introduce events that happened in the past and that are absolutely disconnected from the moment of speech. Its temporal instruction E,R-S signalizes its detachment from the present time. Unlike the passé composé, the consequences of the events designated by the French aorist are not valid in the moment of speech[226]. Moreover, they cannot be interpreted as elaboration or explanation for a statement that a speaker is making in S[227].

The aspectual information encoded by French aorist is perfectivity ($E \subseteq R$). This means that the process E is accomplished and entirely situated within the boundaries of R (if R is an interval) or that a punctual process is identical to a point in time R.

1. Paul se réveilla (E) à cinq heures (R).
2. Cette nuit-là (R) il dormit bien (E).

One of the essential consequences of the strict aspectual instruction of the French aorist is that it always introduces events disregarding lexical aspect of the verb. This means that when it is combined with atelic eventualities (activities and states) it changes the interpretation of their aspectual values. The outcome of this process is the inchoative (as in 9 and 10) or global reading of the atelic predicates (as in 11, in which a sentence contains an adverbial expression limiting the duration of the process). This semantic mechanism is known as aspectual coercion[228] (Swart, 1998; Ašić & Stanojević 2008):

---

[226] Il a mangé/ * il mangea dans un restaurant. Voila pourquoi il n'a pas faim.

[227] Il connaît bien Paris. Il l'a visité/ *le visita l année dernière.

[228] By analogy to a general mechanism of coercion in which predicates are generated because of a clash between a function and its argument, in aspectual coercion implicit aspectual operators are triggered by a conflict between the lexical aspect and the constraints imposed by aspectual

3. Stefan marcha à l'âge de 11 mois.
4. Dusan aima la chimie à l'âge de cinq ans.
5. Max marcha de 2 à 3 heures

The discursive instruction of the French aorist TA<E can be seen as consequence of its aspectual nature. The sequence of verbs in aorist usually gives an idea of a temporal progression: time is moving forward with the events:

6. Paul entra dans le bureau (TA). Ses collègues le saluèrent (E).
7. Paul se réveilla plus tôt que d'habitude (E1). Il s'habilla (E2) et sortit (E3) quelques instants plus tard[229].

However, in our approach we consider that Kamp and Rohrer's (1983) rule, saying that in a sequence of predicates in aorist each new predicate takes its referential point from the preceding one, is too strong. This means that in the sequence E1, E2 the TA for the event E2 is not automatically the event E1. Consequently, (as shown in 14) the TA of E2 is not necessarily the event E1 immediately preceding it but the previously introduced event En satisfying the following condition: it can neither be the consequence[230] (see 15) of E1 nor it can hold a meronymic relation with it (16).

8. Le petit caniche s'échappa (TA for E2). Nous ne le retrouvâmes plus (E1) car il fut pris par des flics (E2).
9. ??Paul tomba(=/=TA). Pierre le poussa (E).
10. Marie chanta (*=/=TA*) et Pierre l'accompagna au piano (E).

We believe that a proper treatment of the aorist, in which the notion of reference point is replaced by a semantically and pragmatically more sophisticated notion of temporal antecedent, can explain the cases in which the temporal progression is apparently cancelled. (such as the *encapsulation phenomenon*, Saussure, 1998[231]).

2) The imperfect in French

Just like the Passé simple the Imperfect situates eventualities in the past, its temporal instruction being R<S. It is important to understand that the aspectual

---

instructions of tenses. The role of these aspectual operators is to coerce the eventuality into the appropriate type.

[229] E1=TA for E2, and E2=TA for E3 .
[230] Given the fact that the cause ontologically precedes its consequence.
[231] By encapsulated events we consider (see Saussure, 1998) a series of predicates encompassed by one major, thematic event that does not serve as a temporal antecedent for them: *Paul passa des vacances superbes: Il visita la France, il écrivit trois artucles; il apprit à danser la salsa.*

instruction normally applied for imperfective tenses $R \subseteq E$ cannot explain all the interpretational effects of this tense. Namely sentences in which the reference point is not situated inside the eventuality in imperfect are not uncommon. Given the fact that it is possible for R to precede or to be situated after the eventuality in imperfect we suggest the following aspectual instruction for this tense: $Ej \supseteq Ri (i \neq j)$, -> Ej is valid in Ri. The reference point Ri is either given by the previously introduced event (see A) or it can be implicated (see B):

A) Ri=Ei (the imperfect does not introduce Ei), as illustrated by 25. This is a typical case of the usage of the imperfect in French

11. Quand Paul entra/A 5 heures (Ri=Ei), Marie buvait son thé (Ej).

Note that even if a predicate is telic by nature it will be stativized by the aspectual instruction of the imperfect. The input condition for the imperfect being a homogenous eventuality, the aspectual coercion output is iterativity or progressivity.

12. Paul sortait le samedi.
13. Quand il entrait dans sa maison il entendit un bruit bizarre. .

B) Ri=s, where $s \subset\supset Ei$ or $Ei \subset\supset s$. Here the reference point is actually a state s which is either implicated or presupposed by Ei.

14. Jean alluma les lampes (R). La lumière éclatante l'éblouissait (Ej). R=s
15. Pierre rentra a la maison(R). Le soleil lui brulait les épaules. (Ej). R=s

In 20) the event in aorist implicates a state (*light is turned on*), between which and the eventuality in imperfect there is a relation of global simultaneity. By contrast, in 21) the event in aorist presupposes the existence of a state (*Pierre was outside the house*), which is simultaneous with the predicate in imperfect.

One of the consequences of the semantic characteristics of the imperfect (imperfectivity, anaforicity and global simultaneity) is that it cannot mark a temporal progression. With imperfect the time flux is at halt. The apparent exception to this rule is the so called “picturesque imperfect” in French that refers to accomplished events:

16. Dix minutes plus tard il quittait son bureau et se dirigeait vers le Parc de Luxembourg

3) Past progressive

It is usually stated in grammars that the Past Progressive tense designates that an eventuality lasted in the past (R<S) but that, if the eventuality is telic, there is no implication that it has been accomplished (as in 23). One the consequence of this is that it can still be going on at the time of speaking (see 24):

17. Dusan was reading The Wizard of Oz last night (he hasn't finished it).
18. When I left Mary in her room, half an hour ago, she was quarrelling with her boy-friend. From the noise I can hear, I can tell that they are still arguing about something.

The imperfectivity and durativity features makes the Past progressive ideal for expressing the simultaneity between two states of affaires (25) and also for providing a frame within which another past event (serving as a reference point) took place (26). The reference point can (just like with the French imperfect) be given by a specific moment in the past (27):

19. Dusan was playing with bricks while his mother was writing a paper.
20. When Mary returned home Susan was having her dinner and watching TV.
21. At midnight we were still driving through the desert

From all these facts it can easily be concluded that the past progressive is semantically equivalent to the French Imperfect. However there are some cases in which the French Imperfect cannot be translated with the Past progressive. We will show that they are due to the dissimilarity in their aspectual instruction and to the constraints they impose on the ontological nature of the conjugated verb.

The aspectual instruction is different from the one for the French Imperfect. It states that R has to be strictly included in E ($R \subset E$). This condition means that, unlike in French, E cannot be punctual. Thus, achievement in Past Progressive (unlike achievements in the French Imperfect) cannot function as a frame for another past event:

22. ??When he entered the room, the clock was striking one.
23. Quand il entra l'horloge sonnait une heure.

It is however possible to use the Past progressive with achievements but the interpretation is always iterative:

24. The rain was tapping the window.

The other consequence of the instruction that R has to be strictly inside E is that is not possible to have The Past progressive in the English for the equivalent of sentences such as (20) and (21). Moreover, the Past progressive requires that E is developing and not merely existing in R. Hence, it selects only processes – activities (25) and accomplishments (26) and sometimes also dynamic (temporary) states (27). If a predicate is a permanent (static) state the Past Tense has to be used (28, 29).

25. Tijana was dancing.
26. We were making a sand castle.
27. She was being silly (on that occasion).
28. *She was having blue eyes / She had blue eyes.
29. * His wife was being French./ was French.

Yet, sometimes it is possible to use the Past Progressive with static states (see de Swart, 1998, Ašić & Stanojević, 2008).

Finally, unlike the French imperfect, the Past Progressive is almost never used for expressing past habituality. This is probably due to its dynamicity instruction which is incompatible with the idea of representing a reiteration of some event as a stable characteristic attributed to the sentence subject. In order to express this idea English has a specific construction *used to + infinitive.*

30. *She was going to the supermarket every day.
31. She used to go to the supermarket every day.

Nevertheless, there are some specific cases in which the Past Progressive is used to express eventualities repeating in the past. However this usage is highly marked, because the habitual Past Progressive always implicates a negative attitude of the speaker towards the repeated event he is talking about: Maybe this function is related to the fact that with the Past progressive, unlike with the *used to* construction, each occurrence of the event is individually given and presented as ongoing. Therefore the accent can be on the reaction that the event in question produced each time it occurred. The adverbs typically used in this kind of sentences (*always, constantly, persistently, relentlessly*) underlines that the speaker is troubled not only by the nature of eventuality he describes, but also by its repetition.

32. We were always getting into fights.
33. She was constantly coming to class late.

4) The Past simple tense

Unlike the Present perfect tense the Past simple tense (its temporal instruction being R<S) situates eventualities in the past delimiting it from the moment of speech. The problem arises when it comes to its aspectual instruction. Is its imperfective ($R \subseteq E$) or perfective $E \subseteq R$? If the Past simple tense is imperfective then, since grammatical aspectual instructions are by default stronger then lexical ones, with telic verbs it would create a picture of unbounded (or iterative) events and there would be no temporal progress ($TA \subseteq E$ and TA=R).

The following examples show that telic eventualities in the Past tense are seen as global and accomplished and that in addition they license a temporal progression:

34. When John looked at Mary (TA), she smiled at him (E). TA<E
35. He entered (TA) and closed the door (E). TA<E.

Conversely, if we assume that the Past tense obligatory gives a perfective instruction (like the passé simple in French) then it would generate a perfective interpretation of atelic verbs and consequently produce the effect of temporal progression. Again the examples given below show that the Past tense does not interfere with the aspectual nature of the predicates:

36. And we sang to the wind as we danced through the night
37. The children played table games and their parents watched TV.

This means that with activities ongoing in R, it can alternate with the Past Progressive:

38. "What a night!" he said. It was a horrible night indeed. The wind was howling / howled[232] around the house.

As a final point, we should highlight that since the Past progressive cannot be combined with states, the Past simple is the only option for denoting static eventuality that existed in the past. Naturally, the aspectual relation here is R⊆E and the state serves a frame for the telic action:

39. A man came in (TA). He had blue eyes (E)

Unsurprisingly, the Past tense of activities and states is always translated with French Imperfect[233]. On the whole, it follows that the Simple Past should be considered as aspectually neutral. In addition this tense puts no specific constraints on the aspectual nature of predicates. It can be combined with states, activities, accomplishment and achievements. With perfective (telic) verbs we get E⊆R and hence no temporal progression, while with imperfective (atelic) we get R⊆E and the time is moving forward. This validates our hypothesis (see Ašić & Stanojević, 2009[234]) that aspectual neutrality of a tense underlies its discursive neutrality.

Before moving to the general conclusion we would like to point out to one additional interpretational value of the Past Tense. Namely it can, in some types of sentence, designate habitual past just like the French imperfect. Actually, this particular usage of the past tense is favored with negative predicates, indefinite and inanimate subjects, stative verbs and the second person subject ((Tagliamonte & Lawrence, 2000).

---

232 Here in French we can only use the Imperfect (*le vent hurlait au tour de la maison).*

233 Un homme entra. Il avait des yeux bleus. // Quand je l'ai rencontré pour la première fois il avait 20 ans:

234 We have shown that this is also valid for the Simple future tense in French.

But, for a proper understanding of the basic semantics of this tense it is essential to underline that even when the Past tense represents a series of event it quantifies over them cumulatively, marking the set of reiterated events as a whole (see Binnick, 2005)[235].

5. Conclusion

In this paper we have shown that a proper contrastive study of the meaning and usages of verbal tenses in different languages has to be based on a systematic description and detailed analysis of their temporal and aspectual instructions.

Our main finding is that the explanation of the differences in the usage of the preterital tenses in French and English has to be based on three parameters: the aspectual (view-point) instruction; the aspectual constraints, which concern the selection of the eventuality type of the predicate; and the type of meronymic relation between the reference point R and the eventuality E.

The first parameter clarifies why the aspectually neutral Past Tense has a wider distribution then The French passé simple, with which states and processes are quantized by coercion because its input condition is an obligatory event. The second parameter and third parameter enlighten the cases in which the French Imperfect cannot be translated with its presumable English equivalent, the Past progressive. On the whole, we have shown that the grammatical rules regulating the usage of verbal tenses across languages are not accidental and arbitrary. They can by easily formally expressed and explained with some clear-cut conceptual oppositions. Hence, any *ad hoc* explanation of some specific usage of a particular verbal tense and its stylistic effects should cede place to accurate and systematic semantic analyses. This insight should not be neglected in further analyses of the functions and features of verbal tenses in natural languages.

Literature

Ašić, T. (2008) **Espace, temps, prépositions**, Droz: Genève

Binnick, R. (2005) "The Markers of Habitual Aspect in English", **Journal of English Linguistics**, 33.44, pp. 339-369

Ašić, T. & Stanojević, V. (2009) «Le futur, l'ordre temporel et les inférences contextuelles», **Entre sens et signification**, Harmattan, Paris, pp. 19-32

[235] By contrast *would* in its temporal usage quantifies over habitual events distributively: *As a child she would often come to my room, put her dool on my bed and sit next to me while I was working.* Here each past event is individually presented.

Ašić, T. & Stanojević V. (2008) "Aspectual coercion and some uses of tenses in French and English", **English language and literature studies: structures across cultures ELLSSAC** *Proceedings,* VOL 1, pp. 47-59

Borik, O. and Reinhart, T. (2004) "Telicity and perfectivity: two independent systems", in Hunyadi, L, Rakosi G. and Toth, E. (eds.) **Proceedings of LOLA 8** *(Symposium on Logic and Language),* Debrecen, Hungary

Crystal, D. (2006) **Making sense of grammar,** London: Longman

Filip, H. (1999) **Aspect, Eventuality Types, and Nominal Reference**, Garland: New York

Kamp, H. & Reyle, U. (1993) **From Discourse to Logic**, Dordrecht: Kluwer

Krifka, M. (1989) "Nominal reference, temporal constitution, and quantification in event semantics", in Bartsch, R, van Benthem, J. and van Emde Boas P. (eds.) **Semantics and ontextual expressions,** Foris: Dordrecht, pp. 75-115

Stanojević, V. i Ašić, T. (2008) **Semantika i pragmatika glagolskih vremena u francuskom jeziku,** Kragujevac: FILUM

Swart, de H (1998) "Aspect shift and coercion", **Natural language and linguistic theory,** 16, pp. 346-85

Tagliamonte, S. and Lawrence, H. (2000) "I used to dance, but I don't dance now" - The Habitual past in English", **Journal of English Linguistics***,* 28(4), pp. 323-353

Vendler, Z. (1957) "Verbs and times", **Philosophical Review** 56, pp. 143-160

Verkuyl, H. (1993) **A theory of aspectuality: the interaction between temporal and atemporal structure**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

UDK 81'373.74

Vesna Deželjin

FRAZEMI S ALOGLOTSKIM ELEMENTOM

Apstrakt: *Istočna obala Jadranskoga mora povijesno je susretište jezika i kultura, o čemu svjedoče mnogobrojni dokazi. Nakon 1815. godine i uspostavljanja Habsburške vlasti od Trsta do Boke Kotorske, na već složenu jezičnu sliku istočnojadranske obale, znatnije počinje utjecati njemački jezik, odnosno njegov austrijski varijetet. Na temelju višegodišnjega proučavanja mletačke koinè, i to uglavnom u autorskim, književnim tekstovima, u radu se daje pregled frazema i lokucija koji pripadaju spomenutoj koinè, a osobiti su po tomu što je jedna od sastavnica aloglotski element. Spomenute leksičke tvorevine prikupljene su iščitavanjem tekstova tršćanskih autora, a zanimljivo je da su samo neke potvrđene u rječnicima talijanskih idioma u uporabi od Trsta do Boke Kotorske.*

Ključne riječi: *jezično posuđivanje, istočni Jadran, frazemi s aloglotskim elementom*

1. Uvod

Nadasve zanimljivo područje na kojemu se mogu proučavati dodiri jezika i kultura predstavljaju frazemi[236] nekog idioma. U ovom se radu zanimamo samo frazemima u užem smislu, tj. sintaktički vezanim riječima, koji su osobiti po tome što je svaki sastavljen od elementa matičnoga sustava i aloglotskog elementa, pa smo ih nazvali aloglotski frazemi[237]. Ti složeni leksemi odražavaju potpunu asimilaciju posuđenoga elementa u sustavu primatelju, a posuđenica je počesto doživjela i značenjsku promjenu. Zanemarit ćemo postojeće kriterije za navođenje frazema te ćemo zabilježene primjere navesti prema jeziku iz kojega aloglotski element potječe, jer se na taj način stječe bolji uvid u ulogu alogenih jezičnih elemenata u jeziku primatelju.

2. Jezični sustav i alogeni elementi

[236] A. Menac definira frazem kao vezu riječi koja udovoljava ovim zahtjevima: frazem se ne stvara u govornom procesu, već se rabi u gotovome obliku (premda može doći do odstupanja od norme); frazem ima stalan sastav i raspored jezičnih sastavnica; značenje frazema je leksikalizirano, budući da sastavnice (sve ili samo neke) doživljavaju u spoju semantičku pretvorbu; svaki se frazem uklapa u rečenicu kao njezin sastavni dio. Usp. Menac, 1994:161.

[237] Iako se i frazemi posuđuju, R. Gusmani, koji za frazem rabi termin "sintem", napominje da su kalkovi mnogo češći. Usp. Gusmani, 1993: 209-216.

Naši primjeri dolaze u proznim tekstovima tršćanskih autora Line Carpinterija i Mariana Faragune, poznatima pod naslovom *maldobrìe* (cfr. Deželjin, 2008). Riječ *maldobrìa/e*, koja stoji u naslovu prve od šest knjiga pripovijesti, ne postoji ni u kojemu varijetetu tršćanskoga dijalekta, ali niti u bilo kojemu, njemu dodirnom idiomu (talijanskom, slovenskom ili hrvatskom). No, ona ipak nije nerazumljiva, jer se uočavaju dva segmenta: *mal* i *dobrìa*. Prvi upućuje na talijansku riječ *malo* (*adj.*) odnosno *male* (*adv.*) ili latinske ekvivalente *malus* odnosno *male*, a drugi segment svakako dolazi od hrvatskih (ili slovenskih) riječi *dobar* (*dober*), *dobra*, *dobro* (*adj.*) ili *dobro* (*adv.*). Spojeni segmenti tvore cjelinu koja je zatim, pomoću plodnoga sufiksa *-ìa*[238], transkategorizirana, te je u našoj *koinè* postala imenicom ženskoga roda, *maldobrìa/ maldobrìe*, i izvrstan je primjer motivacije u jeziku jer se njome označava nešto što je loše i dobro istodobno. *Maldobrìe*, unatoč konvencionalnosti izražaja, ipak oponašaju govorni jezik na teritoriju o kojemu se pripovijeda. Neovisno o razlikama morfološke, a zacijelo i fonološke prirode, koje se uočavaju u idiolektu protagonista pripovijedaka koji dolaze iz različitih mjesta s istočnoga Jadrana, nedvojbeno je da se jezik *maldobrìa* može definirati kao *koinè* italo-venetskoga tipa (Zamboni, 1988; Ursini, 1992: 545-547; napomene u VG[239], str. XLVI; Bidwell, 1967) i time potvrđuju dugotrajnu romansko-slavensku simbiozu (Muljačić, 2000: 32, 85).

No, italo-venetski idiomi posuđivali su i od drugih jezika s kojima su dolazili u dodir, a misli se ponajprije na latinski, kao jezik crkve i općenito kulture, zatim na njemački jezik, što je posljedica nazočnosti habsburške državne vlasti ali i stanovite civilizacijske i tehnološke dominacije germanofonoga entiteta, a svakako i na mađarski, francuski, itd.

3. Adaptacija aloglotskih elemenata

Prigoda ne omogućava iscrpan prikaz načina adaptiranja posuđenicā, pa ćemo, sažimajući, reći da su u postupku prilagođivanja aloglotskih elemenata idiomu *maldobrìa* na fonološkoj razini vidljivi svi tipovi transfonemizacije, tj. nulta (djelatna uvijek kod samoglasnika koji se ne razlikuju po otvoru ili kod suglasnika koji se podudaraju s obzirom na mjesto i način artikulacije), djelomična (npr. *e* = /ɛ/ > *e* /e/), kompromisna (primjetna u «pojednostavljenju» pojedinih suglasničkih skupina u germanizmima i kroatizmima i u degeminaciji), kao i slobodna (djelatna kada se radi o njemačkim fonemima /ə, ö, ü/, odnosno /š/ u njemačkom i hrvatskom), kao i neke druge glasovne promjene, poput primjerice gubitka /h/ u germanizmima budući da u jeziku primatelju ne postoji niti jedan sličan spirant. U ortografskom sustavu jezika primatelja ne postoji grafem *k*, pa se rabi *c* (+ sugl., *a*, *o*, *u*: *Kopfweh* > *cofe*) ili digram *ch* (+ *e*, *i*), osim kod riječi

[238] Sufiks -*ìa*, grčkog podrijetla (odgovara u grčkom latinskom ekvivalentu -`ia) sudjeluje u tvorbi apstraktnih imenica od pridjeva i drugih značenjskih skupina (Tekavčić, 1972: 46-47), a dolazi i kao dio sufiksa *–erìa* (Tekavčić, 1972: 42).

[239] VG stoji za *Vocabolario giuliano*. Zbog pojednostavljenja, najčešće korišteni rječnici u cijelomu su radu navedeni kao kratica koja, u odjeljku **Literatura: Rječnici**, stoji na kraju svake natuknice.

kuraz (gdje je zadržan zbog ekspresivnosti) i *Kategorie* (gdje možda signalizira pisani kanal ulaska). Fonem /c/ bilježi se u *maldobrìama* uvijek grafemom *z*: *kùraz* (< *kurac*), *jaize* (< *jajce*). Posuđenice koje završavaju na suglasničku skupinu podvrgnute su postupku paradigmatske integracije (Gusmani, 1993: 349) odnosno potpune transmorfemizacije (Filipović, 1986), primjerice, *Kost* > *costo.*

4. Frazemi s germanskim aloglotskim elementom

4.1. Frazem *diventar cofe* (*cofe* < *Kopfweh*) u značenju "postati lud", "poludjeti" bilježe GDDT (163[240]) i VG (226). Prvi ga veže uz *Kopfweh* ("glavobolja", usp. NJHSR, *s.v. Kopfschmerz*, OW, *s.v. Kopfweh*). Prema VG pridjev *cofe* proširio se iz njemačkog vojničkog jezika nakon prvoga svjetskog rata[241], a za DDC (50) prije spomenuta etimologija pridjeva *cofe* samo je *opinio communis* jer *cofe* potječe od germanizma *Koffer*, (u tršćanskom *baùl*) s dva značenja: 1. denot., "kovčeg"[242] i 2. pren., "priglup", "ograničen". Sekvenca evocira zabranu pušenja za vrijeme straže u prvom svjetskom ratu: "Volè creder che i ne fazeva perquisizion prima de montar la guardia, per veder se gavevimo spagnoleti? (...) E po', savè, star tuta la note a caminar su e zò, senza la sodisfazion de un dò tirade, xe roba de diventar cofe.", P:204[243].

4.2. Neki *Jurìssevich* pokušao je u kabinu prvoga razreda unijeti ogroman pleteni kovčeg, sakrivši u njega svoga osmogodišnjeg sinčića da ne plati kartu i za njega. Kako je Unošenje glomaznih predmeta u kabine na luksuznom brodu bilo zabranjeno, pa slijedi prepirka između domišljatog putnika i nostroma na brodu: "E 'sto Màver: 'Propio perché xe gabina de prima classe, no podè portar drento cofe, perché questa ve xe una cofa e le cofe se le lassa in coverta!' - ' Cofe sè apena vù, se credè che mi lasserò la mia valisa in coverta!' ga zigà alora Jurìssevich.", V:279. U citiranoj sekvenci, frazem *eser cofe*[244], "biti lud", zbog homofonije *cofe* ("košare") - *cofe* ("lud"), pridonosi šaljivosti scene i podsmjehu na račun škrtoga putnika.

4.3. Za vrijeme pohađanja nautičke škole u Trstu dvojica mladića bila su smještena kod neke udovice: "Questi giovini che studia fora, (...) se li meteva in una famiglia a costo. (...) Le Nautiche i ve fazeva a Trieste (...) i ve stava a costo tuti dò in casa de questa...", F:131. Frazemi *mettere a costo* i *stare a costo* (*costo* < *Kost*) prizivaju u sjećanje slične izričaje u njemačkom jeziku (NJHSR, *s.v. Kost*, OW, 280), a u substandardnom hrvatskom postoji izraz *košta, koštirati se*, u značenju "hraniti se kod nekog". GDDT (177-178) tvrdi

---

[240] Prema GDDT (163) riječ se proširila i u dio slovenskoga jezika.

[241] U nastavku objašnjenja VG (226) kaže:. "A tutti ci doleva il capo durante quella guerra; avevamo Kopwehe e da buoni austriaci, dopo un secolo di tentativi snazionalizzatori quella parola tedesca in boca nostra diventò *cofe*."

[242] U razgovornom registru hrvatskoga isto se rabi germanizam: *kofer* (usp. RHJ, *s. v.*).

[243] Naslovi djela iz kojih su preuzeti naši primjeri u članku se navode kao kratice, o čemu vidjeti Literatura: Temeljna literatura.

[244] Ovaj frazem izrijekom bilježi VDVD, 55: *eser còfe.*

da riječ *costo* u tršćanskom, valja zbog sličnosti značenja povezati s njemačkim *Kost*[245], a ne s talijanizmom *costo*. Bez podataka o podrijetlu VG (258) i DDC (56) potvrđuju slabu rasprostranjenost[246] tršćanskog *costo*.

4.4. Frazem *eser de Erste Katergorì* (*Erste Kategorì* < *Erster Kategorie*, "biti prve kategorije", biti najbolji") nastaje pretvaranjem pridjevske sintagme u funkciji atributa (*erster Kategorie)* u prijedložnu sintagmu *de Erste Kategori*. Dolazi nekoliko puta: "el Comandante Ivàncich, ve iera comandante de Erste Kategorì", F:77; "E lu, che iera là in 'sto logo Erste Kategorì , servì da un subisso de camerieri", V:25[247].

4.5. Frazem *ganze responsabilitèt* (*ganze* < *ganz,-e*) stoji umjesto talijanskoga *assumersi/ prendersi per intero la responsabilità* ("preuzeti odgovornost"). Glumeći liječnika u ruskom zarobljeništvu 1917. (usp. 7.), pripovjedač nije poduzeo ništa oko "upale slijepoga crijeva" kod zarobljenika Dalmatinca jer je shvatio da se i ovaj pretvara. Zato je pravi liječnik, Rus, ništa ne sluteći, odgovorio "kolegi": "Va ben - mi dice - io rispeto opinion di colega ... però voi vi prendete tuta la responsabilità, ganze responsabilitét ...".., P:116. Frazem potkrepljuje poštovanje koje je, unatoč ratnim uvjetima i zarobljeništvu, uživala njemačka liječnička diploma, kao i njezin nositelj. Riječ *responsabilität**[248] u suvremenom standardnom njemačkom ne postoji, pa vjerujemo da u *responsabilitét* ne treba tražiti posuđeni germanizam, već uočiti "germanizaciju" talijanizma *responsabilità*, posredstvom funkcionalnog morfema /te*t/*[249].

4.6. Frazem *montar el futer* (*futer* < *Futter*) ponajprije znači "dizati hranu" u želucu, tjerati na povraćanje, (< *Futter*, "hrana", "jelo"), ali semantičkim premještanjima postiže se preneseno značenje "naljutiti se", "uzbuditi se" i sl., pa je moguća svjesna ili podsvjesna veza s *infottarsi* ("arrabbiarsi") i *fotta* ("rabbia", usp. također VDRI, 396, *s.v. fuota*). U pripovijetkama taj frazem uvijek ima preneseno značenje[250], poput: "co' el Comandante Brazzànovich diseva una roba, iera vangelo. (...) perché se no iera come che el voleva lu, ghe montava el futer.", P:17.

---

245 Ista riječ postoji i u furlanskom u kojemu je germanizam. Usp. Faggin, 1981: 260.

246 Mnogi relevantni rječnici (DDT, VDVD, VDRI i još neki koje ovdje preskačemo), ne bilježe ovu riječ, te zaključujemo da *maldobrìe* uglavnom odražavaju venetske govore Hrvatskog primorja.

247 Isti frazem pojavljuje se u objašnjenju kako su Japanci uspjeli razviti visoku tehnologiju i proizvoditi različitu robu, ali ne vrhunske kvalitete: "Lori iera i unichi che se gaveva imparado a far le robe come nualtri: biciclete, machine fotografiche, orologi, ociai de sol, mudande de omo, con decenza, che no sarà stà, natural, de Erste Kategorì come che diseva el Comandante Brazzànovich, ma che però costava un bianco e un nero.". V:88-89.

248 Za pojam "odgovornost", standardni njemački rabi riječ *Verantwortung*. Lik *Responsabilität* zabilježen je u njemačkom (podatak smo dobili zahvaljujući Internettu), i to kod književnika Wilhelma Raabea (1831-1910). Ne znamo je li taj podatak poznat Carpinteriju i Faraguni.

249 Sufiks pripada skupini stranih imenskih sufiksa podrijetlom iz latinskoga, te dolazi u njemačkim latinizmima (usp. Wahrig, *Lexikon, Genus, 5.1.3*). Za Gusmanija to je primjer induciranog morfema u tekstu (Gusmani, 1993: 140-141, 149).

250 O etimologiji frazema dosta kaže GDDT (254), dok ga VG (415) samo bilježi uz neke primjere. Riječ *futar* postoji u furlanskom (usp. Pirona, *s.v.*).

4.7. O ulasku i podrijetlu apelativa *sope* (*sope* < *Suppe*) u sjevernotalijanske idiome u rječnicima postoje različita mišljenja[251], no mi držimo da je to germanizam[252]. Od mnogobrojnih, spomenimo neke primjere: "E dopo el fazeva sope de buzolini nel caffè bianco", F:324; "Ma la zupigava, la ve zupigava 'ste galete nel passito, nel vin passito. La fazeva sope.", V:96. Vrela ne izdvajaju strukturu *far sope* u značenju "umakati (komad hrane) u neki napitak" kao frazem: GDDT (649) navodi izraz kao proširenje riječi *sope*, a VG (1052-1053) svrstava taj frazem pod značenje "juha".

5. Frazemi s hrvatskim aloglotskim elementom

5.1. Frazem *fare ala domacia* (*ala domacia* < *domači, domaći*) dolazi u pripovijetci smještenoj u Istanbul, koja govori o nevoljama nastalim zbog nepoznavanja lokalnog jezika i nesposobnosti protagoniste da tamošnjim stanovnicima objasni što traži, premda se trudio i služio svojim poznavanjem drugih jezika: "Un poco in turco, un poco per tedesco, e un poco ala domacia", P:65. Isti se frazem javlja u pripovijesti o amaterskoj dramatizaciji nekog kazališnog komada i kostimima koje su amateri sami izrađivali: "Perché chi ne dava i costumi? Se se li fazeva de satin, de cotonina, ala domacia.", P:147. U frazemu *ala domacia*, u značenju "naš (domaći) način na koji se nešto radi", zrcali se talijanska konstrukcija (prijedlog *a* + određeni član + pridjev), a pridjev *domaći* (hrvatski), ili *domači* (slovenski i kajkavski varijeteti hrvatskoga), u ženskom je rodu jer oblik frazema implicira imenicu *maniera* (usp. *alla bolognese, alla romana,* kao i hrvatski kalk, *na domaću*). Proizlazi da se u prvoj sekvenci pripovjedač služio *domaćim jezikom,* zacijelo osobitim idiomom u osnovi kojega jest tršćanski dijalekt ali s utkanim elementima iz kontaktnih idioma. Niz referenci u pričama pokazuje da pripovjedač najvjerojatnije potječe s Lošinja[253] ili Cresa, čime je dodir sa slovenskim upitan, pa držimo da u *domacia* susrećemo umekšanu bezvučnu palatalnu afrikatu /ć/, tipičnu za hrvatsku čakavštinu tih otoka (Moguš, 1977).

5.2. Riječ *kuraz* (< *kurac*) aktualizira niz sekundarnih značenja, a kao element frazema uvijek signalizira još ukidanje svojstva i sposobnosti koje označavaju ostali elementi frazema. Dolazi u tri frazema.

5.2.1.Frazem *(no) capir (un) kuraz* ("ništa ne razumjeti", "biti glup") strukturalni je kalk (Gusmani, 1993: 221) u odnosu na talijanski model *non capire un cazzo*, u kojemu također pratimo poništavanje prve semantičke riječi (*capir*) zahvaljujući snazi sekundarnih značenja i ekspresivnosti druge semantične riječi (*cazzo*). U pripovijesti o zapovjedniku broda koji, nezadovoljan liječenjem u Trstu, odlazi u Beč na liječnički

---

[251] GDDT (650) upozorava da bi u skladu s etimološkim rječnicima talijanskoga (*s.v. zuppa)*, riječ *sope* u nekim sjevernotalijanskim varijetetima (Trst, Treviso, Feltre) mogla biti hispanizam, ili, ako je germanizam, onda se proširila iz španjolskog.

[252] Ovo mišljenje temeljimo na činjenici da u nekim kajkavskim govorima oko Sutle postoji izraz *sopati/ supati*, tj. «umakati», i tu se svakako radi o germanizmu.

[253] Djelomičan dokaz tomu je talijanski lik toponima *Ciunski*, koji, kao što nam pokazuje Skok (usp. 1950, *s.v. cit.*), u hrvatskom jeziku postoji kao Ćunski i Čunski.

pregled, komentira se: "'Sti dotori dela Cassa no capissi un kùraz.", V:23; "E che anca in una Viena che xe una Viena, 'sti dotori del kuraz no capissi un kuraz", V:2. Modificirani izraz komentira neuspjelo otvaranje sefa s važnim uputama o ponašanju u slučaju rata: "Ma vù, Kùraz che capivi, teste de Kùraz", M:62.

5.2.2. U posljednjem primjeru u 5.2.1. frazem je tvoren po obrascu x + prijedložni izraz[254]: *teste de Kùraz* u značenju "glupaci"[255], a po istom je tvorbenom principu nastao i frazem *dotori del kuraz*, u značenju "loši liječnici"[256]. Frazem potkrjepljuje emotivnost i negativni stav pripovjedača o referentu (*dotori*) ili interlokutoru *(vù*).

5.3. Pripovjedač se prisjeća situacije kada je sredinom tjedna ostao bez novaca i nije se mogao pripremiti za ples: "E insoma giòvedi, fliche no iera più. E de sera iera 'sto balo dela Dalmatica, e cisto iero.", M:!94. Frazem *eser cisto* (< *čist/a/o*), u značenju "bez novaca"[257] bilježe svi izvori[258] ali ne pod natuknicom *cisto*, već *cista* (što znači da je primaran ženski rod pridjeva), a informanti potvrđuju vitalnost frazema.

5.4. Musliman *Jerazìmovich* iz Budve, pokrstio se za vrijeme plovidbe na nagovor svećenika koji se slučajno zatekao na brodu. Unatoč prijateljstvu s njime, nostromo *Fatutta* na prijelazu turske carine običavao je reći: "In malora, 'sti mone de Turchi no fa che romper le jàize", V:32, 34". Frazem *romper le jàize* (< *jajce, jaje*), djelomični kalk talijanskoga izraza *rompere i coglioni*, izražava negativan stav o Turcima, a izriče ga i sam *Jerazìmovich* na kraju iste priče pred svojom tek vjenčanom suprugom na izlasku iz crkve, u kojoj se istoga dana pričestio, krizmao i vjenčao: "Ti vedi Anìci, come che xe 'sti Turchi: zà de pici i rompi le jàize!", V:36. To je odgovor na zadirkivanje muslimanskih dječaka zbog njegove vjerske preobrazbe, ali i komentar o ortodoksnim vjernicima koji, zbog uskogrudnosti, ne poštuju osobe drugačijega društvenog ili vjerskog opredjeljenja. Frazem bilježi samo VDVD ().

5.5. Frazem *dar zò cola siba* (< *šiba*), u značenju "istući šibom", bilježe GDDT (629) i VDVD (191), dok VG (1025) i VDC (217) bilježe samo apelativ *siba*. Prostodušni mladić po nadimku *Cuntento*, iz Valuna na Cresu, vježbao je brojanje brojeći kašete ulovljene ribe, pa mu je njihov vlasnik priprijetio jer nije želio da rezultat brojanja čuje porezni službenik: "Ancora una volta che ve sento contar cassette, Cuntento, ve dago zò cola siba, cola vostra siba, ricordèvese!", V:230.

---

[254] U venetskim govorima, kao i u *koinè* pripovijedaka, prijedlog *de* pokriva značenje i funkciju prijedloga *di* i *da* u standardnome talijanskom. Princip, po kojemu se prvi element, *x*, mijenja, vrlo je čest u talijanskom, neovisno o prijedlogu koji slijedi: usp. primjerice *casa/ tavolo/ piatto di legno*, odnosno, *opera/ lavoro/ libro da pochi soldi*.

[255] Usp. u hrvatskom frazeme nižeg govornog registra: *glup k'o kurac; kurčeva glavo!.*

[256] U hrvatskom funkcionira izraz "kurčev doktor/ liječnik".

[257] U nekim govorima hrvatskoga riječ *čist* može se rabiti u značenju "prazan": "Očistili su police.", tj. "Ispraznili su police.". U varijetetima Hrvatskoga zagorja za osobu koja je izgubila novac na klađenju, ili u kartaškoj igri i sl. kaže se "Oprali su ga!", tj. očistili su ga = ostavili su ga bez novaca, ili "Ostal je čist".

[258] Usp. GDDT: 155-56; VG: 219; VDC: 48, VDVD:53.

6. Frazemi s latinskim aloglotskim elementom

6.1. Izvori ne bilježe izraz *a gratis*,, no uporabu potvrđuju konzultirani obrazovaniji Tršćani srednje i starije dobi. U primjeru koji donosimo, osim primarnoga, aktualizira se i sekundarno značenje, a to je naglašeni podsmjeh na račun naivnih i prostodušnih. Dvojica prijatelja izvještili su se da u lokalima ne plate sve svoje troškove: "E qualche volta anca no i pagava gnente, perché i osti, stufi che tuti rideva, i li butava fora del local. - Ah! I fazeva per sparagnar? - No so! Mi calcolo che più per far bravure, come i fazeva. In Antivari i se gaveva imparado a farghela anca per croato, figurevese! E 'sti Croati, biastemando per croato, più de una volta, li mandava via a gratis.", F:93 6.2. U pripovijetkama se u nekoliko slučajeva javlja izričaj *mortus est e(t) non più buligaribus* (*mortus est* < *mortuus est*) sastavljen od dvije sintagme: *mortu(u)s est* i *non più buligaribus.* GDDT (100) i VG (129) bilježe *buligar* (< *bullicare*), odnosno *bulegar* (VDC, 31), VDVD (36) navodi jukstapozirane sintagme *mortuus est, no più buligaribus*, a VDRI (148), pod *buligaribus* navodi cijeli frazem. u značenju koje je u *maldobrìama*: tko je mrtav ne može se kretati i bučiti. Latinska sintagma uklapa se zahvaljujući morfemu –*ibus* (u *buligaribus*), funkcionalan koji zbog čestote, jer dodan ne-latinskom segmentu pridonosi "latinštini" izričaja. U prvomu primjeru pripovjedač pojašnjava da govori o pokojnom caru Maksimilijanu Habsburškom ("Lui iera mortus est et non più buuligàribus de chissà quanti ani!", M:81), a u drugom se izruguje strahu koji neki osjećaju uz mrtvace ("mi go paura del vivo, perché el vivo pol far del mal, ma el morto, /.../ mortus est e non più buligàribus", P:193).

7. Frazem s francuskim aloglotskim elementom

U priči o prvom svjetskom ratu protagonist priča kako su ga Rusi, igrom slučaja, smatrali liječnikom (usp. 4.5.): "che lu gaveva pensà che mi iero dotor vero, no dotor Blaga come che i me ciamava a bordo", P:114. Izvori bilježe samo riječ *blaga* (*blaga* < *blague* "hvalisanje, hvastanje", GDDT: 77, VG: 96), a ta je komponenta, u kombinaciji sa značenjem druge leksičke riječi koju opisuje (*dotor*), pridonijela stvaranju frazema eser *dotor Blaga*, tj. "biti šarlatan"[259].

8. Zaključak

Ukupno je prikazano 16 frazema, uočenih u otprilike tristotinjak pripovijedaka pisaca Line Carpinterija i Mariana Faragune. Neki su već otprije potvrđeni u rječnicima, a neke su potvrdili govornici. Udomaćenost aloglotskih elemenata u frazemu potvrđuje se u odnosu koji on u dubinskoj strukturi ostvaruje s domaćim elementima. Posuđenice u frazemima pokazuje da su oni posljedica intimnoga posuđivanja, što je posljedica, kao

[259] U svezi s tim frazemom je i poslovica koja dolazi u istoj priči: "Dotor Blaga, che ciapava el buso del culo per una piaga!", P:112.

što smo napomenuli na početku, izravnih komunikacijskih veza. Pri tomu latinizmi upućuju na teme života ili smrti, germanizmi vode do područja u kojima je njihov matični sustav bio dominantan u odnosu na jezičnu zajednicu primatelja (sfera javnoga, urbanoga i uglađenoga života), a kroatizmi sugeriraju da se njihov matični sustav veže uz sloj uglavnom jednostavnih, neobrazovanih ljudi, upućenijih na ruralnu sredinu.

Literatura

Anić, V. (1998) **Rječnik hrvatskog jezika**, Zagreb: Novi Liber

Bidwell, Ch. E. (1967) "Colonial Venetian and Serbo-Croatian in the Eastern Adriatic: a Case Study of Languages in Contact", **General Linguistics,** vol. 7, No.1, pp. 13-20

Carpinteri, L. e Faraguna, M. (1994) **Le Maldobrìe**, Triete: Mgs Press

Carpinteri, L. e Faraguna, M. (1995) **Prima della prima guerra**, Trieste: Mgs Press

Carpinteri, L. e Faraguna, M. (1985) **Povero nostro Franz**, Treiste: La Cittadella

Carpinteri, L. e Faraguna, M. (1983) **Viva l'A.**, Trieste: La Cittadella

Devoto, G. e Oli, G. C. (1997) **Dizionario della lingua italiana**, Firenze: Le Monnier

Deželjin, V. (2008) "Contatti tra lingue e culture nell'Adriatico orientale" in

Doria, M. (1987) **Grande dizionario del dialetto triestino**, Trieste: Ed.de "Il Meridiano"

Faggin, G., (1981) "Germanismi nel friulano (giunte al Pirona*)* ", **Ladinia**, No. 5, pp. 257-269

Filipović, R., (1986) **Teorija jezika u kontaktu**, Zagreb: JAZU i Školska knjiga

Gusmani, R. (1993) **Saggi sull'interferenza linguistica,** Firenze: Le Lettere

Hurm, A. (1989), **Njemačko - hrvatski ili srpski rječnik**, Zagreb: Školska knjiga

Kilibarda, V. e Vučo, J. (eds.) **Contesti Adriatici. Studi di italianistica comparata**, Roma: Aracne, pp. 107-143

Manzini, G. e Rocchi, L. (1995) **Dizionario storico fraseologico etimologico del dialetto di Capodistria**, Trieste e Fiume: Collana degli Atti del Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno

Menac, A. (1994) , "Frazeologija in različitim tipovima jednojezičnih hrvatskih rječnika", **Filologija,** No. 22-23, pp. 161-168

Miotto, L. (1991) **Vocabolario del dialetto veneto - dalmata**, Trieste: Lint, (VDVD).

Oesterreichisches Wörterbuch*,* 1991, Wien: Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag Wien, Jugend und Volk

Moguš, M., (1977) **Čakavsko narječje. Fonologija**, Zagreb: Školska knjiga

Muljačić, Ž. (2000) **Das Dalmatische**, Köln und Wien: Böhlau Verlag und Weimar

Pellizzer, A. e Pellizer, G. (1993) **Vocabolario del dialetto di Rovigno d'Istria**, Trieste e Rovino: Collana degli Atti del Centro di ricerche storiche di Rovigno

Pinguentini, G. (1954) **Dizionario storico etimologico fraseologico del dialetto triestino**, Trieste: Borsatti ed..

Pirona, G.A. e Carletti, E. e Corgnali, G. B. (1935) **Il nuovo Pirona, vocabolario friulano,** Udine: Borsetti

Rosamani, E. (1990) **Vocabolario giuliano**, Trieste: Lint

Tekavčić, P. (1972**) Grammatica storica dell'italiano, vol. III: Lessico**, Bologna: Il Mulino

Ursini, F. (1987) "Sedimentazioni culturali sulle coste orientali dell'Adriatico: il lessico veneto-dalmata nel Novecento", **Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria**, No. 15, pp. 19-179

Wahrig , G. (1988) **Deutsches Wörterbuch**, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Lexicon-Verlag

Zamboni, A. (1988) "Veneto", in Holtus, G. und Metzeltin, M. und Schmitt, C. (eds.) **Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik, Band 4,** pp. 517-538

UDK 811.111'42:34
UDK 811.161.1'42:34

Vladimir Ozyumenko

LINGUISTIC MODALITY IN ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN LEGISLATIVE DOCUMENTS

Abstract: *The present paper deals with deontic modality and its verbalization in English and Russian legislative documents. It focuses on comparing the usage of modal means and their frequency in English and Russian legislative texts and makes an attempt to explain the revealed differences through culture. The results of the contrastive analysis confirm the fact that grammar is an ideological instrument for the categorization and classification of things that happen in the world (Thornborrow, 2002). Alongside with other aspects of language it gives a lot of sociocultural information concerning organization of society, values, and relations between authority and an individual.*

Key words: *modality, English langugae, Russian language, legislative discourse*

1. Introduction

Every language is a self-contained system and, in a sense, no words or constructions of one language can have absolute equivalent in another (Wierzbicka, 2003: 10). It is true even for the categories which are universal as language is an essential part of culture. As Rene Dirven claims 'We communicate the world as our language structures the phenomena of the world and categorizes them as entities, processes, actions, space, time, etc.' (1989: 57). On the other hand sociocultural context impacts categorization. Contrastive and cognititive analyses of different languages gives a possibility of disclosing sociocultural information and sociocultural experience of a people embodied in the language. It concerns all the aspects of language including grammar. Modality is a vivid example of that.

Modality is a category which expresses different types of relations and attitudes between the utterance and reality, the speaker and the hearer. Being a universal linguistic category modality has its culture specific characteristics (see e.g. Bybee et al. 1994, de Haan 2007), as the concept of self as well as relations between individuals and their worldview differ across cultures.

Comparative analysis reveals that some languages have a more variable system of modals compared with others and the need in them can also vary. As it will be showed in the paper the English language has a bigger repertoire of linguistic means of modality compared to Russian and the category of modality plays a more significant role in the English language usage in different types of discourse, including legislative discourse. It will also demonstrate that there is no direct correspondence between sentences containing modals in English and Russian legislative texts.

2. Types of modality

There are different classifications of modality and the ways of its categorization. Traditionally it falls into three basic modal categories: dynamic, deontic and epistemic (Palmer 1979). Later Palmer (2001) reorganizes categories of modality and distinguishes between Propositional modality which is concerned with the speaker's attitude to the truth value of factual status of the proposition and Event modality which refers to events that are not actualized, events that have not taken place but are merely potential (Palmer 2001: 8). Propositional modality encompasses epistemic and evidential modality, and event modality encompasses deontic and dynamic modality.

Fowler (1985) proposes 5 categories of modality which indicate speaker's or writer's attitudes to the proposition they make. The attitudes fall into areas of validity – the speaker expresses greater or lesser confidence in the truth of the proposition; predictability – the future events referred to are more or less likely to happen; desirability – practical, moral, or aesthetic judgments; obligation – speaker's judgment that another person is obliged to perform some action; permission – speaker allows addressee to perform some action (Fowler, 1985: 72). While validity and predictability refer to epistemic modality, desirability, obligation and permission refer to deontic modality.

Deontic modality, as it is known**,** indicates how the world ought to be, according to certain norms, expectations, speaker desire, etc. In other words, deontic modals indicate that the state of the world does not meet some standard or ideal, whether that standard be personal (desires, wishes) or social (as in laws). It indicates some action aimed at changing the world to make it closer to the standard or ideal. Deontic modality also connotates the speaker's degree of requirement, of desire for, or commitment to the realization of the proposition expressed by the utterance. The point is that whether the speakers tend to sound directive or prefer to soften the requirement varies across cultures.

3. Modality in English vs. Russian

Linguistic study of modality is carried out within the fields of different disciplines, which study their aspect of modality. Morphology describes the lexical forms in which modality is manifested, syntax is focused on complex syntactic configuration in which modality may be manifested, semantics identifies modal meanings and explores the ways these meanings may be expressed, semantics identifies modal meanings and discourse analysis concerns the speaker's or writer's attitude toward the proposition or confidence in the proposition being presented. Modality is primarily located in the interpersonal component of the grammar and choices in this component are independent of grammatical choices in other components (Halliday, 2002: 200).

Modals have a wide variety of interpretations which depend not only on the particular modal used, but also on the meaning of the sentence independent of the modal, the conversational context, including to a great extent the cultural context: *You must do it immediately* (order) / *You must see this film* (advice) / *You must come for lunch tomorrow* (invitation) / *You must not touch it* (prohibition).

Modality can be expressed by different linguistic devices. In the English language they are: modal auxiliary verbs (*may, shall, must, need,* and others), adjectives (*necessary, evident, unfortunate, certain*), nouns (*obligation, likelihood, desirability*) adverbs (*probably, certainly, regrettably*), modal verb phrases (*had better, would rather, have got to, be going to*), modal expressions with *be* (*be about to, be due to, be obliged to, be supposed to, be meant to* etc.) (Fawler 1985: 73, Carter and McCarthy, 2006: 638 - 417). It is similar in Russian. But as for the possibility of conveying different shades of modal meanings and the regularity of the usage of means of modality significant differences between the two languages can be noted.

The English language is abundant in modals compared with Russian. It has a much more elaborated set of modals which gives an opportunity to express subtle shades of the meaning, including different degrees of requirement, obligation or desire. First of all it concerns modal verbs. In English for example there is a variety of ways of expressing obligation in different contexts*: You must do it/ You have to do it/ You are to do it/ You should do it/ You are supposed to do it* : *You must stay here* (this is an order) / *You have to pass a test before you can get a driving license* (there is no other way of getting it) / *You are to be at the station at 10* (as we have agreed) / *You are supposed to be on time for classes* (this is a rule) etc. All these sentences can be rendered into Russian with the help of just one modal word – *dolzhen* - which closest English equivalent is *must.* It does not mean that Russian speakers always give orders. In different contexts the pragmatic meaning of *dolzhen* is the same as in English sentences with *must / should / have to / is (are) to / is supposed to.* But for English who are individualists and value personal autonomy it is very important to have various means for expressing imposition of different force and to be extremely them from being too direct and imposing. For representatives of collectivist Russian culture it is not so important, their culture let them be more direct and demanding, they even do not have a big choice. As they are not used to bothering themselves about expressing different shades of obligation and choosing a proper word, they often face difficulty perceiving English modals and distinguishing differences between them, which affects understanding, translation and communication in intercultural contexts. To choose a proper modal while speaking in English is even a more serious problem.

Thus among the reasons causing impediments in understanding, translating and using English modality by Russian speakers there should be mentioned:

1. the lack of coincidence of the means of modality in the two languages
2. polysemy of modal verbs

3. differences in their illocutionary force
4. sociocultural differences which impact the choice of a modal.

In everyday interaction these differences may cause communicative failures whereas in judicial practice, which disapproves of any ambiguity or double meaning, the consequences of such drawbacks may be even more serious.

It should be emphasized that modal verbs have specific meaning in legal documents. For example the verb ***shall*** in texts of laws, orders, charters used with the second and third person retained the meaning of obligation which an ancient English verb ***sceal*** had. McMillan's Dictionary for advanced learners (MED) points out this fact saying '**Shall** (legal) is used in instructions and legal documents for saying that something **must be done**: *The court **shall** have authority to demand the presence of witness'.* In this meaning it is used especially in official writing to show a promise, command or law: *Payment shall be made by cheque and the terms shall be as follows...*(LDELC), used to say that something certainly will or must happen, or that you are determined that something will happen: *The school rules state that no child shall be allowed out of the school during the day, unless accompanied by an adult.* (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary). The verb *shall* in this meaning does not have a proper equivalent in the Russian language. It can be translated either as ***dolzhen (must)*** or it can be omitted as in the examples given by ERLD (2003):

1. *The fine **shall not** exceed 100$* – literally in Russian: *The fine **must not** exceed 100 $ (* Shtraf **ne dolzhen** prevyshat' 100$).
2. *It **shall** be unlawful to carry arms.* – literally: *The law **prohibits** to carry arms* (*Zakon zapreshchayet nosheniye oruzhiya).*
3. *The Senate **shall be composed** of two senators from each state.* – The Senate **is composed** of two senators from each state (*V senat vhodiat po dva senatora ot kazhdogo shtata).*

As we can see the first Russian sentence has a strong modal word ***dolzhen*** (must) which makes it sound directive and unequivocal. Interestingly that though the second Russian sentence does not have this word, there is the word ***zapreschat'*** (which is ***prohibit*)** instead, which seems to compensate illocutionary force of *ne dolzhen* (which is *must not*). Compare: *It **shall** be unlawfull - The law **prohibits.*** It is also worth paying attention to the fact that the Russian sentence has the word ***law*** as a subject while the English one has no subject which makes *state the act of prohibition as a general rule.* According to P. Brown and S. Levinson (1987) this is a strategy of softening the imposition which is one of negative politeness strategies. The word *law* as the subject in the Russian version of this sentence - *The law **prohibits*** - emphasizes the strong power of law and domineering role of the state over individuals. The third example at first sight seems to be neutral as it has neither *dolzhen (must)* nor any other imposing lexemes. Nevertheless its tone is rather categorical as it states the fact, emphasizing that there is no options. Nevertheless it might be supposed that illocutionary force of the verb *shall* is weaker than the one of *must* which is translated into Russian as *dolzhen*, and maybe for that reason it is omitted in the Russian text.

Hardly any English text-book pays any attention to the mentioned meaning of the verb *shall.* Meanwhile most of the English legal texts are knitted with it. In the English text of *Consolidated version of the treaty on European Union***,** for example, the verb *shall* is used 487 times (while *may*– 102 times, other modals verbs are rather scarce **-** *should* (6), *will* (8), *must* (3), *cannot* (2).

4. The data analysis

In order to obtain new data and to objectify the differences observed in the usage of modals in English and Russian legislative texts I have undertaken the comparative qualitative and quantative analysis of the English and Russian versions of *Charter of the United Nations.* This analysis was aimed at revealing the differences in the two versions of the document, concerning the usage of modals, their pragmatic meaning, illocutionary force, and their impact on the style. The English text was taken as a basis for the comparison. To explain the differences revealed in my study I have used contrastive analysis, basing the same on G. Hofstede's Cultural dimensions and Politeness theory.

The data confirmed the arguments presented in the previous section. Firstly, it showed a bigger variety of modals in the English text compared with the Russian one. While the English text had such modals as *shall, may, should, must, can, to be able to,* in the Russian one only *moch* (can) (in its forms *mozhet, mogut*)*, dolzhen (must)* were found. Secondly it showed significant difference in the frequency of modal usage. The statistic analysis showed that the above mentioned verb ***shall*** turned out to be the most frequent in the English text and was used 179 times, the verb *may* was the second in the rate (85). Other modals were rather scarce: should – 5, *might – 3*, *must, can*, *to be able to* were used one time each. The statistic analysis of the Russian text gave the following results: *moch (can)* – 56, *dolzhen (must)* – 30.

Thus on the whole modals in the English text appeared to be more diverse and frequent compared with the Russian text. On the whole 276 modals in English and 86 in Russian where found. Thus ratio was 3 to 1. Among the most frequent English modal verbs there were *shall* and *may;* the Russian text contained modal words *moch* (can) and *dolzhen* (must).

The third difference concerned English – Russian correspondence. The analysis showed that there were no truly equivalents of English modals in the Russian text. As a result the Russian text demonstrated a great variety of their translations. The most frequent pairs were as follow:

1. Shall – no modal

   Each member of the Security Council ***shall have*** *one vote* (article 27*). –* literally in Russian: Each member of the Security Council **has** one vote *(Каждый член Совета Безопасности имеет один голос) .*

The Security Council ***shall be*** *so organized as to be able to function continuously(article 28).* - literally: The Security Council is so organized as to be able to function continuously (*Совет Безопасности организуется таким образом, чтобы он мог функционировать непрерывно).*

2. Shall – mozhet (может) (can)

...the General Assembly ***shall not make*** *any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests* (article 12). - literally: the General Assembly **cannot make** any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests (*Ассамблея не может делать какие-либо рекомендации, касающиеся данного спора или ситуации, если Совет Безопасности не запросит об этом*).

3. Shall – dolzhen (должен) (must):

... party to a dispute ***shall abstain*** *from voting* (article 27) – literally: ... party to a dispute **must abstain** from voting *(...сторона, участвующая в споре, должна воздержаться от голосования).*

Each member of the Security Council ***shall*** *for this purpose* ***be represented*** *at all times at the seat of the Organization* (article 28). – literally: Each member of the Security Council **must** for this purpose **be represented** at all times at the seat of the Organization (*Для этой цели каждый член Совета Безопасности должен быть всегда представлен в месте пребывания Организации Объединенных Наций*).

It is interesting to note that *shall* was rendered as *dolzhen (must)* in 27 usages out of 179. Another curious fact is that Russian *dolzhen (must)* which was used in the Russian version 30 times corresponded to English **must** only once.

One time it corresponded to the verb ***should:***

...legal disputes ***should*** *as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court* (article 36). – literally: ...legal disputes **must** as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court (*...споры юридического характера* ***должны****, как общее правило, передаваться сторонами в Международный Суд в соответствии с положениями Статута Суда*).

As the verb ***should*** has the meaning of recommendation rather than direction the two sentences have different tonality. The Russian sentence sounds more prescribing, while the English one more recommending and soft.

The fact that there is no direct correspondence between the English verb *shall* (in the meaning of must) and Russian modal word *dolzhen* (must) enhances our assumption that its illocutionary force is weaker. If that is true English sentences with *shall* sound less prescribing than Russian sentences with *dolzhen.*

5. Conclusion

The results of my study confirm the fact that the English language has a more numerous set of modals, compared to Russian, and they are used more regularly. This peculiarity is characteristic of different types of discourse, including legislative, and it affects the style. Due to a great number of modals used in the English text which soften obligation and prescription it sounds more neutral while the Russian text which in general has less modals and instead of softeners contains a considerable number of modals with semantic of obligation sounds more instructive and directive.

As it is known obligation is connected with power (Fowler 1985: 72) and power is considered to be one of the main dimensions of culture (Hofstede 1987). Thus the reason of the differences revealed should be sought in culture, i.e. in social organization, cultural values, the concept of self, and the categorization of sociocultural reality. In the individualistic English culture, where power index is very low, an individual and his independence are main values. In the collectivist Russian culture where power distance is higher, a person on the contrary is subordinated to the state and the language shows this inequality in power. Perhaps that is the reason why English legislative texts sound less directive and prescriptive compared to Russian ones.

For objective theoretical conclusions deeper research is required. But it is quite obvious that there is no direct correspondence between the modals in the two languages, they have a wide variety of interpretations and the choice of a modal in legislative documents greatly depends on the cultural context. The last thesis confirms N. Fairclough's statement that language is always shaped by the material and social conditions in which it is produced (1995) and corroborates his view that discourse is linked with power and social structure. For legislative discourse it is particularly typical.

Thus for mastering Legal English it is essential to give students socio-cultural knowledge and use authentic texts, paying particular attention to modal verbs and to analise differences. Such approach will help to improve the skills of law students in practical translation of legislative documents.

References

Brown P. and Levinson, S. D. (1987) **Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Carter, R. and McCarthy M. (2006) **Cambridge Grammar of English. A Comprehensive Guide. Spoken and Written English Grammar and Usage**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Bybee, J. L., Perkins, R. and Pagliuca, W. (1994) **The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World**, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press

Dirven R. (1989). “Cognitive Linguistics and Pedagogic Grammar”, in Graustein, G. and Leitner, G. (eds.) **Reference Grammars and Modern Linguistic Theory**, Tübingen: Nienmeyer, pp. 56 – 75

Fairclough, N. (1995) **Language and Power**, London: Longman.

Fowler, R. (1985) “Power”, in van Dijk T.A. (ed.) **Handbook of Discourse Analysis**, Vol. 4, London: Academic Press, Inc. pp. 61 – 82

Frawley, W. (2007) **The expression of modality**, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

de Haan F. (2007) “Typological approaches to modality”, in Frawley, W. (ed.) **The expression of modality**, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 27 – 70

Halliday, M. A. K. (2002) “Modes of meaning and modes of expression: Types of grammatical structure and their determination by different semantic functions”, in J. Webster (ed.) **On Grammar**, London: Continuum, pp. 219 – 260

Hofstede, Geert H. (1984) **Culture’s Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values**, Beverly Hills CA: Sage Publications

Palmer, F. R. (1979) **Modality and the English modals**, London: Longman

Palmer, F.R. (2001) **Mood and modality**, 2nd ed, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Thornborrow, J. (2002) **Power talk: Language and Interaction in Institutional Discourse**, London: Longman

Wierzbicka, Anna (2003) **Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction** (2nd edn.), Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

Dictionaries

ERLD (2003) – Anrdianov S.N., Berson A.S., et al. **The English-Russian Law Dictionary**. 50,000 words and expressions. © RUSSO

MED (2002) – **Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners: International Student Edition**. Macmillan Publishers Limited

LDELC (1998) – **Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture**. Addison Wesley Longman

UDK 811.162.4'373.231

Wirginia Mirosławska

О СЕМАНТИКЕ СЛОВАЦКИХ МУЖСКИХ ИМЕН СЛАВЯНСКОГО ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИЯ

Содержание: *цель статьи – анализ семантики слов, мотивирующих словацкие мужские имена славянского происхождения. Материал был взят из словаря Милана Майтана и Матея Поважайа „Vyberte si meno pre svoje dieťa” (Братислава, 1998), содержащего современный словацкий именник. Анализируемый материал включает более чем 200 мужских имён. Из имён мной выделены их словообразовательные основы. Я привожу их в виде реконструированных праславянских лексем и даю их значение. Чаще всего они обозначают понятия, связанные с жизнью в племенной и родовой общине, положительные человеческие качества или относятся к семантическому полю «борьба». Обращает внимание высокая частотность словообразовательных основ, восходящих к праславянским словам *mirъ и *slava.*

Ключевые слова: антропоним, деривация, имя, лексема, словообразовательная мотивация.

I Введение

Целью статьи является семантический анализ современных словацких личных мужских имен славянского происхождения. Материал для анализа был взят из словаря личных имен Милана Майтана и Матея Поважая *Vyberte si meno pre svoje dieťa* (Bratislava 1998). Данный справочник содержит богатый и профессионально обработанный репертуар собственных имен. Авторы поместили в нем имена из списка личных имен, употребляемых на территории Словакии (список публикуется Министерством внутренних дел Словакии), а также несколько десятков имен, отобранных из *Словаря словацкого языка* (*Slovník slovenského jazyka*, Bratislava 1968) и материалов Словацкой академии наук.

Предметом нашего исследования являются все славянские имена из справочника Майтана и Поважая, а также антропонимы образованные по предхристианским моделям, но уже в ареале распространения словацкого языка. Эти антропонимы возникли преимущественно в XIX – начале XX веков. Они представляют интересный материал для исследования процессов возникновения личных имен.

При анализе семантики имен я пользуюсь методикой, применяемой Марией Малец в работе *Imię w polskiej antroponimii i kulturze* (Kraków 2001). При том, что данная монография дает анализ древнепольского материала, ее методика может быть с успехом использована для анализа личных имен в словацком языке. Автор указанной монографии анализирует значение лексем, выступающих мотивационной базой для отдельных компонентов имени, а также их грамматическую форму.

В анализируемых именах я выделила словообразовательные основы. Эти основы приводятся в форме реконструированных праславянских лексем – их значение дается нами с опорой на результаты существующих к настоящему времени исследований по этимологии личных имен.

II Разделение

1. Анализ лексем, выступающих как мотивационные базы к мужским именам славянского проихсхождения дает основания для разделения их на несколько групп.

Дом, хозяйство:
ПрСл[260] **domъ* ‘помещение, где человек живет с семьей, имущество, семейная сторона жизни’: *Domoslav*;
ПрСл **rodъ* ‘род’, **rodьnъ* ‘относящийся к роду, семье’: *Rodan*;
ПрСл * *sěmьja* ‘семья, род, принадлежность’: *Zemislav*.
Общественный уклад и деятельность, связанная с его организацией:
ПрСл **vitъ* ‘хозяин, правитель’: *Hostivít*;
ПрСл **volsti*, **voldati*, **volděti* ‘властвовать’: *Ladislav*, *Vladan*, *Vladen*, *Vladiboj*, *Vladimír*, *Vladislav*, *Vševlad*;
ПрСл **volstь* ‘волость, край’: *Vlastibor*, *Vlastimil*, *Vlastimír*, *Vlastislav*.
Ценности, важные в жизни общины и семьи:
ПрСл **darъ* ‘подношение, дар, жертва’: *Božidar*;
ПрСл **čьstь* ‘честь, доброе имя, добродетель, честь’: *Ctibor*, *Ctislav*, *Ctirad*, *Čestmír*, *Stibor*;
ПрСл **mirъ* ‘мир, покой, добро’: *Blahomír*, *Borimír*, *Jaromír*, *Ľubomír*, *Miroslav*, *Vlastimír*, *Vojmír*, *Žitomír* и другие, в совокопности 32 имени;
ПрСл **slava* ‘слава’: *Bohuslav*, *Boleslav*, *Liboslav*, *Ratislav*, *Slávo*, *Svetoslav*, *Tomislav*, *Václav*, *Vieroslav* и другие, в совокупности 53 имени;
ПрСл **svoboda* ‘свобода, воля’, **svobodьnъ* ‘свободный’, во множестве славянских языков в побочной форме *slob-*, напр. словацкое *sloboda*, белорусское *слобода,* сербское *слобода* и *слободан* ‘свободный’: *Slobodan*;
ПрСл **těcha* ‘утеха’: *Božetech*, *Mojtech*, *Vojtech.*
Деятельность в общинной жизни, окрашенная эмоцией покоя:

[260] ПрСл - праславянский

ПрСл **chorniti* ‘кормить, хранить ’: *Chraniboj*, *Chranibor*, *Chranislav*;
ПрСл **dati*, *danъ* ‘дать’: *Bohdan*;
ПрСл **dě(ja)ti* ‘действовать, делать, класть’ с приставкой *z-*, ПрСл **sъ-*: *Zdenko*, *Zdeno*, *Zdislav*;
ПрСл **gostiti* ‘принимать в качестве гостя, угощать’: *Hostimil*, *Hostirad*, *Hostislav*, *Hostivít*;
ПрСл **pribyti* ‘прибыть’: *Pribina*, *Pribislav*, *Pribiš*;
ПрСл **raditi* ‘советовать’: *Radim*, также возможно *Rodimír* (от более древнего *Radimír)*, *Radislav*, *Radivoj*;
ПрСл **stati*, *stojiti* ‘стоять’: *Stacho*, *Stanimír*, *Stanislav*, *Stojan*;
ПрСл **vortiti* ‘(воз)вращать(ся)’: *Vratislav*, *Vratko*.

2. Следующая группа исследуемых имен содержит лексемы, обозначающие понятия, связанные с войной.

Черты воина, военачальника:
ПрСл **bolьjь* ‘лучший, больший’, **bolje(jě)* ‘лучше, больше, более’: *Bolemír*, *Boleslav*;
ПрСл **gorazdъ* ‘большой, опытный’: *Gorazd*;
ПрСл **jarъ* ‘сильный, быстрый, суровый’: *Jaromil*, *Jaromír*, *Jaroslav*;
ПрСл **svętъ* ‘сильный, большой; святой’: *Svätoboj*, *Svätobor*, *Svätomír*, *Svätopluk*, *Svätoslav*, *Svätoš*;
ПрСл **velijь* ‘большой’, **vętje* ‘больше’, **vętjь* ‘больший’: *Václav*, *Veleslav*, *Velimír*, *Velislav*.
Деятельность, связанная с подготовкой к войне, с войной, с обороной:
ПрСл **bojati* sę ‘бояться’: *Bojan*, *Bojimír*, *Bojislav*;
ПрСл **boriti (sę)* ‘воевать’, **borъ* ‘walka’: *Borimír*, *Borislav*, *Borivoj*, *Chranibor*, *Ctibor*, *Dalibor*, *Ratibor*, *Slavibor*, *Stibor*, *Svätobor*, *Vlastibor*;
ПрСл **borniti* ‘оборонять’: *Branimír*, *Branislav*, *Bronislav*;
ПрСл **buditi* ‘будить’: *Budimír*, *Budislav*;
ПрСл * *kaziti* ‘портить, уничтожать’: *Kazimír*;
ПрСл **mьstiti* ‘мстить’ **mьstь* ‘месть’: *Mstislav*;
ПрСл **ortiti* (*sę*) ‘воевать’: *Ratibor*, *Ratislav*;
ПрСл **tomiti* ‘томить’: *Tomislav*;
ПрСл **vadim* страдательное причастие настоящего времени от глагола **vaditi* ‘отчитывать, порицать, обвинять’, **vaditi sę* ‘возражать, спорить’: *Vadim*.
Другие понятия, связанные с войной:
ПрСл **bojь* ‘война, бой, битва ’: *Chraniboj*, *Slaviboj*, *Slavoboj*, *Svätoboj*, *Vladiboj*;
ПрСл **gněvь* ‘гнев’: *Zbignev*;
ПрСл **pъlkъ* ‘полк, военное подразделение’: *Svätopluk*;
ПрСл **vojь* ‘воин’: *Borivoj*, *Milivoj*, *Vojeslav*, *Vojmír*, *Vojslav*, *Vojtech*.

3. Несколько десятков имен мотивировано лексемами, обозначающими либо черты человека, либо также черты животных и предметов.

ПрСл **bolgъ* ‘милый, приятный, благой’: *Blahomil*, *Blahomír*, *Blahoslav*;
ПрСл **čistъ* ‘чистый’: *Čistomil, Čistoslav*;
ПрСл **dobrъ* ‘добрый, хороший ’: *Dobromil*, *Dobromír*, *Dobroslav*;
ПрСл **dorgъ* ‘дорогой’: *Dragan* (*Drahan*)*, Dragutín, Draholʼub, Drahomil, Drahomír, Drahoň, Drahoslav*, *Drahoš*, *Drahotín*;
ПрСл **ljubъ* ‘любый, любимый’, **ljubiti* ‘любить’: *Draholʼub, Libor, Liboslav, Ľuban, Ľuben, Ľubomír, Ľubor, Ľuboslav, Ľuboš, Vieroľub*;
ПрСл **milъ* ‘милый, заслуживающий милости’, **milovati* ‘любить’: *Bohumil*, *Hostimil*, *Milan*, *Milovan*, *Milutín*, *Radomil*, *Tichomil* и другие, в совокупности 21 имя;
ПрСл **moldъ* ‘молодой’: *Mladen, Mladoň, Mladotín*;
ПрСл **radъ* ‘радостный, довольный’, **radovati sę* ‘радоваться’: *Ctirad*, *Hostirad*, *Radek*, *Radko*, *Radomil*, *Radomír*, *Radoslav*, *Radovan*, *Svorad*;
ПрСл **tichъ* ‘тихий’: *Tichomil*, *Tichomír*;
ПрСл **zoltъ* ‘золотой’: *Zlatan, Zlatko, Zlatoň, Zlatoš*.

4. В небольшой группе имён сохранились лексемы, относящиеся к миру природы и к происходящим в нем процессам:

ПрСл **květъ* ‘цветок’, **kvisti, kvьtnǫti* ‘цвести’: *Cvetan*;
ПрСл **orsti* ‘расти’: *Rastimír*, *Rastislav*;
ПрСл **světъ* ‘свет’, **světiti* ‘светить’, **světъlo* ‘ясно, радостно’: *Svetislav*, *Svetoslav*, *Svetozar*;
ПрСл **zar(j)a*, *zor(j)a* ‘заря’: *Svetozar*, *Zoran*;
ПрСл **žarъ* ‘жар’: *Žarko*;
ПрСл **žiti* ‘жить’, **žito* ‘плод земли, служащий для поддержания жизни’: *Žitomír*, *Žitoslav*;
ПрСл **živъ* ‘живой’: *Živan*, *Živko*.

5. Несколько имён содержат лексемы, обозначающие понятия, связанные с верованиями, с религиозным культом.

ПрСл **bogъ* ‘бог’: *Bohudan*, *Buhumil*, *Bohumír*, *Bohuslav*, *Bohuš*, *Božetech*, *Božidar*, *Božislav*;
ПрСл **duchъ* ‘дух’: *Duchoslav*;
ПрСл **duša* ‘душа’: *Dušan*;
ПрСл **věra* ‘вера’, **věriti* ‘верить’: *Vieroľub*, *Vieromil*, *Vieroslav*.

6. Несколько имён сохранило лексикон, который остается вне представленной выше классификации:

Акты воли:
ПрСл **chotěti* ‘хотеть’: *Chotimír*;
ПрСл **želěti* ‘желать, хотеть’: *Želimír* (*Želmír*), *Želislav*.
Пространственные отношения:
ПрСл **daljeko, dalječe* ‘далеко’, **daljě* ‘дальше’: *Dalibor*, *Dalimil*, *Dalimír*.
Принадлежность:
ПрСл **mojь* ‘мой’: *Mojmír*, *Mojtech*;
ПрСл **svojь* ‘свой’: *Svorad*.
Целость, целостность:
ЗСл[261] * *vьšь* ‘весь, каждый, всегда’: *Vševlad*.
Другие:
ПрСл **zbyti* ‘сбыть, избавиться’: *Zbignev*, *Zbyšek*;

Отдельно я анализирую имена, которые возникли по образцам, унаследованным из праславянского и из древних стадий славянских языков. Милан Майтан называет их „новыми славянскими именами”, часто приводя источник их происхождения и время возникновения. Большинство этих имен содержит лексемы, известные из древних дохристианских имен. Ниже я их привожу в алфавитном списке (соответствующие праславянские формы даны в предыдущей части статьи).

blaho-: *Blahoboj*, *Blahosej*;
boh-: *Ctiboh*;
boj-: *Blahoboj*;
cti-: *Ctiboh*;
dobr-: *Dobrotín*;
dom-: *Domoľub*;
duch-: *Miliduch*;
kvet-: *Kvetoň, Kvetoslav*;
ľub-: *Domoľub, Pravdoľub, Pravoľub, Slavoľub*;
mil-: *Krasomil, Ľudomil, Miladín, Miliduch, Milomír, Miloň, Milorad, Pravomil, Zdravomil*;
mír-: *Ľudomíra, Milomír, Tvrdomír, Zlatomír, Zvonimír*;
rad-: *Milorad, Radan*;
slav-: *Bratislav, Horislav, Hrdoslav, Hromislav, Hviezdoslav, Krasislav (Krasoslav), Kvetoslav, Levoslav, Múdroslav, Nehoslav, Pravoslav, Slavislav, Slavoj, Slavoľub, Vatroslav, Víťazoslav, Zoroslav, Zvonislav*;

[261] ЗСл - западнославянский

voj-: *Slavoj*;
zlat-: *Zlatomír*;
zor-: *Zoro, Zoroslav*.

Несколько (в пределах двадцати) имен содержат в своих основах значения, которые не обнаруживаются в сохранившихся в словацком языке дохристианских именах.

brat ‘брат’: *Bratislav*;
bystrý ‘быстрый, смышленый’: *Bystrík*;
hora ‘гора’: *Horislav*, не исключается происхождение от глагола *horieť* ‘гореть, пылать, загораться’
hrdý ‘гордый’: *Hrdoslav, Hrdoš*;
hrom ‘гром, молния’: *Hromislav*;
hviezda ‘звезда’: *Hvezdoň, Hviezdoslav*;
krása, ‘красота’, *krásny* ‘красивый’: *Krasomil, Krasislav (Krasoslav)*;
lev ‘лев’: *Levoslav*;
ľud ‘народ’: *Ľudomil, Ľudomír*;
múdry ‘мудрый’: *Múdroslav*;
neha ‘нега’: *Nehoslav*;
pravda ‘правда’: *Pravdoľub*;
pravý ‘правый, подлинный’: *Pravoľub, Pravomil, Pravoslav*;
sej, повелительное наконение глагола *siať* ‘сеять’: *Благосей Blahosej*;
tvrdý ‘твердый’: *Tvrdomír*;
vatra ‘очаг’: *Vatroslav*;
víťaz ‘победитель’: *Víťazoslav;*
zdravie ‘здоровье’, *zdravý* ‘здоровый’: *Zdravomil*;
zvoniť ‘звонить’: *Zvonimír, Zvonislav*.

III Заключение

В репертуаре личных имен современного словацкого языка выступают 197 мужских имен славянского происхождения. Большинство из них были унаследованы из праславянского языка или же образовались на ранних стадиях развития словацкгого языка.

Около половины проанализрованных имен содержат лексику, относящуюся к жизни общины и семьи. 20 лексем лежат в основе более чем 100 мужских имен. Две лексемы имеют особенно высокую частотность: элемент *slav*- повторяется в 53 именах, *mir*- в 32. Значительная часть лексем, составляющих мотивационную базу личных имен, относится к широкому полю войны, деятельности, связанной с атакой и обороной, с характеристиками вóина. В 50 мужских именах я выделяю 18 словообразовательных основ, которые относятся к этому полю.

Остальные семантические поля, которые образует лексика, сохраненная в именах, незначительны в количественном отношении. Свойства человека (возможны также свойства предметов и животных) представлены в 10 лексемах, сохраненных в 59 именах. 7 лексем, семантических связанных с миром природы, выступают в 12 именах. В 13 именах присутствуют 4 лексемы из семантического поля, которое относится к религиозному культу.

Большинство слов, составляющих мотивационные базы в мужских именах славянского происхождения, функционируют в словацком языке и по сей день. Обращает на себя внимание небольшая группа лексических архаизмов, которые можно выделить из анализируемого материала. Лексемы **bolьjь* (i **bolje(jě)*), **boriti*, **gorazdъ*, **ortiti* (*sę*), **sěmьja*, **tomiti*, **vitъ* не получили развития в лексической системе современного словацкого языка. Праславянский глагол **byti* развился в словацком языке в форме *byť* – он образует дериваты с префиксацией, но не с приставкой *pri-*, как в сохранившихся личных именах. В исследуемом материале также сохранились архаизмы семантического характера. Лексема **jarъ* имела в праславянском языке значение ‘сильный, быстрый, суровый’, **svętъ* – ‘сильный, большой’; лексемы словацкого языка *chrániť* ‘охранять, оберегать’, *diať sa* ‘подеваться’, *vlasť* ‘родина’ имеют более узкое значение, чем праславянские **chraniti*, **dě(ja)ti*, **volstь*, к которым эти словацкие лексемы восходят.

Своеобразный ренессанс славянской лексики на словацкой почве связывается с детятельностью Людовита Штура и его учеников. Верность идеям национального возрождения словаков подкреплялась у них принятием дохристианских имен, унаследованных из средневековья либо образованных по образцам традиционных имен. Благодаря этому запас славянских имен обогатился новыми, возникшими уже на почве собственно словацкого языка. Большинство новых имен имеют двучленную структуру. Они образованы путем использования традиционных, выступающих в более древних образованиях лексем. Высокая продуктивность словообразовательной базы *slav-* указывает на ее структурлализацию в функции компонента двучленной слообразовательной модели. Новые образования также возникли из лексем, не засвидетельствованных в сохранившихся традиционных именах. Эти новые образования чаще всего имеют семантику положительного и возвышенного характера.

Литература

А Словари и монографии:

Bańkowski, A. (2000) **Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego**, t. 1 i 2, Warszawa

Български етимологичен речник (1971 – 2002), съставители И. Георгиев и др., т. I – VI, София

Этимологический словарь славянских языков (1974 – 2001), ред. О. Н. Трубачев, т. 1 – 28, Москва

Majtán, M., Považaj M. (1998) **Vyberte si meno pre svoje dieťa**, Bratislava

Malec, M. (2001) **Imię w polskiej antroponimii i kulturze**, Kraków

Knappová, M. (1996) **Jak se bude vaše dítě jmenovat?**, Praha

Ковачев, Н. (1995) **Честотно-етимологичен речник на личните имена**, Велико Търново

Polskie nazwy własne. Encyklopedia (1998), pod red. E. Rzetelskiej-Feleszko, Warszawa – Kraków

Slovník slovenského jazyka (1968), t. 1 – 6, red. Š. Peciar, Bratislava

Słownik etymologiczno-motywacyjny staropolskich nazw osobowych (1995 – 2000), pod red. A. Cieślikowej, M. Malec i K. Rymuta, cz. 1 – 6, Kraków

Słownik prasłowiański (1974 – 1981), red. F. Sławski, t. I – IV, Wrocław –Warszawa – Kraków

Taszycki, W. (1925) **Najdawniejsze polskie imiona osobowe**, Kraków

Б Статьи из журналов:

Majtán, M. (1994) „Najstaršie osobné mená a vývin priezvisk na Slovensku”, **Slovenská archivistika**, 29, s. 94 – 109

Rymut, K. (1993) „Zasób leksemów w prasłowiańskich imionach złożonych”, **Onomastica**, XXXVIII, s. 5 – 19

В Статьи из сборников:

Habovšťaková, K. (1979) “Rodné mená v slovenčine”, in **Studia Academica Slovaca**, 8, red. J. Mistrík, Bratislava, s. 85 – 97

3.
KNJIŽEVNOST
LITERATURE

UDK 821.161.1.09-31

Алла Новикова-Строганова

ИДЕЙНО-ЭСТЕТИЧЕСКИЕ ФУНКЦИИ ТУРГЕНЕВСКИХ «ОТРАЖЕНИЙ» В РОМАНЕ Н.С. ЛЕСКОВА «НА НОЖАХ»

Аннотация: *Статья посвящена исследованию проекции творчества И.С. Тургенева в романе его земляка – писателя-орловца – Н.С. Лескова «На ножах». Показано, как образы, мотивы, реминисценции, отзвуки произведений Тургенева вплетаются в художественную ткань лесковского романа, обретая качества новой эстетической реальности. Устанавливается пересечение образов романа Лескова с жизненными реалиями родового имения Тургенева Спасское-Лутовиново Мценского уезда Орловской губернии.*

Ключевые слова: *литературоведение, Тургенев, Лесков, романное творчество, «Отцы и дети», «Дворянское гнездо», «На ножах».*

1. Введение

Тургеневская тема в лесковском романе «На ножах» (1870 – 1871) – важная составляющая далеко не изученной литературоведческой проблемы «И.С. Тургенев и Н.С. Лесков». Лескову было чрезвычайно дорого литературное наследие его старшего именитого земляка. В лесковской «Автобиографической заметке» (1882 – 1885?) первым и главным из писательских имён было названо имя Тургенева.

Тургеневское творчество постоянно занимало писательское сознание Лескова; было у него и на слуху, и на устах. Андрей Николаевич Лесков – сын писателя – вспоминал: «Тургенева отец считал выше Гончарова как поэта. Каждое новое произведение Ивана Сергеевича было событием в жизни нашего дома» (Вестник литературы, 1920, № 7: 6). Эту привязанность Лесков перенёс на страницы своих книг. Одно из наиболее весомых тому подтверждений – роман «На ножах».

Современная писателю критика односторонне оценила «На ножах» как роман-памфлет, отнесла его к «антинигилистическому» роду литературы. О нём писали как о «типично бульварном произведении» (Амфитеатров, б/г), в пылу полемики даже зачислили в разряд «полицейско-эротических» сочинений (Журнальное обозрение, 1871: 93). Сегодня в науке предпринимаются попытки объективного уточнения видовых характеристик, даются более взвешенные определения: роман «антибуржуазный», «полемический». В то же время «На ножах» – прежде всего религиозно-философское произведение, в основе которого

– христианское миропонимание автора, признававшего, что только в Евангелии «сокрыт глубочайший *смысл жизни*» (Лесков, 1956 – 1958, Т. 11: 233).

2. От тургеневского *нигилиста* к лесковским *негилистам*

Одна из важных исследовательских задач – изучение романа в аспекте межтекстовых связей. Созданный примерно десятилетие спустя после «Отцов и детей» (1862) он стоит в том же ряду «общественных романов» Тургенева, Гончарова, Достоевского и др., характерных для литературной ситуации 1860-х – начала 1870-х годов и отразивших всю остроту социально-политической, философско-мировоззренческой, религиозно-нравственной и литературно-эстетической полемики тех лет. На типологическое сходство «На ножах» с романами «Бесы» Ф.М. Достоевского и «В водовороте» А.Ф. Писемского, созданными в том же 1871 году, указывал сам Лесков: «все мы трое сбились на одну мысль» (Лесков, 1956 – 1958, Т. 10: 293). Стержневая мысль, о которой идёт речь, – исследование трансформаций русского нигилизма, его исторического и метафизического содержания.

Решение этой ответственной идейно-эстетической задачи для Лескова было немыслимо без обращения к опыту Тургенева – «представителя и выразителя умственного и нравственного роста России» – и прежде всего к его роману «Отцы и дети», в центре которого мощный образ нигилиста – «каланчи» (по выражению Д.И. Писарева) – Базарова. «Талантливым пером Тургенева обрисован Базаров, произнесено слово *“нигилизм”*» (Лесков, 1956 – 1958, Т. 10: 16), – подчеркнул Лесков вскоре после выхода «Отцов и детей». Далее писатель утверждал: «Я знаю, что такое настоящий нигилист» – и не скрывал своих симпатий: «Мне лично он нравится» (Лесков, 1956 – 1958, Т. 10: 21, 16). В статье «Николай Гаврилович Чернышевский в его романе “Что делать?” (Письмо к издателю “Северной пчелы”)» (1863), ориентируясь на образ «сильного и честного Базарова», Лесков ищет «способа отделить настоящих нигилистов от шальных шавок, окричавших себя нигилистами» и отъединяет «истинных, настоящих *нигилистов*» от «нигилиствующих» (Лесков, 1956 – 1958, Т. 10: 21, 22). Эта «полезная сортировка» была произведена в романе «На ножах».

Писатель рисует образы не просто «новых», но уже «новейших» нигилистов-перерожденцев. Они выродились в буржуазных хищников, капиталистов, ростовщиков, мошенников, продажных газетчиков, брачных аферистов, подлецов, предателей, убийц – преступников всякого рода, попирающих человеческие и Божеские установления, не верующих «ни в Бога, ни в духовное начало человека» (Лесков, 2004: 763). Модифицируют они и само наименование своего бывшего направления, теперь именуя себя *«негилистами»*. В основе этого лексического новообразования – слово «гиль» в значении «чепуха, ерунда». Идейный «вдохновитель» экс-нигилистов Горданов «в длинной речи отменил грубый нигилизм, заявленный некогда Базаровым <…>, а вместо сего провозгласил *негилизм* – гордановское учение, в сути которого было понятно пока одно, что *негилистам* дозволяется жить со всеми на другую ногу, чем жили нигилисты» (Лесков, 2004: 130).

Так «Отцы и дети» входят в «На ножах» в качестве одного из основных «претекстов». Тургеневский роман в деталях знают не только автор, но и его персонажи, которые выступают, в том числе, и как внимательные читатели Тургенева. Композиция образов героев во многом строится через содержание их чтения. Горданов как персонаж-читатель, определяя способы поведения и свою жизненную позицию, отталкивается от литературных образов: «пред ним прошли во всём своём убранстве Базаров, Раскольников и Маркушка Волохов, и Горданов всех их смерил, свесил, разобрал и осудил: ни один из них не выдержал его критики» (Лесков, 2004: 127).

Любовь Базарова Горданов признал «слабостью из слабостей». Сам он «никогда не чувствовал потребности любить» (Лесков, 2004: 216), однако в бесовском ослеплении превозносит эту патологическую черту как сильную сторону своего характера. Горданов вполне «оправдывает» собственную фамилию, забывая новозаветное предупреждение Апостолов самонадеянным гордецам: «вы возгордились вместо того, чтобы лучше плакать» (1-е Коринф. 5: 2); «Бог гордым противится, а смиренным даёт благодать» (1-е Петра. 5: 5).

Утрата Божественного дара любви равносильна отпадению от Бога, «потому что любовь от Бога, и всякий любящий рождён от Бога и знает Бога»; «пребывающий в любви пребывает в Боге и Бог в нём» (1-е Ин. 4: 7, 16). Удел Горданова – душевный холод и мрак, адская «бездна», призывающая «бездну». Это маскирующийся, «сумеречный» тип хищника (глава, приоткрывающая сущность Горданова, называется «Entre Chien et Loup» – «В сумерках»; по Пушкину: «Пора меж волка и собаки»).

В аспекте проблемы интертекстуальных интерпретаций важно установить, как трактует образ и личность Базарова сам Лесков в соотнесённости с его героем – читателем романа Тургенева. В статье «Николай Гаврилович Чернышевский в его романе “Что делать?”» писатель указал: «Тип Базарова многим нравится, многим не нравится. Мне лично он нравится, но я бы позволил себе пожелать ему быть несколько мягче, не мусолить собою без нужды непривычного глаза, не раздражать без дела чужой барабанной перепонки и даже, пожалуй, не замыкать сердца для чувств самых нежных, ибо они не мешают героизму» (Лесков, 1956 – 1958, Т. 10: 16). Как видно, в оценке Базарова Лесков расходится с Гордановым. С точки зрения писателя, любовь ещё более обогащает героическую личность. В то же время лесковская трактовка в чём-то перекликается с гордановской. Писатель так же считает, что «грубостию и сорванечеством ничего не возьмёшь» (Лесков, 2004: 130).

Гибель Горданова в конце романа содержит реминисценцию из «Отцов и детей». Как Базаров умирает от заражения, полученного от случайного пореза пальца при анатомировании, так Горданов – от укола на ладони, который привёл к ампутации руки. Смерть ярко высвечивает принципиальную «разность» этих человеческих типов. Базаровская роковая неосторожность была вызвана погружённостью героя в раздумья о неразделённой любви, захватившей всё его существо. Оттого смерть героя приобретает высокий трагический характер. Тогда как Горданов неосмотрительно поранился стилетом во время предумышленного убийства, которое явилось конечной целью запутанной сети хитросплетений и интриг. В итоге он сам стал жертвой преступных козней и происков: был предательски-позорно отравлен сообщниками. Так, проекция на финал «Отцов и детей» позволяет провести резкую разграничительную черту между высоким, героическим и трагическим образом нигилиста Базарова и преступником-«негилистом» Гордановым.

С образом Базарова входят в роман «На ножах» его последователи – «базаровцы» (Лесков, 2004: 129). По большей части они трансформировались в «гордановцев» (Лесков, 2004: 133) и вполне отвечают характеристике, данной писателем: это «грубая, ошалелая и грязная в душе толпа пустых ничтожных людишек, исказивших здоровый тип Базарова и опрофанировавших идеи нигилизма» (Лесков, 1956 – 1958, Т. 10: 19). Им негде взять «базаровских знаний, базаровской воли, характера и силы». «Нигилиствующие» только внешне пытаются копировать Базарова, не умея и не желая «дорасти» до сокровенной – героически-трагической – сути этого типа. Гражданское мученичество, готовность к самопожертвованию – то, что Лесков обозначил как «власяницу и вериги нигилизма», – были отринуты ради «нынешнего спокойного, просторного и тёплого мундира» (Лесков, 2004: 130). Экс-нигилисты с успехом мимикрируют и приспосабливаются к буржуазному устройству, органически с ним сливаясь: «Вот один уже заметное лицо на государственной службе; другой – капиталист; третий – известный благотворитель, живущий припеваючи за счёт филантропических обществ; четвёртый – спирит <…>; пятый – концессионер, наживающийся на казённый счёт; шестой – адвокат <…>; седьмой литераторствует и одною рукою пишет панегирики власти, а другою – порицает её» (Лесков, 2004: 137), – писатель обозначил самые разнообразные типы продажных, беспринципных дельцов.
В связи с этим снова возникает аллюзия на роман «Отцы и дети», где в знаменитой сцене идеологической «схватки» Базарова и старшего Кирсанова шёл спор о «принципах». С неотвязным вопросом о «принципах» приступает к Горданову «суетливый и суетный» Висленёв: «какому же ты теперь принципу служишь <…> какой у нас теперь принцип? Его нет?». «Мы отрицаем отрицание» (Лесков, 2004: 129, 217), – следует витиеватый ответ.

В реальности употребляются другие неприкрытые формулировки и откровенно циничные установки: «в жизни каждый ворует для себя. Борьба за существование!»; «всяк сам для себя, и тогда вы одолеете мир» (Лесков, 2004: 142, 147). Теория «дарвинизма», применённая к человеческим отношениям, разрушает человека как «храм Божий» и формирует «человека-зверя»: «Глотай других, чтобы тебя не проглотили»; «Живучи с волками, войте по-волчьи и не пропускайте то, что плывёт в руки» (Лесков, 2004: 132, 142). Как следствие – морально-нравственная порча, духовная деградация, отпадение от Бога, служение злу, вопреки заповеди: «Не будь побеждён злом, но побеждай зло добром» (Рим. 12: 21).

Слепая «вера в естественные науки» обернулась неизбежной ограниченностью и узостью взглядов. Так, «скорбная головой девица» Анна Скокова, или Ванскок,– честная, прямолинейная, «рьяная», из разряда «древнего нигилистического благочестия» (Лесков, 2004: 133, 131) – по-детски растеряна перед реалиями жизни: «Я прежде работала над Боклем, демонстрировала над лягушкой, а теперь… я ничего другого не умею: дайте же мне над кем работать, дайте мне над чем демонстрировать» (Лесков, 2004: 132).

Налицо реминисценция знаменитого завершения Базаровым его спора с Кирсановым: «будем <…> лягушек резать» (Тургенев, 1960 – 1968, Т. 8: 248). Лягушка как непременный объект естественнонаучных занятий и опытов нигилистов стала во многом благодаря тургеневскому роману их своеобразным символом. Лесков не обошёл вниманием эту символику и атрибутику. Так, «истинный нигилист» из числа людей старой «базаровской» закалки майор Форов носит массивный золотой брелок в виде лягушки с гравировкой: «Нигилисту Форову от Бодростиной» (Лесков, 2004: 27). Для бывшей нигилистки Глафиры, ловко вышедшей замуж за богача Бодростина и усвоившей себе циничную истину, что «повесившись, надо мотаться, а, оторвавшись, кататься» (Лесков, 2004: 81), как и для прочих «антигероев» романа, «борьба за существование не то что борьба за лягушку» (Лесков, 2004: 147 – 148).

3. Межтекстовые связи: «На ножах», «Дворянское гнездо» и «Дым»

В романе «На ножах» имеются и другие формы наличия «тургеневского слова», а также разнообразные способы его включения в лесковский текст. Приём косвенного присутствия тургеневской образности обнаруживается в повествовании, раскрывающем предысторию Павла Горданова. Внебрачный сын богатого барина и московской цыганки, он имел хорошее содержание, получил университетское образование, однако никогда не знал ни родных, ни дома, отданный в пансион, а затем в университет: «В жизни его было только одно лишение: Горданов не знал родных ласк и не видал, как цветут его родные липы» (Лесков, 2004: 128 – 129).

Образ «родных лип», несомненно, восходит к Тургеневу. По всей вероятности, Лесков был наслышан о знаменитых липовых аллеях Спасско-Лутовиновского парка в родовом имении Тургенева. В жизненной реальности и литературной традиции липы стали восприниматься как устойчивый знак «дворянского гнезда», отголосок тургеневского романа. В «Дворянском гнезде» (1858) липы растут в саду Калитиных; «тень от близкой липы» (Тургенев, 1960 – 1968, Т. 7: 208) падает на Лизу и Лаврецкого в его имении. Перифразу «родные липы» в значении домашнего очага Лесков употребил уже в первой своей повести

«Овцебык» (1862), в её лирическо-автобиографических главах: «я снова очутился под родными липами. Дома в это время не произошло никаких перемен <…> выросло несколько новых липок» (Лесков, 1956 – 1958, Т. 1: 64 – 65).

Воспитание и формирование человека вне семейной атмосферы родного «гнезда» несёт отпечаток неполноценности, ущербности. Духовное оскудение, голый рационализм и звериный практицизм Горданова во многом проистекают из этого источника. Не ведая добрых чувств, он «рано дошёл до убеждения, что все эти чувства – роскошь, гиль, путы, без которых гораздо легче жить на белом свете, и он жил без них» (Лесков, 2004: 129).

В романе «На ножах» встречаются также непосредственные указания на произведения Тургенева. В сознании персонажей Лескова прочно укоренилось тургеневское творчество, герои апеллируют к нему как к серьёзной аргументации. Например, Глафира ссылается в споре на эпизодическую героиню Кору, о которой составила «понятие по тургеневскому *“Дыму”»* (Лесков, 2004: 313).

Одним из распространённых способов включения «чужого слова» в текст является цитирование – явное и скрытое – собственно автором и его героями. Так, попав в контору к своему бывшему соратнику по «нигилистической партии» Тихону Кишенскому, Горданов обнаруживает, насколько ловко тот сумел «подковаться» – материально обезопасить себя от жизненных невзгод. Мысленно оценивая нынешнее положение «газетчика-ростовщика», герой прибегает к неточному цитированию тургеневского романа «Дворянское гнездо»: «Ему уже нечего будет сокрушаться и говорить: “здравствуй, беспомощная старость, догорай, бесполезная жизнь”» (Лесков, 2004: 167). В эпилоге романа Тургенева читаем: «Здравствуй, одинокая старость! Догорай, бесполезная жизнь!» (Тургенев, 1960 – 1968, Т. 7: 293).

Неточность цитаты объясняется не пробелами в памяти Горданова, а тем, что жизнь Кишенского нельзя назвать «одинокой». Он уже успел обзавестись многочисленным потомством, в том числе и от сожительства со своей фавориткой и «деловым партнёром» по кассе ссуд Алинкой Фигуриной, обокравшей собственного отца.

Вопрос вызывает другое: почему элегический эпилог одного из самых одухотворённых романов Тургенева используется в ситуации, связанной с тёмным, преступным образом Кишенского? Он не только скаредный ростовщик, держатель ссудной кассы, но и продажный газетчик, умудрившийся сотрудничать одновременно в трёх разных изданиях противоположных общественно-политических направлений. Одну из своих пасквильных статеек он озаглавил *«Деятель на все руки»*. Название как нельзя лучше подходит к нему самому и его разнообразной «деятельности». «Подлый жид» Тишка Кишенский – «ростовщик, революционер и полициант» (Лесков, 2004: 138, 166), наживший капитал аферами и предательством, в том числе, сотрудничая с полицией в качестве провокатора и шпиона, – никоим образом не соотносится с благородным образом русского патриота, дворянина Лаврецкого, чьи слова, мысленно произнесённые «хотя с печалью, но без зависти, безо всяких тёмных чувств, в виду конца, в виду ожидающего Бога» (Тургенев, 1960 – 1968, Т. 7: 293), процитировал Горданов.

Очевидно, «Дворянское гнездо», как и другие произведения Тургенева, после прочтения которых «легко дышится, легко верится, тепло чувствуется», «ощущаешь явственно, как нравственный уровень в тебе поднимается, что мысленно благословляешь и любишь автора» (Салтыков-Щедрин, 1939: 143 – 144), имплицитно выступают в художественной ткани романа Лескова как морально-нравственный противовес злодейскому миру безнравственных и бездуховных людей, преступно уничтоживших в себе Божеское начало.

4. Отношение образов романа «На ножах» к жизненным реалиям родового имения Тургенева

О «многослойности» романа «На ножах» свидетельствует ещё один историко-литературный факт, к которому обращает фамилия «Кишенский». Известно, что в творчестве Лескова, который любил, чтобы «кличка была по шерсти», сложилась своеобразная концепция заглавий и обоснования имён. Писатель признавал способность имени выразить внутреннюю суть человека.

Лексико-семантический ключ фамилии лесковского персонажа обнаруживается в украинском слове «кишѐня», что в переводе означает «карман». В «Толковом словаре живого великорусского языка» В.И. Даля находим слово «кишень» (вологодское западное) или «кишеня» (южное) – в значениях «карман» и «кошелёк». В Псковской и Тверской губерниях слово также обозначало «брюхо», «желудок». Указанные значения можно включить в единый образно-семантический ряд.

Кроме того, этимология фамилии «Кишенский» уходит корнями в иврит и идиш. «Кишене» на идиш – «карман». На иврите слово «кис», созвучное с «кэсэф» – серебро, деньги, – также означает «карман». Дизайнерский атрибут верхней одежды был предназначен в первую очередь для хранения денег (ср.: карманные деньги).

В русской фразеологии «карман» синонимичен слову «кошелёк». Ср.: держи карман шире; тугой карман (или кошелёк, мошна) – о наличии у кого-либо больших денег; тощий (пустой) карман (или кошелёк) – об отсутствии или недостатке денег у кого-либо; набить карман (или мошну) – разбогатеть, нажиться и т.д.

Делец, купец набивает свой карман, свою мошну. Он, по словам Лескова в очерке «Пресыщение знатностью» (1888), «мошной вперёд прёт». «Прибыльщики» и «компанейщики», «мужи кармана» (Лесков, 1956 – 1958, Т.11: 187; Т.1: 85), – так именовал писатель капиталистов, буржуа, банкиров, ростовщиков.

Поэтика и символика онима «Кишенский» значением «муж кармана» («богатый делец») не исчерпывается. В семантике созвучного глагола «кишкать» присутствует эмоциональный оттенок: «нагонять страх». В.И. Даль приводит следующее толкование: «Кишкать. южн. кричать киш, шугать, пугать птицу, гонять». Внешнему и внутреннему облику холодного, расчётливого дельца Кишенского присуще это устрашающе-зловещее, инфернальное начало.

«Толковый словарь» В.И. Даля содержит также словарную статью глагола «кишеть»: «копышиться, гомозиться, возиться кучею, толпою, кипеть, шевелиться в мелких частях своих. Муравейник кишит; черви кишат». Фамилия персонажа романа «На ножах», извивающегося в мошеннических махинациях и тёмных интригах, вызывает зрительную ассоциацию с отвратительным клубком кишащих змей. Это впечатление дополняют аллитерации шипящих и свистящих звуков имени и фамилии «Тихон Кишенский». Звуковые ассоциации, вызываемые именем, также значимы в поэтике писателя. Это подтверждают лесковская публицистика, поднимающая проблему исследования имён. Так, в статье «О русских именах» Лесков называет славянские имена «приятными для слуха». Писатель призывает способствовать «отрадному возвращению народного вкуса к именам приятного, родного звука и понятного значения» (Лесков, 1883: 245). Лесков чутко различает «своё – чужое» в ономастике. Инородными именами, как правило, наделяются у него отрицательные персонажи, далёкие от Бога, народа и родины. В чужеродной фамилии «Кишенский» также нет ни «родного звука», ни сразу «понятного значения»; приятной для слуха её также не назовёшь.

Семантика слухового и зрительного образа «кишащих змей» уводит далее к библейской и метафизической образности – змея-искусителя, врага рода человеческого, сатаны. В романе «На ножах» Тишку Кишенского сопровождают бесовские признаки. Он представлен не просто как «вёрткий фельетонист, шпион, социалист и закладчик» со своими «жидовскими слабостишками», ведущий «дело по двойной бухгалтерии» (Лесков, 2004: 474, 150). Его тёмные деяния показаны Лесковым как действие адской силы – «незримая подземная работа», «затемняющая» и «перетемняющая» людей, с которыми он привык «по-жидовски считаться» (Лесков, 2004: 183, 175).

Оценочная функция и философия имени лесковского персонажа намного сложнее, чем может представиться на первый взгляд. Писатель избегал «плакатных» именований для своих героев. В то же время его внимание привлекали особенные имена и фамилии. Морфологически и фонетически необычная фамилия «Кишенский» позволяет высказать гипотезу о том, что она не «выдумана» Лесковым, а могла быть ему знакома, была у него «на слуху». В те же годы, когда он работал над романом «На ножах», родовым имением Тургенева Спасское-Лутовиново в Орловской губернии управлял Никита Алексеевич Кишинский, о нечестности которого широко слыла молва. За время своего управления он нанёс Тургеневу большой материальный ущерб; махинациями приобрёл себе имение Сидоровку. «Надо Вам сказать, – писал Тургенев Ю.П. Вревской, – что я выезжаю из Спасского разорённым человеком, потерявшим более половины своего имущества по милости мерзавца-управляющего, которому я имел глупость слепо довериться; я его прогнал» (Тургенев, 1966: 295). Можно предположить, что Лескову, не прерывавшему связей со своей «малой родиной» («В литературе меня считают орловцем», – подчёркивал он), были известны эти факты. «Грабитель Кишинский» (Тургенев, 1966: 300) мог послужить одним из реальных прототипов Кишенского в романе «На ножах».

5. Заключение

Проекция тургеневского творчества, цитаты, аллюзии, реминисценции, перифразы, мотивы и образы вплетаются в художественную ткань лесковского романа как положительный идеал, позитивный и высокий ориентир, противостоящий низменной морали дельцов нового времени. Явную оппозицию тёмным силам составили любимые герои Лескова, исповедующие христианские идеалы любви, милосердия, деятельного добра: праведница Александра Синтянина, «испанский дворянин» Андрей Подозёров, православный священник отец Евангел. Подтекстовой оппозицией тёмному, безлюбовному, безбожному миру в архитектонике романа «На ножах» явилось тургеневское творчество, наполненное любовью и светом.

Литература

А. Книги

Амфитеатров, А.В. (б/г.) **Собр. соч. Т. XII,** Санкт-Петербург.

Лесков, Н.С. (2004) **Полн. собр. соч.: В 30 т., Т. 9,** Москва: ТЕРРА – Книжный клуб

Лесков, Н.С. (1956 - 1958) **Собр. соч.: В 11 т.**, Москва: ГИХЛ

Салтыков-Щедрин, М.Е. (1939) **Полн. собр. соч., Т. XVIII,** Москва: Гослитиздат

Тургенев, И.С. (1966) **Полн. собр. соч. и писем: В 28 т. Письма: В 13 т., Т. 13,** Москва, Ленинград: Академия наук СССР.

Тургенев, И.С. (1960 – 1968) **Полн. собр. соч. и писем: В 28 т. Сочинения: В 15 т.,** Москва, Ленинград: Академия наук СССР

В. Статьи, опубликованные в журналах

Вестник литературы (1920), № 7, С. 6

Журнальное обозрение (1871), **Дело**, № 1, С. 93

Лесков, Н.С. (1887) **Календарь графа Толстого**, Русское богатство, № 2, С. 196

Лесков, Н.С. (1883) **О русских именах,** Новости и Биржевая газета, № 245

UDK 821.111.09-31

Ana Dragana Jekić

THE TRAGEDY OF HARDY'S TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES

Abstract: *The tragedy of Tess of the d'Urbervilles and the other characters of the novel can be observed in the threefold way: 1) as the blind destiny – a chain of unhappy events which inevitably lead to a disaster, 2) as the downfall of an individual in a hypocritical and unforgiving society whose ethical rules he or she has broken, 3) as a tragedy of a human being which is, above all, a spiritual tragedy - a tragedy of a person driven by passions and illusions, which he or she is unable to conquer or even to recognise as such, due to the lack of spiritual standards.*

Key words: *tragedy, spiritual, Christian, Orthodox*

1. Introduction

"*The human race to be shown as one great network or tissue which quivers in every part when one point is shaken, like a spider's web if touched*"[262], wrote Hardy in his diary on 4th March 1886.

Hardy wanted to give life in its totality – past and present, time and space, men and women with their passions, hopes, fantasies - working and struggling with themselves and each other in the "great outdoors", struggling most often against nature and its law. The result of this struggle is always tragic. Human beings are portrayed as helpless victims of "*cruel Nature's law*" or social hypocrisy and double standards.

Much has been said on this, but we feel that something is still missing. "*The answer is that human beings, made in the image of the Trinitarian God, are interdependent. No man is an island. We are members one of another (Eph. 4:25), and so any action, performed by any member of the human race, inevitably affects all the other members. Even though we are not, in the strict sense, guilty of the sins of others, yet we are somehow always* ***involved***"[263], says Bishop Kallistos Ware in his book "The Orthodox Way". This quotation bears strange resemblance to Hardy's own words given in the beginning of the text, and from this perspective we shall try to discuss the tragedy of Tess of the d'Urbervilles.

Tess of the d'Urbervilles is a tragedy in six *phases* – as Hardy named the six parts of his novel. This is important because the word *phase* implies movement, so Hardy basically unwraps the history of Tess before his reader.

---

[262] Hardy, F. E.1962: 177
[263] 1979: 81-82

It is of great importance that we should examine the spiritual background of Tess and other characters in the novel to support our statement that their tragedy is above all spiritual - the tragedy of persons driven by passions and illusions, which they are unable to conquer or even to recognise as such, due to the lack of spiritual standards.

Tess and other inhabitants of Marlott (and Wessex) belong to Christian tradition, but it is indeed nothing more than tradition. The teaching of the Church of England has lost its vivacity, it is tired, exhausted, it became a mere shell, ready to be discarded by the people who find it nothing more than a form and a burden, and who instinctively feel that it has nothing to do with real life. It has become a shadow of a shadow of a living word of God. It can give neither comfort nor counsel. So, it is no wonder that the people turned to the superstitions of pagan days, to folklore beliefs and fortune-telling (Tess's mother often uses an old volume of *Complete Fortune- Teller*). But as for Tess, "*...(l)ike all village girls she was well grounded in the Holy Scriptures, and had dutifully studied the histories of Aholah and Aholibah."* [264]

A substitute for this limp and tepid religion some tried to find in other protestant teachings such as Calvinism. It is represented in the novel in the character of old Mr. Clare, Angel's father. And yet, Calvinism with its fanaticism and rigidity proves to be equally impotent as the regular enfeebled Church.

"Converted" Alec d'Urberville is delighted with Mr. Clare when he says to Tess: "*...old Mr. Clare – quite an exception among the established clergy, the younger of whom are gradually attenuating the true doctrines by their sophistries, till they are but a shadow of what they were...*".[265] This is just a fragment of a strange and long monologue which in truth is much more Hardy's than Alec d'Urberville's. It is not only about old Mr. Clare but at the same time it stands as the criticism of the Church.

Another sort of "religion" was becoming more and more popular in Hardy's time and we find it in "Tess of the d'Urbervilles" in the character of Angel Clare. He says: "*It might have resulted far better for mankind if Greece had been the source of the religion of modern civilisation, and not Palestine.*"[266] It is the "religion" of nature and reason, in which man and not God is in the centre of the universe; it also represents the return of ancient paganism, so it is no wonder that Tess ends up in Stonehenge, as if sacrificed to gods of old. In truth, Angel's belief is a rationalistic rebellion against God similar to that of which Dostoevsky's Alyosha Karamazov accused his brother Ivan.

We can see that the western world, and the world of Wessex, was at the turning point, not only in science and technology, but, what is more important, at a spiritual turning point which will lead it straight into the spiritual abyss described by T. S. Eliot in his poem "The Waste Land" (1922).

---

[264] Hardy, 1993: 74
[265] Ibid, 270.
[266] Hardy, 1993: 138

2. The Network

In *Phase the First*, named *"The Maiden",* the first meeting between Tess and Angel actually takes place, when Tess is a young girl participating in the May dance. Angel does not notice Tess at first and there is the irony of it – while she is a true, in the full meaning of the word, *"fresh and virginal daughter of nature"* dressed in white, *"chaste as a vestal",* he is not drawn to her because her sexuality is still latent. Angel is attracted to Tess the woman, *not* to Tess the virgin, but in his self-delusion, he is not aware of this.

But another meeting also takes place in this phase – the meeting between Tess and Alec. The microcosm of Tess's relation to him is given in "the strawberry scene" in which Alec is feeding Tess to some strawberries: Tess is *half-pleased, half-reluctant*, *eating whatever d'Urberville offered her* – that is her attitude toward Alec – first she rejects him, then eventually, against herself, she accepts. We know she does not like him, but what is it that actually draws her to him? I. Gregor states that the attraction of d'Urberville lies in the fact that he was the first to recognise her as a woman, to wake up her sexuality[267]; that is why she takes *the strawberry* after all. Thus we can say that she was eventually both seduced and raped. By many critics Tess is pronounced to be too passive and not independent enough, but we might add that she is rather indecisive and confused by life and what is happening around her. Tess is a dreamer, yet she is a passionate and a highly emotional woman of a melancholic temperament, she is even pessimistic sometimes. Critics say for Tess that "if any aspect of her character dominates, it is simply her basic earthliness, her association with all that is real and living."[268] And yet she has such a pessimistic streak in her that contradicts all stated above. Her association with dreaminess and a world of dreams is stressed throughout the novel – in d'Urberville's garden *"she obeyed like one in a dream"*; when she first heard Angel playing the harp she *"was conscious of neither time nor space"*. The most tragic events in her life happen while she is asleep – Prince's violent death, her loss of virginity, the discovery of her and Angel by the caretaker of the cottage, and finally, even the loss of her own life, when at the end of the book she was caught sleeping in the Stonehenge. Penelope Vigar is right when she says for Tess that "the natural progression of her life is the movement from sleep to sleep."[269]

In *Phase the Second*, named *"Maiden no More",* she is back in Marlott and her baby is born.

The important moment which gives us an insight into Tess's spiritual state is the illness and death of her child. Because it is illegitimate, the baby has not been baptized. Unable to call for a priest because of her father's idiotic whim, Tess grows desperate. In her mind she can see her child *"consigned to the nethermost corner of hell,*

---

[267] 1974: 182
[268] Vigar, 1974: 171
[269] 1974: 187

as its double doom for lack of baptism and lack of legitimacy". Tess *"passively accepted that she should have to burn for what she had done*", but when it comes to the eternal suffering of her child she cannot accept it, she feels it to be unjust. Here we can notice that not once did she or/and Hardy perceive God as merciful and kind, not to mention God as Love; this is because, as we have stated earlier, the teachings of the Church were based almost solely on fear and punishment for the sinners. God is always mentioned threatening and condemning people to eternal suffering, never as the Heavenly Father Who incessantly pours His love upon His children. This is why this principle of love as the power of life and the creation of all things visible and invisible never occurs in the novel and is completely strange to Tess. If she, as the mother of a baby who she did not want in the first place, and who was conceived in such a way, if she feels warm and fervent love towards it, if she is ready to sacrifice herself for its salvation, it is impossible that God Who is the Creator of both her and the baby, and Who sacrificed His only Son for the salvation of both of them and the whole mankind, should not have endlessly more love. From the Orthodox perspective this is unimaginable.

As Tess becomes more desperate, this pushes her into action. She prays with her whole heart and suddenly understands that she herself can baptize the baby. This is probably the only situation in the novel when Tess is active, resolute, awake, not lost in a reverie, and that makes her strong and formidable. In a moment of terrible desperation she offers herself for the salvation of her child and this gives her sudden and unexpected faith that God actually heard her prayer. *"The ecstasy of faith almost apotheosised her; it set upon her face a glowing irradiation, and brought a red spot in the middle of each cheek; while the miniature candle-flame inverted in her eye-pupils shone like a diamond. (...) She did not look like Sissy to them now, but as a being large, towering, and awful – a divine personage with whom they had nothing in common."*[270] Tess is "transfigured" by love for her child. This is indeed the only example of the true love in the whole novel, love which is free of passion, delusion or vanity, and for this very reason this kind of love is the love that transfigures ordinary "Sissy" into "a divine personage", it is the love that wants to save, not the "love" that wants to take life.

Unfortunately for Tess, her "ecstasy of faith" is followed by a conversation with a parson of the parish, who had *"the natural feelings of a tradesman at finding that a job he should have been called in for had been unskilfully botched by his customers among themselves*", and who endeavoured for ten years *"to graft technical belief on actual scepticism".* When Tess seizes his hand as she implores him, thus reaching for him as one human being for another, he withdraws his hand; he refuses her because he is not ready to risk his career and his reputation.

The tragedy of Tess is that she does not come across a single man who is ready to give and not just to take. She moves inside a waste land of individuals deprived of love, locked in their own vanity and pride and blind for the sufferings and needs of

[270] Ibid, 84.

others. They only recognise her, actually her body, as an object of their lust (Alec) or fantasy and desire (Angel), whereas her soul no-one seems to be interested in.

In *Phase the Third*, called "The *Rally"*, Tess is looking for a fresh start in life. The meeting of Tess and Angel takes place in this phase and marks it completely. Tess finds Angel working in the Dairy as a student of farming. Having openly renounced Christian faith and the doctrines of the Church to his father, Angel gave up his studies at Cambridge and wasted many years until it occurred to him that he might be a Colonial farmer, "*an American or Australian Abraham*". He was completely opposite to Alec d'Urberville, and at first Tess regarded him *"as an intelligence rather than as a man"*. He represents reason and idealism, just as Alec represents lust and money.

The famous "garden" scene in which Tess is fascinated by Angel playing the harp is a microcosm of her relationship toward him. In this scene Hardy shows the complete deceptiveness of the human imagination and its ability to transform the truth. P. Vigar comments: "She is caught – again, as Bathsheba and Eustacia were caught – by the bewitching power of her own imagination. Hardy shows us the paltry reality of the damp garden with its rank weeds and floating pollen, but in such a way that we, like Tess, are made relatively unaware of it. The mesmerically beautiful dream – like Angel's love for Tess – has a greater emotional reality than the rather unpleasant fact it conceals."[271] Tess falls in love with her dream of Angel, she worships him completely blind to what kind of man he really is. She makes an idol of him, "an occasion of awe"[272] and she adopts all his beliefs and his way of thinking without questioning them.

Angel on the other hand falls passionately in love with his fantasy of Tess as *"fresh and virginal daughter of the Nature"* and above all as *"a visionary essence of woman – a whole sex condensed into one typical form."* At the same time he has virtually no idea what lies in her soul.

In *Phase the Fourth, "The Consequence",* the story of Tess reaches its climax in the scene of Tess's confession to Angel. What the reader expects is a negative reaction of Angel Clare to Tess's story, but what actually happens is beyond all expectation. It is much worse than negative – it is inhumane. This is because we expect Clare's reaction to belong to ethical and moral sphere – the reaction of an offended husband who learns about his bride's sexual experience and becomes infuriated. We cannot even say for him that he represents the Victorian double standard of morality - this is because his reaction has nothing to do with morality. Indeed, his reaction is much worse, for it belongs to ***ontological*** sphere. It does not concern merely what is right and what is wrong, but what ***is*** and ***is not****.* Clare completely and utterly annuls Tess as a personality, he denies her as a being. First he uses her body as an incarnation of his fantasy and when he learns that she is different to what he imagined her to be, he casts her off. That is why Tess is totally broken by his behaviour, and cries out: *"I thought, Angel, that*

[271] 1974: 185, 186
[272] Gregor, 1974: 189.

*you loved me – **me, my very self**!"*[273] That is also the reason why he cannot forgive her: *"O Tess, forgiveness does not apply to the case! You were one person; now you are another. My God – how can forgiveness meet such a grotesque – prestidigitation as that!"*[274]

Indeed Clare's treatment of Tess is so cruel, that we seldom find such in literature; it might not appear like that at first sight, because he does not beat her, or rape her, or even shout at her – he negates her. Tess's fault is not that she did something wrong, but that she ***is*** who she is, not who he wanted her to be. And as if this were not enough, Clare, walking in his sleep, and saying that his wife is dead, carries her out of the house and lays her down in an old empty stone coffin. In this way he rejects her with his whole being – both consciously and unconsciously.

Hardy explains: *"Within the remote depths of his constitution, so gentle and affectionate as he was in general, there lay hidden a hard logical deposit, like a vein of metal in a soft loam, which turned the edge of everything that attempted to traverse it. It had blocked his acceptance of the Church; it blocked his acceptance of Tess."*[275] This *"hard logical deposit"* is not vanity, it is even worse – it is pride; it is egotism subtly disguised as logic and reason, so subtly that Clare is far from being aware of it. This makes Clare and not Alec the real villain in the story, but it also makes him deeply tragic. However, Angel's crime is greater than Alec's, because Alec offends Tess's body, while Angel offends her soul.

After this tragic turn of events, Tess decides to condemn herself to a merciless exile. What is the origin of this act of hers? The fact is that Tess is a deserted wife, and this means humiliation. It is natural that she wants to escape from her family and from Marlott; but what is not normal is Tess's attitude towards Clare, who for her is justice itself, justice against which she has sinned. What Clare wants, what he sees in Tess at first is *"a visionary essence of a woman"*; what makes him tragic is his inability to recognise that, in truth, she ***is exactly that.*** He was not mistaken at first: on the contrary, it is afterwards, when he rejects her because of his pride, that he is mistaken. As for Tess, it is completely opposite; so while Clare is blind for Tess's quality, she is blind for his faults.

Next we find Tess in Flintcomb-Ash, a drab, forlorn place to which she has exiled herself as a result of her "guilt". It is a sort of bleak frozen hell. But Tess is not alone here; she is with Marian and Izz Huett. They were all in love with Clare, but as we know, he chose Tess. If Tess was forced to go to exile, why were they? We feel that harshness and hellishness of Flintcomb-Ash is actually more psychological than physical; that in a way all three of them found themselves frozen in a state of despair. Flintcomb-Ash is a place deprived of life – it is opposite of life, in that way it becomes more a mental state than a real place on Earth.

---

[273] Hardy, 1993: 200
[274] Ibid, 200
[275] Ibid, 211

It is only a year later that Tess mustered enough courage to try to visit Angel's parents and tell them the whole story, in order do gain back her fugitive husband. Unfortunately, after her tremendous walk to Emminster she first finds the vicarage empty and then overhears a conversation between Angel's brothers in which they blamed Tess for Angel's misfortune. As a result of this she becomes utterly faint-hearted and completely broken. Again it becomes evident that Tess's tragedy is in the fact that she does not fight for what she wants, she has no faith, she tries to do something but is somehow always prevented in the middle of the act and she cannot carry on with it. She allows her feelings, her fears and fantasies to prevail and gives up, she lets her emotions completely overwhelm and lead her. As Hardy tells us: *"(s)he went her way without knowing that the greatest misfortune of her life was this feminine loss of courage at the last and critical moment through her estimating her father-in-law by his sons."* [276]

So, was it then blind destiny, or "Nature's cruel law" that Tess ended up in the hands of Alec d'Urberville again instead with her mother and father in law? One can say that everything was against her from the start. We reject this fatalistic view of things and hold that if only she had persevered, if she had had faith and had managed to overcome her despair, everything would have been different.

The beginning of *Phase the Sixth – "The Convert"* – is marked with Tess's meeting and conversation with none other than Alec d'Urberville. Tess is again confronted with her old wrong-doer. But he appears not to be the same as he was. To make everything even more ironic, Alec has become a passionate follower of old Mr. Clare!

"We have in this story a singular presentation of the struggle between old and new in various ranks of life and ranges of thought; (and) of the curious reversion, in each case, of the new to the old. (...) The old, we are meant to feel was wrong, and the new was right: but the inhuman irony of the fate turned all to misunderstanding and despair: the devil quoted the new scriptures in the ears of the new believers; and they went to the old destruction."[277] This is how L. Johnson, one of Hardy's first critics, sees the main problems with which the novel deals.

Indeed, unfortunate Tess provides d'Urbervile with the most dangerous weapon for the destruction of both of them when she so readily repeats her husband's beliefs, which brought nothing good either to her or to Angel himself. As for Alec d'Urberville he becomes even worse than he was; such is always the case with the fallen converts. It is, of course, highly possible that his Calvinistic phase would not have lasted for long, but Tess obviously sped things up.

It is said for Alec d'Urberville that "his studied artificiality is that of a music-hall villain"[278] and that "Hardy deliberately imbues his character with diabolical properties."[279] He is a villain almost too typical. Why did Hardy make him so obviously

---

[276] Ibid.
[277] Draper, 1975: 56, 57
[278] Vigar, 1974: 181, 182
[279] Ibid.

artificial? To stress the contrast between him and Clare, and to put all responsibility for Tess's ruin on his shoulders, thus enabling Tess to be – "a pure woman". But does the reader hate Alec, as he is supposed to? We can say that he rather pities him. His "studied artificiality" makes him more pathetic then evil. Actually, Alec d'Urberville is also a tragic character; he represents a man who is a slave to his passions, who thinks that everything can be bought. When he tries to rise above this "basic instinct", he again becomes too typical a convert with his, again, artificial fanaticism. We believe that his repentance was not altogether false. He really wanted to repent and be different, but Tess does not let him change. This reaction of hers frustrates Alec into becoming worse than he was in the first place.

The final *Phase the Seventh* is named "*The Fulfilment".* It starts with the return of allegedly changed Angel Clare. Now, we are told he understood that his love had been false and he came full of regret and remorse. But is it really so? If Clare had indeed undergone such a tremendous change, his reaction to Tess, when he finds her in Sandbourne as d'Urberville's mistress, would have been completely different. What fascinates him in Tess after she has killed d'Urberville is *"the strength of her affection for himself"*[280].

What is meant by the title "The Fulfilment"? The fulfilment of inevitable doom, or the fulfilment of a destiny of someone who has mistaken fantasy and awe for love - love which can only give and never take life, which is the power of healing and creation and never destruction; love with which Sonia from Dostoevsky's "Crime and Punishment" saves Raskolnikov from the bottom of the deepest hell of his soul. If Tess had felt true love for Angel, and not blind worship, she might have saved all three of them – Angel, herself, even Alec, and she would have really been, as Sonia – a pure woman; but she did not realise this. She died not realising this. This is the true and the utter tragedy of the story of Tess of the d'Urbervilles.

3. Conclusion

The great web that Hardy wanted to show in his novels represents the complete interdependence of human actions. *No man is an island.* We are all always connected – no one is saved alone, but likewise, no one falls alone.

In "Tess of the d'Urbervilles" the whole history of Tess is woven out of numerous actions of all the characters; these actions form a chain of events which lead one to another, as the story unfolds. The tragedy of Tess is conditioned by Tess's own behaviour but also by the behaviour of Angel, Alec, her parents etc.

But whenever anyone is saved, it is by love. As we have stated earlier, this is what the relationships of Tess and other characters from the book are deprived of. Both Tess and Angel dream of love but they fall into a trap of deception and their own pride, which they cannot get out of. Not only are they unable to help each other, but they

[280] Hardy, 1993: 338

themselves, being unaware they are trapped in the first place, are doomed to tragedy. That is why the novel ends with darkness, no matter how hard its author tried to give it at least artificial light at the end of the tunnel by ending it with Angel and Tess's sister 'Liza-Lu' holding hands.

References

Hardy, T. (1993) **Tess of the d'Urbervilles**, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Limited

Draper, R. P. (1975) **Hardy, The Tragic Novels, a casebook**, London and Basingstoke: the Macmillan Press Limited

Gregor, I. (1974) **The Great Web**, London: Faber and Faber

Hardy, F. E. (1962) **The Life of Thomas Hardy 1840-1928**, London: Macmillan & Co Ltd

Vigar, P. (1974) **The Novels of Thomas Hardy: Illusion and Reality**, University of London: the Athlone Press

Ware, K. (1979) **The Orthodox Way**, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press

UDK 821.111(73).09-2

Ana Kocić

AMERICAN DRAMA IN ACTION

Abstract: *The purpose of this paper is to present an approach to teaching American Drama to students of English Language and Literature at the university level. The main idea is to encourage students to become actively involved in all aspects of stage production. Namely, instead of merely reading the plays, students become a part of the entire process of staging a play, from setting the stage, make-up, lighting, costumes, music, to acting and directing. This will hopefully increase the level of effectiveness of drama classes and prompt students' responsiveness and interest in this area.*

Key words: *drama, education, making, performing, responding*

1. Introduction

The paper is a presentation of the new approach to the American Drama as applied at the English Department, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš. Its initiator, Professor Dragana Mašović, starts from the assumption that the students understand drama exclusively as a text having no notion of other, more theater-related skills such as performance and stagecraft in general. The author of the paper, as the associate-organizer of the drama appreciation classes, presents here some of the results achieved in the students' performance classes. One of the major advantages of the applied procedure is that it complements students' reading of the plays on the course syllabus, and, thus, hopefully, stimulates their interest in the American literature in particular, and, perhaps, theater and literature in general. Evaluation of the entire project and some suggestions for further work and research are given in the Conclusion section.

2. Classroom Approaches to Drama

Among the myriad of approaches to drama in the classroom, it can be noticed that each one stresses one or more aspects of dramatic experience. The two extremes between which drama educationalists seem to have moved are: sole purpose education or sole purpose art, i.e. whether drama should exclusively be an educational tool or a tool for art appreciation and deriving aesthetic pleasure. While this paper gives a glimpse at this variety, it pleads for the unified approach which would include all major aspects of dramatic experience. In spite of the "modest" classroom ambience, lack of financial support, lack of suitable premises and requisites and other impeding factors, it is considered that such an approach would be especially valuable for the foreign language students. Translating words into gestures and acts, transforming classroom space into artistic space, using the target language to communicate aesthetic meaning were designated as desirable and useful learning activities which would not only contribute to previously mentioned aesthetic and artistic goals, but also complement the entire process of learning a foreign language.

The following section will deal with some of the most influential ideas in the field of drama in education and single out those that served as a theoretical basis for the approach that was taken in the above mentioned American Drama course.

3. Origins of Drama in Education

Many various terms have been used to designate the process of learning through drama as performance; to mention a few: *drama in education, educational drama, dramatic education, developmental drama, child drama,* and *informal drama*. What they have in common (even though there are certain differences in underlying philosophies, principles, methods and techniques) is the fact that they are process-oriented, learner-centered, and, above all, developmental. The implication is that drama in education encourages individuals to rely on their imagination, improvisation and human experience, while at the same time gaining knowledge, understanding and aesthetic pleasure (Landy, 1982).

Here follows a brief survey of some basic ideas related to drama in education from its "golden years" when it was on the educational pedestal to some contemporary ideas which emphasize the unity of all aspects of drama, theater and education, leading to the assumption favored in this paper: that drama in education, especially academic education, should be understood in all its aspects. The emphasis is especially on textual and performing aspects, thus aiming to meet some of the basic educational needs including the attempts to present, interpret and experience art. An appeal for a holistic approach is put forward, as this is considered the most effective way of utilizing drama and theater potential both in the classroom and beyond it.

4. Drama as a Major Educational Tool

Drama in education, as already stated, has changed its place in time, from a relatively minor position, to the seventies when it was moved to the very center of the curriculum by two famous drama educationalists Dorothy Heathcote and Gavin Bolton. In their work, drama became the tool for teaching almost any subject.

Heathcote defines educational drama as being "anything which involves persons in active role-taking situations in which attitudes, not characters, are the chief concern, lived at life-rate" (in Dodd and Hickson, 1971, p. 43). Furthermore, she places problem-solving at the center of the learning process and maintains that all participants of this process need to combine their past experiences and imagination in order to "create a living, moving picture of life" (Ibid). Such a system of teaching (learning) is based on group experiences, solving problems/tasks at a group level and communication which takes place across conceptual, personal and social levels (Heathcote and Herbert, 1985).

Heathcote's admirer and colleague, Gavin Bolton emphasizes the importance of "group-sharing of a dramatic situation" (in Dodd and Hickson, 1971, p. 13) in which a process of negotiation between the teacher and the students, on the one hand, and among students themselves, on the other, takes place in order to arrive at the level of deeper and more meaningful analysis. In this learning process, drama is neither a piece of real life nor a school play to be rehearsed and performed, but a powerful medium of exploration of all spheres of life (Bolton, 1985). In other words, for Bolton, drama is *existential* (Landy, 1982) in terms that it harnesses (almost) the entire learning potential with a focus on the *content*, rather than the production aspect.

To sum up, Heathcote and Bolton proposed the approach that, in a way, gave prominence to drama as an educational tool which was, as might have been expected, opposed by those who claimed that drama is still an art and, therefore, must not be separated from its original purpose and reduced to a means of achieving solely educational goals.

5. Aesthetic over Educational

Heathcote's and Bolton' theories and models of drama in education have been seriously challenged by some contemporary authors, mostly those like Bailin and Hornbrook, who are in favor of drama preserving its aesthetic and artistic nature, while at the same time having an undeniable educational value.

Bailin (1993) is critical of the claims that dramatic experience divorced from its aesthetic roots has the ultimate educational value for personal and social understanding. She is strongly against making a strict division between drama and theatre, i.e. between favoring drama as an educational tool and neglecting the understanding and appreciation of the theatre. Furthermore, she finds Heathcote and Bolton's guided improvisations to be manipulative in terms that they impose teacher's personal view of the world on the students instead of being conducive to personal understanding.

Hornbrook (1998) even accuses educationalists of the 70s and 80s of reducing drama to a mere educational tool, while completely losing sight of it being an art form in effect. He lists the oversights in the teaching methodology, evaluation and assessment procedures and, above all, in the very foundations of the underlying philosophy. He appeals for the approach which will acknowledge the "*tripartite structure of making, performing and responding*" (p. 130), thus promoting dramatic literacy and involving students in reading, performing, evaluating and revising of dramas.

To this we should add Schonmann (2005), who echoes this view in her account of the major directions that drama in education seems to have taken in the last decades. She mentions seventeen different genres of drama and theater in education, most of which emphasize educational and therapeutic uses of drama, whereas its links to the arts and the aesthetic seem to be severed or at least severely damaged. In other words, *applied* seems to have acquired supremacy over the *aesthetic* or *artistic*.

Again, such views still seem to be dividing drama instead of going for a unified approach. It appears that once again one aspect is favored and stressed at the expense of the other. The view advocated in this paper is that, instead, drama should be multiple in its classroom presence – neither aesthetic/artistic elements nor the applied ones should be neglected. Only by combining all of them, can art appreciation and deeper understanding of stagecraft occur in the classroom while at the same time achieving full educational goals, as will be seen further.

6. Unity, above All

The approach stressed in this paper, the position opted for is unity rather than supremacy, namely the *unity* between drama and theater, between the text and its interpretation and production, between personal and group experience. Drama should be used as an art form to be appreciated and interpreted, as a means of understanding the theater, major literary directions, even as an important tool for studying a particular culture, and, last, but definitely not the least, as a powerful medium of education in terms of developing students' awareness of drama, theater and performance, and ultimately as a means of studying a foreign culture and its language. The approach to promote is, then, holistic and eclectic, based on aesthetics and art. Hopefully, it would lead to developing students' understanding with respect to dramatic creation and appreciation and transfer their interest in drama to a much wider context than the classroom.

7. Drama in Action

Of all the above mentioned views of drama in education, in this account of applied American Drama, Hornbrook's formulation of the tripartite structure is taken into consideration. It has imposed itself as the one that stresses the aspects of drama relevant for this course: making, performing and responding. The idea was to involve the students in the process of reading, interpreting, staging, performing and reflecting on the chosen scenes taken from dramas by major American playwrights. Furthermore, the paper will present some ideas for evaluation and assessment procedures and discuss their efficiency.

It should also be mentioned that the course in question is conducted in the third year of English language and literature studies and is preceded by the courses in American studies and a general American literature course. During the course in American drama classical lecturing highlighting authors, styles and works, appreciation classes based on close reading and discussion classes where different aspects of stagecraft were discussed were followed by drama performance classes. The following sections will focus on the discussion, and especially, performance classes, giving an insight into class preparation and classroom procedures, as well as the follow-up activities, with a special emphasis on the description and evaluation of the two final projects undertaken by the students.

8. "Making"

During this course, "making" assumed students "making a choice", rather than improvising or creating their own texts. Ten plays by major American playwrights were on the syllabus and students were encouraged to undertake staging the chosen scenes with regard to the key elements of stage production. Although the activities were partially guided in terms of the scenes being predetermined, individual initiative was welcomed and, in that sense, the syllabus for drama performance classes was rather flexible. Furthermore, two sessions were reserved for student-prepared presentations, one that included skits and acts on the topic of the American South and the other with students' performances of the scenes from John Guare's play "Six Degrees of Separation". These classes, as later will be discussed in greater detail, provided an opportunity for harnessing students' interests and creative potential as well as for evaluating their progress.

The idea of students making a choice was also used to introduce and practically examine some of the key aspects of stage production, namely: scenography, costumes, lights, music, casting, acting and directing. In the first part of the course, the importance and influence of each of these elements on the production and the text itself was examined by considering them separately[281]. Usually, the students would be given a choice among various suggestions (some of the ideas were put forward by the mediator, while at the same time students were free to try their own solutions) for costumes, music, setting, etc. and their task was to adapt a particular scene in accordance with the choices they made. In the later phase, the emphasis was on combining major elements of stage production in order to prepare, adapt and perform a particular scene. Thus, students were gradually led towards more independent and more complete involvement with dramatic activity, which resulted in their performances, adaptations and guided improvisations of a few short scenes from the works on the syllabus, as will be seen in the following section.

[281] So, for example, during one of the classes, different groups of students received different costume suggestions for the same scene and had a task to adapt the scene accordingly, regarding the setting, language, music, props, etc. The exercise was very successful and the follow-up discussion revealed that the participants not only immensely enjoyed the whole process, but also gained some valuable insights into the nature of the text in question and theatrical practice in general. Similar procedures were applied with other elements of stage production.

9. “Performing”

It has been mentioned earlier that various limitations of the available space and funds had to be considered with regard to students’ performances. In order to overcome these technical obstacles, it was agreed at the very beginning of the course that a certain area in the classroom would represent the “stage”, and would therefore, require a certain type of behavior. Another area was designated as the “audience space”, also with an appropriate set of rules, whereas students were encouraged to rely on their imagination and improvisation skills regarding the scenery, costumes, props, etc.

The first part of each session was dedicated to a brief discussion of a particular scene (usually, the students would not be given the scene beforehand, since it was presupposed that previous lectures and close reading and appreciation classes provided enough insight into a particular work/author). During the discussion, first with the mediator, and then in smaller working groups, general stagecraft issues were explored and viewed in relation to the play in question. The idea was to direct students’ attention to a particular element/area and then give them enough time (and space) to discuss it among themselves and to prepare the scene for the stage performance. In order to facilitate this process and help those who may have felt apprehensive about acting and performing, casting was left to group members while students feeling shy were encouraged to take up different tasks in stage production. Shorter scenes were favored and a certain amount of improvisation was allowed, bearing in mind time limitations. The final part of the session was reserved for student performances, after which, a follow-up discussion would ensue in order to evaluate the successfulness of each group and reflect on the contributions and insights gained, as well as some of the possible implications for further work.

10. “Responding”

As stated above, discussions prior and after students’ performances constituted an important part of each session. Students were organized into “roundtables” which first had a task to think about, discuss and organize a performance, and then evaluate its success and reflect on the experience. The mediator’s role in these discussions was somewhat subdued, thus creating a balance between teacher’s involvement in the stages of “making” and “responding”. Another reason for this was insistence on peer cooperation and correction, which was thought to be a better solution than teacher’s imposing value judgments or rigid criteria of assessment. Instead of leading their discussions and performances, the mediator rather encouraged the students to share and test their ideas, their stagecraft, their artistic and performance talents and their critical views.

This method proved to be very successful in the sense that it allowed students to express their personality, while at the same time keeping focus on the aesthetic and ultimate educational needs and goals. Once they were “immersed” in the dramatic activity, students proved to be more than capable of observing and combining elements of stage production in a creative way, and, maybe even more importantly, to be able to critically reflect on their own and their peers’ efforts. For example, when a group of students would “go astray” in their performance, their colleagues would always notice and direct their attention to it, using sound and valid arguments. Thus, the mediator would not have to intervene and disrupt a friendly atmosphere which was necessary for the classes to succeed. So, each discussion proved to be very fruitful in terms of constructive criticism, careful critical observation and reflection both on the text and on its “versions” performed by the students.

The final step in the “responding” phase was encouraging students to take the initiative and engage them in independent projects which would combine their talents, previous and newly acquired knowledge, and, ultimately, combine their interests with the syllabus. Thus, they were given a chance to personalize a dramatic experience into an individual and then, a group response to a particular text or topic. Since these “projects” were also used as a means of assessment, the author felt necessary to dedicate a separate section to this issue.

11. Evaluation and Assessment

While during most of the performance classes students had a certain degree of guidance from the mediator as previously explained, in order to assess and evaluate their progress and mastery of stagecraft, group projects were encouraged. Towards the end of the first evaluation period (mid-course), the students’ task was to prepare group presentations on the topic of the American South. Dramatizations of extracts from classical American literature, short sketches, skits and acts were encouraged, but the students were not pressured into acting and performing if they did not feel ready for it. The topic for the presentations was intentionally a broad one in order to encourage student initiative and to preserve the non-threatening and non-deterministic climate in the classroom. Thus, again the tripartite formula was applied, since first they had to “make a choice” of the segments they were going to focus on, adapt them for the improvised stage, then “perform” them (whether as an act or as an oral presentation), and finally, “respond” to the experience through reflection and critical observation in the follow-up roundtable discussions. The assessment criteria included originality, creativity, appropriate usage of stagecraft techniques and performance success. This first attempt at these “public performances” was a rather successful one, both considering the amount of effort and creativity that students showed and the positive feedback that the Professor and the mediator received in the follow-up discussions. Particularly successful were those students who adapted scenes from American classical literature into stage-manageable acts utilizing their experiences from drama performance classes.

Therefore, the final project[282], referred to earlier in the paper, demanded even more effort on students' part, as their task was to choose, adapt, stage and perform the scenes from one of the plays on the course syllabus ("Six Degrees of Separation" by John Guare). They were encouraged to do most of it on their own, i.e. theirs was the choice of partners, scenes and all other production elements, while at the same time they had the opportunity to consult the teacher and ask for assistance every step of the way. The idea was to use this project as a way of summing up the topics and elements covered in the classes as well as to evaluate and assess both the students' and teachers' work. It was hoped that by going through the micro-process of text reading and appreciation, stage production and performance, students would systematize their knowledge and mastery of stagecraft and theater in general and see drama in all of its aspects. Indeed, most students participated and showed a significant amount of creativity and initiative. Some even went as far as composing original music, a group of students decided to make their scene into a musical, while another group made a short film as a part of their performance. Judging by the students' response and creativity and enthusiasm with which they undertook this project and the final outcome, which was a pleasant and gratifying experience for the mediator, reflected in the good marks the students received for their efforts, this process was both fruitful and rewarding for all its participants.

12. Conclusion

To conclude: in this brief summary of an approach to drama classes at a Serbian university, accompanied by an insight into some of the major theoretical issues in the field of drama in education, the author did not attempt more than highlighting only the most important implications and considerations. It should be mentioned that neither the scope of this paper nor the time limitations allowed a more detailed analysis of the achieved results in terms of a survey among students and statistical data analysis. In that light, a tentative conclusion is reached that the holistic approach to drama classes, which includes all, or most of major aspects of drama and theater, such as reading, close reading, appreciation, staging, performance and reflection may be a gratifying and fulfilling solution for everyone involved in the process. Some further work in this direction would probably lead to devising and introducing a whole new course dedicated to drama and theater with their artistic, aesthetic and educational qualities employed in complementing the education of foreign language students. It is this author's hope that this work may represent a first step along that path.

[282] It should also be mentioned that oral presentations and acts were accompanied by written exams which tested students' mastery of some of the key elements of stage production and their ability to provide valid written arguments with regard to the staging of a chosen scene. Since discussing this evaluation criterion would go beyond the scope of this paper, the author opted for presenting the results and implications of oral performances only.

References

Bailin, S. (1993) “Drama as Experience: A Critical View”, **Canadian Journal of Education / Revue canadienne de l'éducation**, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 95-105

Bolton, G. (1985) “Changes in Thinking about Drama in Education”, **Theory into Practice: Educating through Drama**, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 151-157

Dodd, N. and Winifred H. (1971) **Drama and Theatre in Education**, Heinemann, Greenwood Press

Heathcote, D. and Herbert, P. (1985) “A Drama of Learning: Mantle of the Expert”, **Theory into Practice: Educating through Drama**, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 173-180.

Hornbrook, D. (1998) **Education and Dramatic Art**, Florence, KY, USA: Routledge

Landy, R. J. (1982) **Handbook of Educational Drama and Theatre**, London: Westport, CT

Schonmann, S. (2005) “"Master" versus "Servant": Contradictions in Drama and Theatre Education”, **Journal of Aesthetic Education**, **Special Issue: Aesthetics in Drama and Theatre Education**, Vol. 39, No. 4, pp. 31-39

UDK 821.161.1.09:792(497.16)

Dragana Kalezić

GOGOLJ NA SCENI CRNOGORSKOG NARODNOG POZORIŠTA (1953-2003)

Apstrakt: *NIkolaj Vasiljevič Gogolj je imao značajno mjesto u formiranju repertoara Crnogorskog narodnog pozorišta. Njegove drame "Revizor" i "Ženidba" bile su nezaobilazne na pozorišnim scenama Crne Gore u raznim periodima, počev od 1891.godine, kada je "Revizor" prvi put izveden. Po ukupnom broju inscenacija djela Gogolja na crnogorskoj pozorišnoj sceni, može se zaključiti da je Gogolj, pored Ostrovskog i Čehova, najizvođeniji ruski pisac kod nas. Izvođenje njegovog dramskog opusa je nailazilo na dobar prijem kod pozorišne publike, ipak pozorišna kritika je otkrivala i druge aspekte i probleme Gogoljeve pozorišne poetike*.

Ključne riječi: *Gogolj, recepcija, Crnogorsko narodno pozorište, pozorišna kritika, "Ženidba", "Revizor"*

1. Uvod

Dramski opus Nikolaja Vasiljeviča Gogolja je prisutan na repertoaru crnogorskog pozorišta više od jednog vijeka. Još od samih početaka aktivnosti pozorišnih društava u Crnoj Gori, sa kraja XIX i početka XX vijeka na Cetinju, u Nikšiću, izvođena su Gogoljeva djela.

Prema sačuvanim podacima prvo izvođeno djelo Gogolja u Crnoj Gori „Revizora", izvelo je Društvo Nikšićke Čitaonice u Nikšiću 28.02.1891.godine[283)]. Kako su prva saopštenja o pozorišnim izvođenjima imala tek karakter objava i širenja entuzijazma u cilju propragiranja pozorišta, nije zabilježen kritički prikaz te predstave, pohvaljena je samo vještina predstavljača da pokažu pravu karakteristiku likova koje tumače i zadovoljstvo publike.

Zabilježen je uspjeh izvođenja predstave "Revizor" 1910. godine, po otvaranju Knjaževskog Crnogorskog Narodnog Pozorišta na Cetinju, koja je pružila posjetiocima pravo i do tad rijetko "umjetničko uživanje". Predstava je upriličena kao svečanost, kojoj su prisustvovali knjaz i knjaginja, kao i brojno drugo najotmenije građanstvo. O tome koliko se polagalo u uspjeh postavke te predstave govori i to da je uloga načelnika povjerena članu kraljevskog Hrvatskog Zemaljskog Kazališta iz Zagreba Mihailu Markoviću, čija je uloga ocijenjena vanredno uspjelom.

[283)] Ljiljana Milunović, „*Pozorište u periodici knjaževine Crne Gore 1884–1908*", CNP, Podgorica, 2002, str. 13.

U prvoj polovini 20. vijeka od stranih izvođenih pisaca Gogolj je pored Šekspira, Šilera, Ostrovskog i Molijera najizvođeniji. U ovom kontekstu ilustrativno je pomenuti da su u prvoj polovini 20. vijeka na crnogorskoj pozorišnoj sceni izvođena i djela drugih ruskih pisaca kao npr. djela Škvarkina, Simonova, Afinogenova, Gorbatova, Averčenka, Katajeva, Tolstoja, Dostojevskog, Gorkog, Čehova.

Pored Revizora i Ženidbe od drugih djela Gogolja među bibliografskim podacima pominje se jedino izvođenje 1933.g. u Herceg Novom odlomka iz "Mrtvih duša".

Moglo bi se zaključiti da je krajem prve polovine 20. vijeka Gogoljeva „Ženidba" bila omiljeni izvođeni komad iz ruske literature. Pozorišne sezone 1949/50. Narodno pozorište iz Kotora izvodilo je predstave „Sirotinja nije grijeh" Ostrovskog i Gogoljevu „Ženidbu", obije u režiji Vasilija Šćukina. „Ženidba" je bila posjećenija i zabilježeno je da je Šćukin sa njom imao više uspjeha nego sa dramom Ostrovskog.[284)]

Kada se ima u vidu ovakav pregled stanja na crnogorskoj pozorišnoj sceni prije II svjetskog rata, tj. s obzirom na popularnost Gogogljevih komedija, jasno je da se na njih naročito računalo prilikom kreiranja repertoara novoformirane pozorišne kuće u Podgorici 1953.godine, kada je trebalo napraviti prikladan repertoar za različite ukuse, kada je bilo potrebno privući publiku u pozorište, osvojiti je nekim lakšim temama, djelima na koje je ova sredina bila naviknuta i koja su bila dobro prihvaćena. To bi mogao biti razlog zašto je među prvim predstavama na repertoaru novoformiranog pozorišta bila upravo ova komedija, jer je bilo lakše ponoviti uspjelu predstavu nego raditi oko nove, naročito kada je pozorište radilo u teškim materijalnim uslovima i bez strogo definisane repertoarske politike.

2. Ženidba

Među prvim izvedenim djelima na repertoaru Narodnog pozorišta u Titogradu našla se upravo „Ženidba" (20. IV 1954), u režiji Vasilija Šćukina. Ono što primjećujemo u kritičkim osvrtima na ovu predstavu je polemički karakter koji uvodi u preispitivanje stava prema „Ženidbi". U tom kontekstu se ističe kritika Sretena Perovića koji skreće pažnju na uslovljenost u izboru tadašnjeg repertoara ekonomskim razlozima i prilikama u kojima je radilo pozorište. On negoduje što su se u repertoarskom planu Narodnog pozorišta u Titogradu našle drame poput Roksandićeve „Andree", Mijuškovićevih „Đetića", pa dijelom i Gogoljeve „Ženidbe" i Manijeova „Oskara", jer smatra da se ovim djelima mogla naći vrednija, adekvatnija zamjena čak i u našoj tadašnjoj, tekućoj dramskoj produkciji i zaključuje da oštrica kritike postaje manje opravdana kada pozorište nije u mogućnosti da solidno opremi značajnije, veće predstave. Smatramo da su u prilog Gogolju išli i žanr

---

284) O tome vidi: Darko Antonović, „Narodno pozorište Kotor (1948–1958)", Pozorište u Crnoj Gori u drugoj polovini XX vijeka : radovi sa naučnog skupa, Podgorica, 23. jun 2006. godine, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Podgorica, 2007, str. 73-76.

komedije, jednostavnost teme i dopadljivost sadržine, koji su sigurno morali biti uzeti u obzir u toj pozorišnoj fazi, zbog računice da se privuče što više publike.

O samom djelu se počinje malo više pisati. Milorad Stojović je povodom te predstave objavio članak u „Susretima“, u kome piše da u toj komediji Gogolj daje sliku plemstva početkom XIX vijeka i da je u njoj, kao i u „Revizoru“, smijeh „jedina poštena i blagorodna ličnost“. Zaključuje da je, zahvaljujući homogenoj igri ansambla, pozorište u Titogradu uspjelo da sačuva autentičnost čitave galerije šarolikih tipova u komadu koji svoje porodične odnose zasnivaju na grubom računu. Stojović ocjenjuje da je Šćukin svojom režijom uspio da prikaže Gogoljevo djelo, mada zamjera što nije izrazitije postavio trgovca Starikova, čiji je lik ostao „površno shvaćen i epizodno dat, iako mu u komadu pripada daleko važnije mjesto“. O ostalim ulogama kaže da su skoro sve pogođene, proučene i približno ostvarene. Glumac Vlado Sušić je u Potkoljesinu, odigravši svoju ulogu živo i efektno, naročito u „zabavnom“ dijalogu sa nevjestom, dao karakter čovjeka čiji život teče skučeno i ograničeno, bez ikakve dinamike i smisla. M. Budimirović je bio ubjedljiv u prikazivanju Kočkarjeva. B. Milonjić je u liku Žvakala postigao zavidan umjetnički nivo, „davši bez pretjerivanja grotesknu pojavu penzionisanog „mladoženje“ koji kao davljenik spasioca čeka koju utješnu riječ od bogate udavače“.[285)] M. Spasojević je bio vješt u isticanju „ćiftinskog duha egzekutora Kajgane“, kao i S. Simić u interpretaciji lika kočopernog oficira u penziji. M. Stilinović nije izbjegla scenski kliše u ulozi priproste ruske služavke. L. Vukčević je bila veoma sugestivna u ulozi glupe nevjeste i dala je „skladan i ubjedljiv psihološki izraz ograničene žene, koja ni sama ne zna šta hoće, naprimjer u sceni kada, po ko zna koji put, vrši smotru svojih prosilaca koji su bili kao marionete poređani ispred nje“.[286)] O uspjehu komedije može da posvjedoči podatak da je izvođena 14 puta, što je solidno ako se uporedi sa brojem izvođenja ostalih predstava u to vrijeme.

Sumiranjem statističkih podataka o radu pozorišta tokom njegove prve decenije, zaključeno je da je najgledaniji „Gorski vijenac“, što ide u prilog politici njegovanja nacionalnog repertoara, dok su od 32 izvedena djela stranih autora najviše uspjeha imali: Šekspirovi „Otelo“ i „Mletački trgovac“, Molijerov „Žorž Danden“, Gogoljeva „Ženidba“, Šilerova „Spletka i ljubav“, Goldonijev „Lažljivac“, Rasinova „Fedra“.[287)]

Nepunih 10 godina kasnije Gogoljeva „Ženidba“ je izvođena u novoj postavci u režiji Nikole Vavića, i scenografiji Nikolaja Morgunjenka..

Najava da je u pripremi predstava po Gogoljevom tekstu izazvala je radost, što sugeriše da je Gogolj još uvijek bio omiljen pozorišni pisac u Crnoj Gori. Gogolj je smatran velikom i lijepom prilikom za svaki kolektiv. O njegovoj popularnosti svjedoče i brojni kritički odzivi povodom „Ženidbe“, premda nisu svi bili pozitivni. Cijeneći Gogolja

---

285) M. Stojović, „Gogoljeva ‚Ženidba‘ na sceni Titogradskog pozorišta“, *Susreti*, Titograd, 1954, VIII-IX, str. 673-674.

286) Isto.

287) *Crnogorsko narodno pozorište 1953–2003*, priredio Milovan Radojević, CNP, Podgorica, 2003, str. XXXIX.

kao veliku i obavezujuću priliku, kritika je postavila brojna pitanja u vezi sa izvođenjem njegovih djela, i objašnjavala svoje različite poglede na to. Okosnica polemisanja kritičara povodom ovog izvođenja „Ženidbe“ je aktuelnost te komedije i pristup u njenoj postavci. Da li je to djelo trebalo postaviti kao prikaz nekog prošlog vremena ili kao savremeno pitanje univerzalnog značaja? Svetozar Piletić to pitanje postavlja u odnosu prema ruskim klasicima uopšte. Kako da se priđe djelima ruske klasike, kako da se ona ožive, pitanje je na koje su se do sada davali različiti odgovori. „Da li ostati na vjernom prikazivanju sredine, karaktera i običaja, ili to podizati i podići na jedan opšteljudski, svevremenski ili čak i vanvremenski problem? Ili miješati i pomalo kombinovati jednu i drugu metodu?“[288)] Piletić polazi od toga da se Gogolju, kao i svakom velikom piscu, može prići iz različitih uglova, ali ipak uvijeno kritikuje režiju Vavića zbog isprepletanosti stilova u postavci drame i predstavu ocjenjuje osrednjom.

Neki kritičari s pravom skreću pažnju na univerzalnost tematike. Tako Piletić smatra da ova drama pruža mnoge mogućnosti i da je njena tema aktuelna. „Izvesti na pozornicu grupu zakašnjelih prosaca, bivših momaka i po mnogo čemu bivših ljudi inertnih ili priglupih ili nadmenih ili poetski nesrećnih i izgubljenih – izvesti ih u trenutku kad oni u braku vide priliku za ekonomske i druge mahinacije – divna je tema i vječita priča o ljudima i njihovim sudbinama. (...) Izvesti ih uz to pred zbunjenu, površnu i plemićke titule željnu mladu ženu – značilo je i znači naslikati polufeudalnu Rusiju iz prve polovine XIX stoljeća i njene plemiće i trgovce ženike i udavače.“[289)] Kao naročito vrijedno u Piletićevoj kritici izdvajamo zapažanje da Gogoljev tekst pruža mogućnost otkrivanja onog duboko ljudskog, tragičnog i tragikomičnog u ljudima.

Oštrinu u ocjenu tog izvođenja „Ženidbe“ unijela je kritika Sretena Perovića, koji u konkretnom suprotstavljanju samog djela i njegovog izvođenja u Podgorici konstatuje da je „Ženidba“ bila jedno od onih djela klasičnih majstora koje smo gledali u tako izvitoperenom i nedopustivom „obliku“ da je prava šteta što smo ih uopšte vidjeli. Sa tog aspekta Perović postavlja pitanje: da li je našem gledaocu uopšte potrebno prikazati Gogolja, „i to *Ženidbu*! – po cijenu da mu ne pružimo ni a t m o s f e r u ruskog građanskog društva prve polovine prošloga vijeka? Za Gogoljeve likove, naravno, niko nije mogao pretpostavljati da imamo izvođačkih snaga.“[290)] Kao nedostatak toj inscenaciji „Ženidbe“ Piletić primjećuje da je u izvedbi našeg pozorišta izostao onaj dosta oštar satirični brid koji ova komedija nosi u sebi. Interesantno je, radi poređenja i ilustracije kako recepcija jednog djela može da se mijenja, napraviti osvrt i na reakciju na predstavu „Ženidba“ koju je izvodilo Kotorsko narodno pozorište 1949/50. u režiji Vasilija Šćukina. Radoslav Rotković bilježi uspjeh te predstave, u kojoj se najbolje ogledala težnja kolektiva koji ju je izvodio „za studioznom obradom teksta, za donošenjem istinitih i proživljenih scenskih likova i za stvaranjem homogene predstave“,

[288)] S. Piletić, „Osrednja predstava“, *Titogradska tribina*, Titograd, 31.X 1963.
[289)] Isto.
[290)] Sreten Perović, „Gogoljeva ‚Ženidba‘ – dirljiva neostvarenost“, *Darovi scene I*, str. 269-270.

tim prije što ovaj komad umjetnici nisu shvatili isključivo kao komediju „nego kao društvenu satiru na jedan isječak mraka, nikolajevske noći'"[291)]

Tako su izvođenje „Ženidbe" te godine i njena kritika poslužili konačno kao jasan povod da se kritikuje repertoar, koji, ocijenjeno je, kao bitni elemenat opredjeljenja u politici svake pozorišne kuće, i prema gledalištu i prema umjetničkom izrazu, treba pažljivije praviti i lišiti djela ovog tipa. Perović navodi da Gogoljeva „Ženidba" ne govori o problemima koji bi iole mogli biti interesantni za savremenog gledaoca, da izbor bračnog partnera, provodadžisanje danas ne mogu imati univerzalni značaj i „te sličice iz života nisu nadahnute Gogoljevom umjetničkom snagom", pa i u trenutku njihovog dramskog rađanja nisu mogle da budu više od „blijedog profila jednog tankog sloja ruskog društva". Perović smatra da samo djelo nema značajnu umjetničku vrijednost, već samo oslikava društvo određenog vremena, a da bi se od takvog djela napravio „pristojan teatarski doživljaj", osim izvrsne ekipe tragikomičnog tipa, izvrsnog reditelja sa posebnim sklonostima, treba raspolagati i „publikom koja Gogoljevu epohu nosi bar u svojoj istorijskoj svijesti".[292)] Zaključuje da ni predstava, ni reditelj, ni glumci nisu uspjeli ni da osavremene Gogolja, niti da dočaraju aromu Gogoljevog podneblja i vremena. Jedan od mogućih razloga tome nalazi u podatku da glumci Zlata Raičević (Fjokla) i Boro Begović (Kajgana) nisu predodređeni za komiku, dok je Agafja Vere Zebić, koja je tom ulogom debitovala u našem pozorištu, najslabije ostvarena uloga predstave. Najveći efekat kod publike postigao je Mirko Simić u ulozi Kočkarjova.

Kritika je zamjerila ostvarenju uloge Potkoljesina. Piletić u liku Potkoljesina primjećuje neke oblomovske karakteristike i navodi da Predrag Stojković nije uspio da ih izrazi, te da je njegova interpretacija Potkoljesina bila neujednačene vrijednosti..

Oku kritike nije promaklo i to da su neke scene hipertrofiranjem mehaničkih pokreta glumci dovodili do nivoa burleske. Đukić zapaža da je režija izbacila iz drame neke poetične opise, što je, po njegovoj ocjeni, s obzirom na kratkoću teksta, bilo nepotrebno. „Bilo je slobodnih improvizacija teksta i nepotrebnih interpolacija. (...) Mora se iskreno priznati da su glumci, ne bez izvjesne spretnosti i teatralnosti, na nekim mjestima uspješno podvaljivali i piscu i publici."[293)]

Radi zaokruživanja utiska o predstavi, treba reći da je ova „Ženidba" doživjela 32 izvođenja. Mada kod publike popoularan komad, to je bio posljednji put da je CNP pripremalo i izvodilo "Ženidbu". Tadašnja oštrija kritika nije podstakla na novo scensko iščitavanje i osmišljavanje "Ženidbe" u Podgorici. Da li su time zatvorena vrata Gogoljevoj „Ženidbi" u CNP? Interesantno je primijetiti da su se kasnije na sceni CNP mogle vidjeti interpretacije ovog komada od strane susjednih gostujućih pozorišta, kao Narodnog pozorišta Bitolja, u režiji bugarske rediteljke Lilije Abadžijeve, ili pak kao interpretacija Sarajevskog narodnog pozorišta sa akcentom na seksualnosti kao

---

291) Radoslav Rotković, „Kotorsko pozorište", *Savremena drama i pozoršte u Crnoj Gori*, Novi Sad: Sterijino pozorje, 1987, str. 38.

292) Sreten Perović, „Gogoljeva ‚Ženidba' – dirljiva neostvarenost", *Darovi scene I*, str. 269-270.

293) Radoslav Đukić, „Gogoljeva ‚Ženidba' na sceni", *Prosvjetni rad*, Titograd, 15. V 1963.

modernim ključem tog iščitavanja Gogoljevog teksta, koji se inače sve češće da primijetiti kao preovlađujući i prilikom interpretacija drugih djela. Na svjetskoj pozornici "Ženidba" je još uvijek zastupljena u različitim ključevima interpretiranja dramskog teksta. Zapadna pozorišna kritika to ocjenjuje kao uspješno oživljavanje zaboravljene klasične komedije.

Nakon „Ženidbe", Gogolja, nekada učestalog na domaćoj pozorišnoj sceni, nema 12 godina, mada zastupljenost ruske drame na sceni CNP nije opadala. Zapaža se interesovanje CNP za nove ruske autore i djela, kao izraz težnje da se bude u toku sa savremenim ruskim i svjetskim pozorišnim tokovima. To potvrđuje češće izvođenje drama Volodina, Čehova i Majakovskog, od kojih su najviše uspjeha imale Čehovljeve drame.

3. Dnevnik jednog ludaka

Prestanak izvođenja „Ženidbe" još uvijek nije označio istiskivanje Gogolja sa scene CNP, mada se ni sljedeće njegovo djelo - monodrama „Dnevnik jednog ludaka" (1975) nije zadržalo na sceni CNP . Ovo djelo je adaptirao i režirao Slavoljub Stefanović Ravasi. Povodom predstave nije bilo mnogo odziva niti značajnih kritika ili zapažanja, a djelo je izvođeno 11 puta.

4. Revizor

Posljednje do danas Gogoljevo djelo koje je pripemilo CNP je bio „Revizor" premijerno izveden 29. XII 1988. godine u Titogradu. Interesantno je primijetiti da je ovo prva inscenacija te predstave u CNP i za sada i jedina. Drama je rađena u prevodu Živojina Boškova, u režiji Branka Stavreva. Sa ovom dramom CNP je učestvovalo na Festivalu jugoslovenskog alternativnog teatra u Titogradu.

U doživljaju i ocjeni ovog komada najviše se polazilo od toga u kakvoj mjeri je ono Gogoljevo vrijeme u dosluhu sa aktuelnim trenutkom. Pojedinačna pomalo rasplinuta i ostrašćena kritika svjedoči o aktuelnosti „Revizora". Radunović zapaža da je Stavrev oslobodio Gogoljev tekst „folklornog", odrekao se estetiziranjā, a sve to u cilju „stvaranja" rama za „crnu sliku" našeg društvenog života, i zaključuje da iz predstave „isijava više zabrinuti intelektualac, a manje umjetnik", te je svrstava u sferu realističkog političkog teatra.

Značajan prilog je ostavila kritika Radunovića opisom scenografije, koji nam daje jasan uvid u rediteljev koncept, pa saznajemo da je gradonačelnikova kuća bila napravljena u obliku izloga neke prodavnice „i sve je u tom ‚izlogu' vidljivo, podložno očima javnosti, jasno. Po sceni je raspoređeno mnoštvo ogledala koja su kao televizijski ekrani okrenuta prema publici. U pozadini namještaj je nabacan tako da podsjeća na haos."[294] I L. Brković kao kvalitetna rješenja u konceptu Stavreva vidi reduciranje

[294] Veselin Radunović, „Umjetnost ili imitacija života", *Ovdje*, Titograd, I 1989.

Gogoljevog teksta na pojedinim mjestima na simbole poput svijeta koji izlazi iz podzemlja i uspinje se do vrha društvene piramide, pacova koji vodi igru poput demona i svugdje je prisutan.[295)]

Tumačenje uloge Hljestakova Varje Đukić svakako je skrenulo pažnju javnosti, i uz režijska rješenja Stavreva, bilo je inspirativno za tumačenja kritike. Radunović smatra da je ženski Hljestakov trebalo da dâ posebnu aromu, ako ne i dimenziju predstavi, ali da, nažalost, ta okolnost na Stavreva nije djelovala inspirativno pa je povjerio tumačenje tog lika Varji Đukić isključivo zato što je jedina ona u ansamblu mogla da ispuni njegove zahtjeve. Radulović smatra da je taj ženski lik ili, „možda, ‚bespolni' Hljestakov, mogao biti mogućnost za potpuno drugačije čitanje Gogoljevog teksta".[296)] Kritika je zapazila da je prema Stavrevljevoj ideji, Hljestakov u suštini naivni ali istovremeno i „nadobudni i histerični mladić", koji je ponajmanje kriv za okolnosti u kojima se nalazi, i koji je prinuđen da igra igru „revizora". Prema Radunoviću, potencirajući naivnost i nevinost Hljestakova, Stavrev ga oblači u bijelo. „No, u trenutku kada okolnosti shvati i igru prozre, Hljestakov se pretvara u vještog i beskrupuloznog manipulatora. On počinje priču o prijateljima na vlasti i svojim vezama i tu tiradu kojom fascinira protivnike, penjući se uz neke naslagane predmete, odjednom pretvara u političku tribinu sa koje se obraća ‚javnosti'. Tog trenutka za njega su ‚sva vrata otvorena' i sva ponašanja dozvoljena."[297)] Nasuprot njemu, gradonačelnik i njegova svita obučeni su u tamne tonove i djeluju kao „mrtve duše".

Ova predstava je prikazivana 11 puta, i nakon toga nije više izvođena

5. Zaključak

Nakon te inscenacije Revizora, Gogolj je bio zastupljen samo kroz predstave koje su izvodila neka strana pozorišta prilikom svojih gostovanja. Gogoljeva djela se dalje samo pominju kao ona vrsta literature koja u pozorištu spada u „opšte mjesto", i koja se obavezno radi.

Kada se napravi pregled pozorišnih repertoara u susjednim državama, u Srbiji, Hrvatskoj, Bosni i Hercegovini, Makedoniji, evidedntan je intenzivan rad dramskih stvaralaca na traganju za novim ključevima za usavršavanjem scenske interpretacije Gogoljevih djela, tako da je Gogolj vrlo prisutan sa „Revizorom", „Ženidbom", „Dnevnikom jednog ludaka", „Mrtvim dušama". Narodno pozorište u Beogradu obilježava 200 god. od rođenja Gogolja komedijom „Ženidba".

Statistički u periodu od 1953. do 2003.godine, Gogolj pored Čehova i Ostrovskog ostaje najizvođeniji ruski pisac. Ipak, da se zaključiti da se vremenom CNP okretalo novim piscima, tako da inseniranja Gogoljevih djela ostaju vezana za minule periode. Prema broju izvođenja Gogoljevih djela i generalnom mišljenju kritike, već

[295)] L.Brković, „Bogato i uspješno – pet premijera CNP", *Titogradska tribina*, Titograd, 12. 1. 1990.
[296)] Veselin Radunović, „Umjetnost ili imitacija života", *Ovdje*, Titograd, I 1989.
[297)] Isto.

sedamdesetih godina može se zaključiti da njegovo vrijeme na sceni CNP prolazi. Aktuelno postaje veliko interesovanje za Čehova i njegove drame, koji je počeo da dobija zasluženu pažnju.

Djela Gogolja su utrla put ruskom klasičnom repertoaru u CNP, koje će svoj pravi razvoj doživjeti krajem devedesetih godina sa djelima Gončarova, Gorkog, Dostojevskog i Čehova. Kritika bilježi značajne uspjehe izvođenja djela tih autora, i to u tolikoj mjeri da je inspirisana inscenacijom djela tih drugih ruskih autora ocijenila period u kom su ta djela izvođena renesansom CNP, a postala je i sama vrlo inspirativna. Ostaje da vidimo da li će nam CNP prirediti neka nova scenska iščitavanja Gogolja, ili se usuditi na smjelije pokušaje insceniranja njegovih drugih djela.

Literatura

Đurović, R. (2006) **Teatrološki spisi,** Podgorica: Crnogorsko narodno pozorište

Radojević, M. (1998) **Crnogorsko narodno pozorište***:* **1953–1998**, Podgorica: Crnogorsko narodno pozorište

Radojević, M. (2003) **Crnogorsko narodno pozorište: 1953–2003**, Podgorica: Crnogorsko narodno pozorište

Pozorište u Crnoj Gori u drugoj polovini XX vijeka, radovi sa naučnog skupa, Podgorica, 23. jun 2006. godine, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Podgorica, 2007

Savremena drama i pozorište u Crnoj Gori, priredili Sreten Perović i Radoslav Rotković, Sterijino pozorje, Novi Sad, 1987

UDK 821.111(73).09-1

Dubravka Popović Srdanović

ŽIVOTNOST ŽANRA: ELEGIJE FRENKA O'HARE

Apstrakt: *Iako je u svom razvoju, od antičkih vremena do danas, elegija napustila sve formalne odrednice, zanemarujući čak i osećanje ličnog gubitka, što se smatralo njenom suštinskom karakteristikom, ona danas predstavlja jedan od velikih lirskih žanrova jer je tema smrti i prolaznosti možda najveća tema moderne poezije. Među američke pesnike koji su u dvadesetom veku pisali elegijsku poeziju svrstava se Frenk O'Hara. U radu se analizirajui njegove pesme, one posvećene Džejmsu Dinu, kao i "A Step Away from Them" i "The Day Lady Died", kao elegije koje ukazuju na raznovrsne mogućnosti razvoja ovog žanra. Ovo je utmeljeno u funkcionisanju dva za O'Haru jednako važna postupka: estetike pop umetnosti, utemeljene u kulturalnom egalitarizmu površina, i ideologiji dubine, nasleđene od evropskih umetničkih pravaca u kojima je izuzetno naglašena vodeća uloga umetnika.*

Ključne reči: *elegija, O'Harina elegija, tema smrti, kulturalni egalitarizam površina, ideologija dubine, parodija, izbor detalja, uzvišenost i banalnost, lokalno i kosmopolitsko*

1. Uvod

Upravo činjenica da je elegija kroz svoju dugu istoriju[298] bila podvrgnuta neprestanoj hibridizaciji i samopodrivanju, a da je žanr ipak ostao prepoznatljiv, svedoči o njegovoj životnosti. Elegija je i u modernom svetu sačuvala opsednutost temom smrti omogućujući savremenim pesnicima da uvek iznova promišljaju iskustvo žalosti i gubitka. Kako je smrt možda najveća pesnička tema moderne poezije, ovaj žanr spada u centralne žanrove u razvoju lirike XX veka. Elegijska poezija XX veka je naravno morala pronaći nove oblike kao i novi jezik da bi u doba masovnih smrti (u dva velika rata, i potom bezbroj drugih), u vreme velikih sumnji u religiju, uspela da izrazi osećanje gubitka, žaljenja, oplakivanja, ne izbegavajući političku, socijalnu, istorijsku i drugu

[298] Termin elegija izvodi se iz grčke reči *elegos* (tužna pesma, tužbalica), i izvorno je označavao i vrstu poetskog metra (elegijski distih), i vrstu lirske pesme pisanu u tom distihu. Evropsko shvatanje elegije kao pesme koja izražava žaljenje za izgubljenom ljubavlju, minulom mladošću, dalekom otadžbinom, odredio je svojim *Tugovankama (Tristia, Ex Ponto*) rimski pesnik Ovidije. Pod elegijom se od vremena renesanse podrazumeva melanholično-meditativna lirska pesma koja se ne vezuje za formalne kriterijume (Rečnik, 1986:164). Ovaj žanr posebno se razvio u doba sentimentalizma kada je jedna od velikih tema književnosti postalo razmišljanje o smrti (osobe ili grupe) ili uopšte o tuzi.

problematiku svoga vremena. U angloameričkoj tradiciji, ovaj žanr je, u XX veku, iznedrio izvanredna ostvarenja pesnika najrazličitjiih orijentacija i poetika. Među njih spada i najzanačajniji predstavnik tzv. Njujorške škole poezije Frank O'Hara (1926- 1966).

U kritici su O'Harine pesme, što se odnosi i na njegove elegije, okarakterisane pomalo ironično kao pesme "Ja radim ovo, ja radim ono" jer opisuju pesnikovu svakodnevicu. Međutim, dok s jedne strane detalji koji obeležavaju jedan trenutak u životu pesnika stvaraju utisak da se radi o jednom veoma specifičnom, veoma ličnom iskustvu, s druge strane uočljiva je tendencija reinterpretacije pesničkih dostignuća evropske poezije tridesetih i četrdesetih godina dvadesetog veka, što ukazuje na impliciranu želju za univerzalnijim značenjem.

O' Harina poezija operiše „između namere pesnikove da ostvari vitmanski, demokratski koncept, da devalvira 'poetski' jezik i zameni ga spontanim jezikom" i tradicije evropske poezije koju su u Ameriku preneli slikari, pripadnici njujorške škole, koja sadrži elitističke elemente, u kojoj je umetnik shvaćen kao neka vrsta sveštenika, a što je sve uslovilo njenu podeljenu recepciju: akademska kritika ju je smatrala nedovršenom a široka čitalačka publika previše hermetičkom (Molesworth,1979:126).

Za razumevanje O'Harinog rada veoma je bitno pojmiti glavni koncept u umetničkim krugovima Njujorka tada vladajućeg apstraktnog ekspresionizma, određivanje međusobnog uticaja među elementima umetničkog dela koji su shvaćeni kao površine, i to, kako je O'Hara shvatao, putem estetizujuće ironije, kao i koncept etike „površine stvari" onako kako je to definisao guru umetnosti popa, Endi Vorhol, u svom čuvenom iskazu: „sve je dobro". Pop je nametnuo egalitarizam, odnosno protivljenje diskriminaciji koja se zasnivala na hermeneutici dubine i postuliranju moralnih vrednosti zastupajući tezu da se vrednost može pronaći u svakom predmetu, i da upravo zato što je sve važno, ništa nije važnije nego nešto drugo. To, međutim ne znači da su pesnici Njujorške škole na čelu sa O'Harom napustili ideologiju dubine. Ono što je obeležilo tradiciju moralne ozbiljnosti, a predstavlja njihov odnos prema politici, ideologiji, istoriji, oni su nesumnjivo baštinili kao umetnici-intelektualci od evropskih umetničkih pravaca. Ove dve poetike u punoj meri su funkcionalne u O'Harinim elelgijama omogućujući mu da u ovom žanru ostvari izuzetno majstorstvo.

2. Analiza elegija

Frenk O'Hara bio je fasciniran Džejmsom Dinom, njegovom briljantnom glumom, i njegovom lepotom, preciznije androginošću njegove pojave koja nije mogla izbeći O'Harinoj gej vizuri. Kada je Džejms Din poginuo, 1955. u 24. godini, O'Hara koji je tada imao 29 godina je na ovaj dogadjaj odgovorio pišući od oktobra do aprila 1956. nekoliko elegija posvećenih glumcu.

Elegija „For James Dean" koristi kao uzor najčuveniju englesku klasičnu elegiju, Miltonovu pesmu „Lycidas" sa namerom da mešanjem različitih stilova i poetika dekonstruiše tradicionalnu elegiju. Invokacija bogova, na primer, pokazuje nameru da ton pesme bude što sličniji klasičnoj rimskoj elegiji, ali je istovremeno naglašena i pesnikova stopljenost sa savremenim svetom i pre svega Njujorkom, gradom u kojem živi:

„For a young actor I am begging/ Peace, gods. Alone/ In the empty streets of New York/ I am its dirty feet and head/ And he is dead“.

Mada je ovaj spoj lokalnog i sentimentalnog sa jedne i kosmopolitizma i elitizma s druge strane izazvao je kontroverze među kritičarima pošto je prodor holivudske melodrame u poeziju ocenjen je kao razaranje visoke kulture, O'Hara je u pesmi „Obit Dean, September 30, 1955“ otišao korak dalje. Uneo je u elegiju parodiju klasične invokacije bogova jer je boginja kojoj se obraća celuloidna holivudska boginja, Karol Lombard. U elegiji „Thinking of James Dean“ sjedinjene su teme prolaznosti sveta, nerazumevanje odličnosti na koje veliki umetnici nailaze u svom vremenu i ogovaranje kao dominantni činilac u kreaciji holivudskih mitova, ovaj put u vezi sa smrću kojom je skrivena navodna unakaženost Dina.

„your name is fading from all but a few marquees, the big red/ Callingcard of your own death. And there is a rumor that you live/ Hideously maimed and hidden by a conscientious studio.“

Ovaj pop elemenat, koji je O'Hara uneo u elegiju, a prisutan je na likovnoj sceni u delima Riversa i Raušenberga, predstavlja izuzetno značajnu novinu u razvoju žanra. Oplakivanje smrti holivudskog glumca na način na koji je oplakana smrt tragičnih lirskih figura kakvi su bili engleski romantičarski pesnici spojeno je sa neočekivanom banalnošću i kičom, a sentimentalnost, ironija i cinizam pojavljuju se kao oblici „iskrenosti“ svojstveni pop umetnosti.

Korak dalje u O'Harinom razvoju elegije predstavlja pesma „ A Step Away from Them“. Ova pesma posvećena je pesnikovim prijateljima umrlim ili poginulim 1956, pesnikinji Bani Lang, muzičaru i pesniku Džonu Latušu i slikaru Džeksonu Poloku:

> *“It's my lunch hour, so I go/ for a walk among the hum-colored/ cabs. First, down the/ sidewalk/ where laborers feed their dirty/ glistening torsos sandwiches/ and Coca-Cola, with yellow helmets/ on. They protect them from falling/ bricks, I guess. Then onto the/ avenue where skirts are flipping/ above heels and blow up over/ grates. The sun is hot, but the/ cabs stir up the air. I look/ at bargains in wristwatches. There/ are cats playing in sawdust. // On/ to Times Square, where the sign/ blows smoke over my head, and higher/ the waterfall pours lightly. A/ Negro stands in a doorway with a/ toothpick, languorously agitating/ A blonde chorus girl clicks: he/ smiles and rubs his chin. Everything/ suddenly honks: it is 12:40 of/ a Thursday.// Neon in daylight is a/ great pleasure, as Edwin Denby would/ write, as are light bulbs in daylight./ I stop for a cheeseburger at JULIET'S/ CORNER. Giulietta Masina, wife of/ Federico Fellini, é bell' attrice./ And chocolate malted. A lady in/ foxes on such a day puts her poodle/ in a cab.// There are several Puerto/ Ricans on*

the avenue today, which/ makes it beautiful and warm. First/ Bunny died, then John Latouche,/ then Jackson Pollock. But is the/ earth as full as life was full, of them?/ And one has eaten and one walks,/ past the magazines with nudes/ and the posters for BULLFIGHT and/ the Manhatten Storage Warehouse,/ which they'll soon tear down. I/ used to think they had the Armory Show there.// A glass of papaya juice/ and back to work. My heart is in my/ pocket, it is Poems by Pierre Reverdy."

Na prvi pogled pesma čini se da je pesma sastavljena od niza detalja koji ilustruju lični doživljaj. Za vreme pauze za ručak, od 12 do 13 časova, u četvrtak, jednog letnjeg dana, pesnik izlazi iz Muzeja moderne umetnosti gde je zaposlen, kreće u šetnju, prolazi pored građevina na Šestoj aveniji, prolazi kroz Times Square gde se nalazi raklamni pano za cigarete Česterfild iz kojeg se vije dim, dolazi do restorana Juliet's Corner gde obeduje klasični američki brzi obrok i pored Manhattan Storage Warehouse vraća se na posao usput zastajući da popije sok od papaje.

Niz iskrenih, dnevničkih beleženja vizuelnih i drugih utisaka koji čulni, blistavi, puni boje i pokreta, ulaze u polje pesnikove percepcije iznenada je, tako bar izgleda na prvi pogled, prekinut naletom smrti. Pesnik se priseća umrlih prijatelja pominjući njihova imena, ali posvetivši im samo jednu rečenicu. To s činjenične strane (broj stihova posvećenih umrlom) dovodi u pitanje žanrovsko određenje pesme kao elegije, mada se sa strane osećanja ovo pitanje ne postavlja jer se pesma doživljava kao elegija.

Bliži uvid u pesmu pokazuje da je prividna spontanost utisaka samo konstrukcija, da u stalnoj gradaciji pesnik konstruiše temu vremena kroz niz različitih referenci (najpre vreme za ručak, zatim rasprodaja ručnih satova, prolazak kroz Times Square, najzad, određeno vreme: 12 i 40, četvrtak) paralelno gradeći sliku blistave čulnosti i životnosti kroz boje i kretanje tela i predmeta. „Hum-colored cabs", „yellow helmets" izmešani su sa sjajnim, znojavim telima radnika („glistening torsos"), tu su predstavnici različitih rasa i naroda koji žive u Njujorku („a negro", „a blonde chorus girl", „Puerto Ricans"); sve je u kretanju, puno seksualne napetosti: „skirts are flipping" i „blow up over grates", „cabs stir up the air", „cats are playing", čak su i slike oživljene: na reklami za cigarete Česterfild vije se dim, a tu je i pokretni vodopad.

Kroz ova dva paralelna toka istovremeno se konstruiše slika prolaznosti života, odnosno bliskosti smrti, što pesnik podvlači suprotstavljajući blistavim utiscima one drugačije: neonska svetla (svetla mraka) svetle i po danu, kao i sijalice. Pesnik jede čizburger u restoranu koji svojim imenom asocira na smrt Šekspirovih ljubavnika; asocijacija na Đulijetu Masinu, čiju je ulogu u Felinijevom filmu „Ulica" (La strada) O' Hara smatrao briljantnom gradi kod poznavalaca ovog filma posebnu vrstu elegične asocijacije na smrt iskrene ljubavi. Hamburger i čokoladni šejk, razdvojeni asocijacijom na Felinijevo remek delo o prolaznosti, oličavaju čak i život u punoj meri – čas kada se jede – kao trenutak prolaznosti. Ironična pozicija žene koja u letnji dan u krznu lisice (što sigurno asocira na smrt, odnosno nebrigu za život životinja) unosi u taksi svoju pudlicu samo naglašava stalno prisustvo smrti.

Suprotstavljena slici topline i lepote, kao i punoće, koju svojom pojavom izazivaju Portorikanci, kao antiteza se javljaju imena troje mrtvih prijatelja čija je umetnost bila puna istog tog njujorškog života, i elegično pitanje: „But is the earth as full as life was full, of them?" Posle ovog pitanja, inače jedinih stihova izrečenih u tonu drugačijem od konvencionalnog i kolokvijalnog, kao da nestaje pesnikova ličnost razorena sećanjem na mrtve. Ali, ona se ne gubi u sentimentalnosti već se ironično pretapa u bezlično „one"; pesnikovu pažnju ne privlači više život nego predstave života „magazines with nudes", „posters with BULLFIGHT". Tela koja su do sada pulsirala kroz pesmu natopljena seksualnošću i životnošću postvarena su (slike golih žena u magazinima) ili sagledana kao drugorazredna u činu ritualnog nasilja (borba s bikovima). Prolaznost i prisustvo smrti oličeni su i u promenama na građevinama: na početku pesme pomenuta je građevina u izgradnji, na kraju pesme govori se o rušenju druge građevine. Ali i svet objekata koji nestaju, ruše se, odnosno bliže smrti – kao Manhatan Storage Warehouse – lišen je romantičnog oreola, kao i svet ljudi, ironičnim komentarom pisca da je mislio da je to mesto u stvari „The Armory Show" gde je 1913. održana čuvena izložba kada se Njujork prvi put suočio sa modernom evropskom i američkom umetnošću (impresionizma, fovizma i kubizma). Sećanje je značajno u razumevanju sadašnjosti, ali pesnik ovo ironizuje: sećanje pogrešno konstruiše mesto najznačajnijeg događaja za istoriju moderne američke umetnosti.

Kao što se životnom i živom suprotstavlja mrtvo, tako se ova pesma može čitati kao suprotstavljanje domaćih i stranih, njujorških i kosmopolitskih kulturnih referenci; sa jedne strane tu su sendviči i koka kola, hamburger i „malted", Česterfild, Times Square, Manhetten Storage Warehouse, Armory Show, a sa druge Juliet's Corner, Giulietta Massina, Felini, italijanski jezik (e bell'atrice), Portorikanci, BULLFIGHT, sok od papaje, Reverdijeve pesme. Tako pesma koja na prvi pogled deluje kao zbir površnih utisaka, predstavlja kroz različite kulturne kodove kulturni momenat njujorških pedesetih implicirajući njegove rasne, rodne i istorijske karakteristike ali i samu sebe kao nosioca svih ovih vrednosti u kreiranju nove njujorške poezije.

Pesma se završava izjavom „My heart is in my/ Pocket, it is Poems by Pierre Reverdy", čime pesnik pravi ironičnu odstupnicu za sebe, a lični narativ podriva autoritet istorijskog: na korak od svega, pesnik pripada samo poeziji drugog pesnika koji je, kao što poznavaoci dobro znaju, napisao čuvenu „Pesmu mrtvih" (Le chant de morts). Sagledan iz ove perspektive naslov pesme pokazuje ne samo pesnikovu bliskost smrti (što je bilo i neka vrsta predosećanja jer je pesnik poginuo tri godine kasnije), već ironično, i nemogućnost uspostavljanja bliskosti kako sa predmetima i pojavama koje ga okružuju tako i održavanja bliskosti sa dragim ljudima koji su umrli. Time se, krajnje ironično, postavlja i pitanje postojanja žanra elegije i opet ironično, nasuprot svemu, uspostavlja neka vrsta odanosti tom žanru određivanjem mesta srca pomoću poezije Pjera Reverdija. Čime se žanr ponovo uspostavlja.

Najčešće antologizovana O'Harina pesma, i njegova najbolja i najsloženija elegija posvećena je uspomeni na rano preminulu crnu pevačicu Billie Holiday, (1915 –

1959), jednu od najvećih američkih pevačica džeza, koju su obožavaoci zvali Lady Day, što je u naslovu pesme ingeniozno iskorišćeno za igru reči: „Day Lady Died“.

„*It is 12:20 in New York a Friday/ three days after Bastille day, yes/ it is 1959 and I go get a shoeshine/ becuse I will get off the 4:19 in Easthampton/ at 7:15 and then go straight to dinner/ and I don't know the people who will feed me// I walk up the muggy street beginning to sun/ and have a hamburger and a malted and buy/ an ugly NEW WORLD WRITING to see what the poets/ in Ghana are doing these days/ I go on to the bank/ and Miss Stillwagon (first name Linda I once heard)/ doesn't even look up my balance for once in her life/ and in GOLDEN GRIFFIN I get a little Verlaine/ for Patsy with drawings by Bonnard although I do / think of Hesiod, trans. Richmond Latimore or/ Brendan Behan's new play or Le Balcon or Les Negres/ of Genet, but I don't, I stick with Verlaine/ after practically going to sleep with quandariness// and for Mike I just stroll into the PARK LANE/ Liquor Store and ask for a bottle of Strega and/ then I go back where I came from to 6th Avenue/ and the tobacconist in the Ziegfeld Theatre and/ casually ask for a carton of Gauloisses and a carton/ of picayunes, and a NEW YORK POST with her face on it// and I am sweating a lot by now and thinking of/ leaning on the john door in the 5 SPOT/ while she whispered a song along the keyboard/ to Mike Waldron and everyone and I stopped breathing.*“

O'Hara je doista, 1958. u jesen, kako svedoče zapisi prisutnih (Lehman, 1998:39), slušao pevačicu u „5 SPOT“, kao što je i opisano u pesmi: ovo je bilo mesto okupljanja avangardnih umetnika. Pevačici je, inače, kao hapšenoj narkomanki bilo zabranjeno da peva u barovima u kojima se služio alkohol. Ponedeljkom je Mal Waldron, pijanista koji ju je obično pratio na klaviru, nastupao u ovom lokalu i pevačica je navratila u lokal da ga pozdravi. Oduševljeni prisutni zamolili su je da nešto otpeva; ona je na kraju pristala i uz Voldronovu pratnju, kako je svedočio pesnik Kenet Koč, „otpevala jednu pesmu onim veoma šaputavim divnim glasom“.

Do dvadeset petog stiha pesme čitalac se kreće kroz niz naizgled nabacanih detalja koji odslikavaju proces pesnikovog kretanja, ne znajući kako da ih shvati. Ipak, nesporno je osećanje elegije. Niz kritičara, na čelu sa Altijerijem (Altieri, 1979: 144) zalaže se za tezu da ovom osećanju doprinosi izbor detalja.

Pesma pripoveda događaje u sadašnjem vremenu, a događaji se dešavaju istovremeno sa iskazima. Brzina iskaza, stalna opkoračenja, minimalna interpunkcija i podređenost brzine pesme vezniku „i“ onemogućuju posvećenost čitaoca detalju. Tek sa apokaliptičkim krajem, završetkom u kojem se ujedinjuju događaj iz sećanja i sadašnjost, izvođenje pesme Bili Holidej sa izvođenjem O'Harine pesme, ispričani događaj postaje značajan. Čitalac tada oseća da je neophodno rekonstruisati strukturu sačinjenu od raznovrsnih detalja shvatajući da odnos prema njihovom tumačenju suštinski određuje čitanje pesme.

U pesmi su suprotstavljeni detalji koji pripadaju stranom (egzotičnom) i domaćem, kako njujorškom tako i američkom kulturnom prostoru (M.Perloff, 1997:87):

s jedne strane su Gana, Golden Griffin, Verlen, Bonar, Hesiod, prevodilac Ričmond Latimor, Brendan Behan, *Balkon*, *Crnci*, Žene, Strega, Gauloises, Picayunes (specijalna vrsta južnjačkih cigareta) a sa druge: Njujork, Easthampton, Park Lane, 6th Avenue, „New York Post“, „5 SPOT“, pozorište Ziegfeld, kao i glancanje cipela, sparna ulica, hamburger i milkšejk, „New World Writing“, „john door“, najzad, simbol američkog džeza, pijanista Mal Voldron.

Pevačica u stvari predstavlja onu sponu koja povezuje ove detalje u celinu zato što otelovljuje i ono što je egzotično i ono što je izvorno američko (Perloff: 88). Pevačica poreklom s juga, što u Americi ima koliko geografsku toliko i političku konotaciju, prošla je kao crnkinja trnovitim putem do uspeha i posle svega pala pod uticaj droge. Ali svet svakodnevice i banalnosti koji pevačica oličuje nadilazi njen veliki glas, njena fenomenalna umetnost koja je povezuje sa bezvremenim dostignućima pomenutih pesnika, dramskih pisaca, sa njihovim delima. I sam njen nadimak je izmirenje suprotnosti, spoj nečeg izuzetnog i nečeg svakodnevnog: Lady i Day.

Niz detalja u pesmi odnosi se na tačke u vremenu toga dana, 17. jula, ali precizno postavljen vremenski okvir u vezi sa Bastiljom ukazuje na impliciranje istorijske dubine. I drugi detalji u pesmi, kako istorijski tako i geografski, povezani su sa “potlačenošću, utamničenjem, i revolucijom“ (Lowney, 1997:190), a sve su to elementi životne priče Bili Holidej. „Ugly NEW WORLD WRITING“ (ružni dizajn korica) treba pesniku da pokaže šta rade pesnici Gane, zemlje ranije nazvane Zlatna Obala, moćnog centra trgovine robljem, što sigurno predstavlja posebnu vrstu asocijacije na pevačicino poreklo. Problematizacija crnačkog pitanja implicirana je i pripremanjem na „glancanje cipela“ koje su obično obavljali crnci, kao i pomenom Ženeovog komada *Crnci*.

Knjige koje su pomenute kao mogući poklon za Patsi i same se bave ugnjetavanjem i pobunom, a njihovi autori su poznati ne samo kao pobunjenici protiv konvencija već su i sami proveli vreme u zatvoru. Behan je dva puta zatvaran kao član IRE, Žan Žene je dobar deo života proveo u zatvoru; čak je i Verlen proveo dve godine u zatvoru pošto je pucao na svog ljubavnika Artura Remboa. Mada nigde eksplicirani, tlačenje i pobuna pojavljuju se u pesmi kao moćne senke koje se nadnose nad život koji pesma oplakuje ali nikada eksplicitno ne opisuje (Popović Srdanović, 2008:421).

Pored reference na Dan Bastilje, sve ostale reference pesme na „strano“ i „prošlo“ u istorijskom smislu su reference na tekstove. Istorija je uvek predstavljena tekstom, odigrana, stavljena u zagrade, korice časopisa i knjiga koje pesnik pregleda. Čak se i pevačica prvi put pojavljuje u tekstu, u novinama. Ovaj naglasak na tekstualnosti istorije utemeljuje vezu ovog literarnog teksta, pesme, sa istorijskim događajem, danom kada je Dama umrla. Naglašavajući istorijsku različitost, prolaznost ljudi, mesta i događaja, pesma sugeriše oblike istorijskog ponavljanja: revolucija u Francuskoj, revolucija u Gani, progon umetnika u Francuskoj, u Americi. Stavljajući smrt Bili Holidej u kontekst Dana Bastilje i zvanične potlačenosti umetnika, O'Hara suptilno komentariše i stanje avangarde i avangardnog umetnika u Americi pedesetih godina.

Svi činovi delovanja pesnika u pesmi su činovi svesnog odabira (odlazak u banku, izbor knjige), izuzev poslednjeg čina: fotografija Lady Day obnavlja sećanje na moć umetnosti da oduzme dah. Ovim činom svi detalji u pesmi dobijaju drugu dimneziju poništavajući moguću istorijsku amneziju.

Nepovezanosti koje ukazuju na povezanosti, izdvojeni momenti u vremenu koji vode ka vremenskoj transcedenciji, ka večnosti u vremenu, sve u ovoj pesmi radi u tom pravcu. Naročito je zanimljiv sintaksički aspekt pesme jer njena parataksička struktura obesmišljava vremenski tok. O'Hara se kreće iz ulice u ulicu, iz radnje u radnju, i dok se ritam pesme polako usporava, broj veznika se povećava (u poslednjih devet stihova devet puta je korišćen veznik „and") da bi na kraju sled običnih trenutaka bio prevaziđen jednim trenutkom u kojem će vreme stati. Prateći pesnikove trivijalne aktivnosti jednog petka po sparnom Menhetnu, pesma kreira autentično prisustvo jednog moćnog glasa i jedne nezaboravne umetnosti.

Ono što u pesnikovom sećanju na Bili Holidej ostaje jeste momenat koji je istovremeno i smrt, i život u smrti, jer ga razdvaja od normalnih dnevnih aktivnosti; to je momenat apsolutne komunikacije sa pevačicom, trenutak „kada je ona kontrolisala sve slušaoce i odvela ih u jedinstvenu ekstazu" (Altieri: 145). Sama O'Harina pesma ponavlja čin Holidejeve; puni elegijski efekat pesme zavisi od trenutka sjedinjavanja čitaočeve pažnje sa pesnikovim sećanjem. Čitalac na kraju pesme i sam prestaje da diše potvrđujući O'Harinu pretpostavku da prava umetnost može da nas uteše u susretu sa bliskom smrću transcendiranjem pojedinačnosti egzistencija sa svim njihovim podelama.

Mada se ne može sporiti da se u ovoj pesmi pesnik bavi sobom, ova pesma jeste dirljiva elegija. Ona je to upravo stoga.što uspostavljeni kontrast između živog čoveka koji obavlja svakodnevne životne poslove i prerane smrti velike umetnice razrešava tišinom bez daha koja se svakim novim čitanjem produbljuje i svešću o preranoj smrti O'Hare u četrdesetoj godini života.

Utemeljujući svoje pesme na dva fundamentalna postupka: kulturalnom egalitarizmu površina i ideologiji dubine, O'Hara je otvorio prostor kojim su, uz sveprisutnu ironiju i cinizam, u elegiju ušli elementi estetike popa koji sjedinjuju tragičnost i uzvišenost sa banalnošću i kičom, a pre svega detalji svakodnevice koji kao različiti kulturni kodovi definišu kulturni momenat njujorških i američkih pedesetih godina postulirajući njegove rodne, rasne, istorijske i političke karakteristike. Time je O' Hara stvorio elegije koje spadaju među najznačajnija pesnička ostvarenja u američkoj poeziji XX, potvrđujući nepresušnu životnost ovog starog žanra.

References

Altieri, C. (1979) **Enlarging the Temple: New Directions in American Poetry during the 1960s,** Associated University Presses, Inc.

Lehman, D. (1988) **The Last Avant-Garde: The Making of the New York School of Poets**, New York: Doubleday, Inc.

Lowney, J. (1997) **The American Avant-Garde Tradition: William Carlos Williams, Postmodern Poetry, and the Politics of Cultural Memory**, Lewisburg: Bucknell UP

Molesworth, C. (1979) **The Fierce Embrace: A Study of Contemporary American Poetry,** Columbia: University of Missouri Press

Perloff, M. (1997) **Frank O' Hara: Poet among Painters,** Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Popović Srdanović, D. (2008) "O jednoj postmodernoj elegiji 'Dan Damine smrti' ('The Day Lady Died')", **Teorija, estetika, poetika,** Beograd: Institut za književnost i umetnost, str. 413-425

Rečnik književnih termina. (1986), „Elegija", Beograd: Nolit

UDK 821.21.09

Faruk Bajraktarević

THE NEW INDIA(N) IN ARAVIND ADIGA'S *THE WHITE TIGER*

Abstract: *Upon its release, the 2008 Booker Prize winner The White Tiger was welcomed as an original vision of India that completely shattered the established Western views of the country. The paper examines the novel as a faithful, if not original, portrayal of today's India. Focusing on the idea of the Indian city as the stage on which Indian contemporary contradictions are most vividly enacted, the paper also discusses the rise of the new India(n), whose sites of liberation from the oppressive discourses of tradition, social rank and caste are also found in the Indian cities of Delhi and Bangalore.*

Key Words: *The White Tiger*, the New India(n), Gaya, Delhi, Bangalore, representation, postcolonial, cyberspace

1. Introduction

Presenting a hero whose audacity to question the order of things is so unique that he gets compared to extremely rare creatures such as the white tiger and whose narrative of progress parallels the one of his country, Aravind Adiga's award winning debut does not appear to have anything particularly original to offer. Similarities to Salman Rushdie's cult novel *Midnight's Children* (1981) and its protagonist Saleem Sinai or even Bollywood rags-to-riches stories of success of a common man are instantly established. Keeping in mind that *The White Tiger* (2008) is the ninth Booker winning novel to take India as the subject matter, one is bound to reduce their expectations and approach the novel as yet another piece of postcolonial writing or an 'antidote to the general ethnocentricity and cultural myopia'(Ahmad, 2001: 77) of the Western academic and general audience that becomes useful in the academic circles as another account of how India should be understood from the perspective of its insiders who get an opportunity 'to represent themselves in domains defined…as normally excluding them.'(Connor, 1997: 264) Pledging at the very outset of the series of seven e-mail letters to the Chinese premier, who is about to visit India, to 'tell the truth about Bangalore … By telling you my life's story,' (Adiga, 2008: 4), a story the premier has never had a chance to hear, Balram Halwai, the novel's narrator, reaffirms the central position the politics of representation holds in the postcolonial novel, placing *The White Tiger* within the body of English-Indian literature as another item of national allegorical writing whose primary aim is to provide an alternative account of the Indian nation. The main reason, however, it received the award, as the chairman of the Booker judges explains, is that it 'shocked and entertained in equal measure,'(Bailey, 2008) which clearly suggests a certain quality of freshness that sets *The White Tiger* apart from the eight winning predecessors. Keeping in mind the complexity of Indian identity as well as the tendency in postcolonial politics of representation to approach identity as ‘historically, culturally, politically’ (Hall, 1995: 257) constructed rather than a fixed or essential quality, the image of India constructed in *The White Tiger* certainly possesses a potential to surprise, particularly when Balram’s narrative is deeply steeped in social and political conditions of what is now termed the New India, a widely accepted phrase designating an entirely new phase of development India has reached sixty one years after the independence.

2. The Idea of the New India

A dramatic economic growth in the last couple of decades marked by the rise of consumerist urban elites has also created a wide rift between the representatives of the new, progressive India and a great majority of those experiencing full brutality of survival in the parts of India that remain unaffected by the progress or those that seem to be daily victimized for the sake of the wealthy elites. India has, in other words, come to resemble an average capitalist society, the status that clearly challenges its perception as the western Other. Countering attempts of rather simplistic (self)representation of India as an exotic destination of spiritual escape and self-discovery, *The White Tiger*, probably more openly than its predecessors, questions the status of India within the established tripartite structure of the world. Indirectly but clearly, Adiga repeats Ahmad’s question of India’s placement in the First or the Third world (Ahmad, 2001: 78), depicting the New India as a site of diverse conflicts based primarily on social rank and class, two categories of major significance in the First World as well and deconstructing the metanarrative framework of colonialism as the only one in which Third World literature is set.

The story of real India Balram Halwai tells to the Chinese premier could not be more different from the ones that follow the international protocol. Instead of meeting the Chinese premier with ‘garlands, small take-home sandalwood statues of Gandhi, and a booklet of information about India’s past, present and future.’ (Adiga, 2008: 4), Balram contends that ‘One fact about India is that you can take almost anything you hear about the country from the prime minister and turn it upside down and then you will have the truth about that thing,’ (Adiga, 2008: 10) thus announcing his idea of India is a harshly deconstructive critique of deceptive glorifications of its exoticism or present-day prosperity, which often ignore the reality of the Indian underbelly where the worst of suffering, corruption and crime is still taking place. It is only by flipping the India of western imagination upside down and looking at its grimy side that the reality of the New India is fully understood. The New India, as suggested in Balram’s first letter, is no longer to be observed as a land of ‘one thousand castes and destinies’ (Adiga, 2008: 36) but rather as ‘two countries in one: an India of Light and an India of Darkness.’(Adiga, 2008: 10), inhabited by ‘Men with Big Bellies, and Men with Small Bellies’ (Adiga, 2008:

34), two sides at odds with each other, integrating India into the rest of the 'First'/capitalist world the history of which is 'a ten-thousand-year war of brains between the rich and the poor,' (Adiga, 2008: 141) the logic of 'eat-or get eaten up' (Adiga, 2008: 36) being the fundamental principle of the new state and the ruling maxim of Balram's escape from the Darkness to the Light.

Neither India receives favorable treatment, as romantic ideals and orientalist stereotypes are almost brutally shattered to reveal the reality underneath. The India of Darkness, whose grim reality gets staged in Balram's home village, from the very start opposes the Gandhian glorification of the countryside as the cradle of India. The legend of the district of Gaya as the one where the Lord Buddha 'found his enlightenment and started Buddhism' (Adiga, 2008: 12) is undercut by Balram's description of his childhood that faithfully depicts the reality of the state of Bihar, the grimmest embodiment of the India of Darkness. The darkest practices of 'banditry…and feudalism' (Subrahmanyam: 2008) find their place in the novel along with grinding poverty of the district where lives of children 'too lean and short for their age, and with oversized heads from which vivid eyes shine' (Adiga, 2008: 12) are shaped by the government of India that gave them defunct electricity poles and water taps. The holy river of Ganga, the river of illumination, is utterly demystified by being presented as yet another participant in the dark reality of the district. It is 'the black river' (Adiga, 2008: 10) whose dark mud chokes and swallows everything placed near it in the same way that anyone gets smothered in Indian religious temples built for numerous gods and their servants whose stories exemplify the fidelity of slaves to their masters. 'Nothing would get liberated here' (Adiga, 2008: 11) are Balram's thoughts that sum up the idea of social reality that seems only an extension of the natural repression.

Paralyzing many, the darkness of his village also stimulates Balram to start a quest to reach what is known to few and accessible to none – the idea of beauty that in the novel becomes identified with the idea of liberation. 'Even as a boy I could see what was beautiful in the world: I was destined not to stay a slave.' (Adiga, 2008: 24) It is this realization that sets Balram apart from other villagers, turning him into a creature as unique as a white tiger and propelling him to move from the Darkness to its opposite – the Light of prosperous cities where beauty becomes not only visible but reachable as well.

Balram's quest, however, is far from a simple escape or an act of migration. It is only the first stage of mutiny Balram leads not only against the Darkness but anything or anyone standing in the way of his liberation. It is only in the Light that Balram manages to deconstruct 'givens' by questioning ideals and challenging judgments based on firm distinctions of what is moral or immoral. Contrary to a 'Chaplinesque common man' (Khilnani, 2003: 137) of Bollywood movies, Balram starts his quest with an act of betrayal using anti-Muslim prejudice of his employers to gain advantage over a coworker that competes with Balram for a post in Delhi. The narrative of reaching beauty thus gets founded on an act of ugliness that, according to Balram, can only be condemned if the reality stays concealed behind the illusion of order where everything seems fixed in its place.

Balram's migration from the Darkness to the Light and his growth into 'a citified fellow' (Adiga, 2008: 108) parallels the story of India, whose character is rapidly changing from a land of villages to a land whose every citizen is affected by its urban development. According to Sunil Khilnani, around 250 million Indians now inhabit the cities and the expectations are that the number will exceed 400 by 2010 (2003:109). Still unreachable to many, Indian cities capture the imagination of individuals like Balram who see them on television or cinema screens. 'You'd think the whole world was migrating,' (Adiga, 2008: 62) are Balram's thoughts on seeing bunches of others who were like him making it from the Darkness to New Delhi. Turning Balram into a migrant and the urban spaces of Delhi and Bangalore into the embodiments of his desires of success and complete self-realization, *The White Tiger* reenacts another central paradigm of postcolonial literature – the one of the relationship between the migrant from the margins and the city (Upstone, 2006: 88).

As is the case with the imperial center in postcolonial literature, the affluence of Delhi turns the city into the central object of migrant desire (Khilnani, 2003: 109) who visualize it as a breeding ground of opportunities to excel economically and cross the established boundaries of caste and social class. The image of Delhi in *The White Tiger* is also characterized by typical postmodernist features of disorder and chaos that Balram also encounters upon his arrival. 'Delhi is a crazy city,' (Adiga, 2008: 64) observes Balram as he finds it impossible to read and understand the principles behind its organization.

> *See, the rich people live in big housing colonies like Defence Colony or Greater Kailash or Basant kunj, and inside their colonies the houses have numbers and letters, but this numbering and lettering system follows no known system of logic. For instance, in the English alphabet, A is next to B, which everyone knows, even people like me who don't know English. But in a colony, one house is called A 231, and then the next is F 378.* (Adiga, 2008: 64)

Balram's inability to find his way in the city clearly portrays Delhi as reflecting little or nothing of the European ideas of logic and order. They, as *The White Tiger* proves, remain only ideas, while it is 'the ordinary practitioners of the city' (2003: 128) in Michel de Certeau words that create the reality of the city and participate in it. Their perspective is the one that views the city as 'no longer a field of programmed and regulated operations' (De Cereteau, 2003: 130), which can be read as an ambivalent sign of its moral debasement or proliferation of practices that manage to avoid institutional mechanisms of surveillance and control and thus enable an individual to fully realize his/her 'illegitimate' potential.

Following De Certeau's assumption that 'cities are deteriorating along with the procedures that organized them,' (2003: 130) one is led to assume that the sense of order that once organized the city has completely disappeared and that Balram's sense of disorientation on the streets of Delhi evidently reflects a complete absence of organizing principles that would offer moral or spiritual guidance to the Indian subject. It becomes evident, however, that Balram never shows any serious concern over being forced to find his way in the maze of New Delhi. On the contrary, the absence of regulations is a liberating factor inspiring Balram's emancipatory aspirations to cast off the stigma of his lineage and caste. The image of India as an orderly zoo with 'Everyone in his place, everyone happy,' (Adiga, 2008: 35) gets replaced by the sinister image of jungle in August 1947, 'the cages had been let open; and the animals had attacked and ripped each other apart and jungle law replaced zoo law' (Adiga, 2008: 36). The jungle with its Darwinian laws, however, is the only setting that provides the white tiger an opportunity to escape from the confines of his cage and become a fully realized subject. Meeting the tiger's eyes in the National Zoo for Balram is at the same time the recognition of his curbed potential and the trigger to the violent act of murdering his master only to prevent his own victimization.

Undercutting the celebration of urban chaos as a liberating principle are images of dark realism depicting 'harshly delimited boundaries, inequalities, and violence.' (Upstone, 2006: 88) This typical postcolonial practice figures prominently in the logic of *The White Tiger*, which uncovers the real truth behind the glossy illusion of urban prosperity. 'All the enticements of the modern world are stacked up here, but it is also here that many Indians discover the mirage like quality of the modern world.' (Khilnani, 2003: 109) The reality of New Delhi as seen by Balram Halwai cannot omit images of slum dwellers, 'the men cleaning the other men's ears by poking rusty metal rods into them, Ukranian prostitutes, and the poor whose dreams never seem to overlap with the ones of the rich, is what makes Delhi 'the capital of two countries – two Indias,' a place that reflects that the story of modern India is not the one of happiness and success only, but 'a split and disconnected one, full of darker, mixed potential.'(Khilnani, 2003: 110) The cities like Delhi 'have become spawning grounds for contrary conceptions of what India is.'(Khilnani, 2003: 110) Showing the city as a postmodernist ground of relativization through chaos, Adiga never loses the realist awareness of inequalities that are often masked by the postmodernist discourses. The dark reality of Indian nonentities such as Balram becomes very evident in the scene when Pinky Madam, Mr. Ashok's wife kills a child, whose death remains unregistered by the police because there is no one to look for her. Balram himself is also made a victim of modern forms of discrimination functioning according to the same logic as the caste in the countryside. Shopping malls and hotels have now become what temples used to be, places of limited or no access to members of certain castes.

> *The glass door had opened, but the man who wanted to go into them could not do so. The guard at the door had stopped him. He pointed his stick at the man's feet and shook his head – the man had sandals on his feet. All of us drivers too had sandals on our feet. But everyone who was allowed into the mall had shoes on their feet.* (Adiga, 2008: 81)

The elitist space of the shopping mall is thus made visible by means of the glass door and yet completely inaccessible to Balram and his fellow drivers unless the symbols of their rank are replaced by the ones granting permission to enter the mall. Wearing 'a pair of black shoes and a T-shirt that is mostly white with just one English word on it,' (Adiga, 2008: 83) Balram manages to deceive the guard and cross the caste barrier. Psychological obstacles, however, remain insurmountable, so the consciousness of not belonging and fear of being discovered, clearly resonant of the chicken coop mentality Balram despises so much, force him to leave the mall and join his fellow caste members behind the glass door. In the same way that Balram's physical appearance fails to uphold the illusion of his belonging to a higher class, the liberal façade of New Delhi eventually peels off to reveal no essential difference between the city and the village when it comes to the social divisions between the rich and the poor. Little changes once the position is changed, so Balram himself, having left the Darkness behind, is physically kept in darkness in servant's quarters in the basement of Buckingham Towers B Block.

Despite its promising chaos, Delhi remains the capital of two Indias that seem to continue living parallel to each other, never mixing, for transgression by the poor is well prevented by systems of social discipline that have replaced – or only supplemented - the sense of *dharma* (duty, religion) (Luce, 2006: 106) that had for centuries kept Indians in place.

It is only by another illegitimate act of violence that Balram deals the heaviest blow to the disciplinary systems. Aware of the fact that only the fittest survive, Balram murders his employer Mr. Ashok and elopes with a large sum of his money. For Balram, the murder is a mere 'act of entrepreneurship' (Adiga, 2008: 8) morally deplorable only within the oppressive systems of the old India, while its social meaning in the New India undergoes radical reinterpretation turning it into another business venture yielding results if undertaken craftily. 'I've made it! I've broken out of the coop!' (Adiga, 2008: 180) exclaims Balram victoriously viewing his act as the final breakaway from the confines of *dharma* and reversal of the master/slave relationship that remains firmly fixed for a great majority of the dispossessed poor.

The choice of Bangalore as the final destination and the site of complete liberation is only logical, for it is not only the ideal ground for utilizing Balram's entrepreneurial act, but the scene where the contemporary Indian society in its 'post-nationalist' (Khilnani, 2003: 144) and globalist stages gets its clearest reflection. 'One in every three office buildings in India is being built in Bangalore. It is the future,' (Adiga, 2008: 153) are Balram's remarks that witness the rapid growth of the city based 'not on the traditional sources of wealth in independent India – control of land, bureaucratic office or industry – but on professional and technical skills.' (Khilnani, 2003: 147) It is the city where all the potentials of the New Indian come to be realized, and once an illiterate nameless teaboy gets to realize his full potential as 'A Thinking Man and an Entrepreneur,' (Adiga, 2008: 3) where the boundaries between castes, religions and nations all collapse in the face of the simple capitalist principle of **HOW BIG CAN YOU**

THINK? (Adiga, 2008: 179) in which Balram himself finds justification for any act, regardless of how condemnable it may appear, he had or will have to perform to make his way in life.

The Yahoo slogan quoted above, innumerable call-centers and software companies, 'placeless' (Abbas, 2003: 149) iron and glass edifices raised on a daily basis have all made Bangalore a mere spot in a wide network of global economy without anything that would make it distinctively Indian or different from any other place in the global network. Regarded as 'the capital of Non-Resident India,' (Khilnani, 2003: 148), Bangalore is the breeding ground of 'placeless' identities that are no longer bound to the Indian soil only. In a similar manner, Balram can be said to occupy a similar 'placeless' position despite his physical location in an office under a chandelier, easily any office in the world. Keeping in mind that the only source of information on Balram's appearance is the scanned photograph on his silver Macintosh while his words are only available in the form of electronic letters, it becomes clear that Balram does not necessarily inhabit a physical location or cityscape but a deterritorialized technoscape of information technology that enables his narrative to cross the boundaries not only between different castes, the India of Light and Darkness but also between the two nation-states of India and China. In the case of Bangalore and its new inhabitant Balram, the concept of boundaries is in Akbar Abbas's words to be replaced by the one of interfaces (2003: 151) of various discourses among which Balram's/ Indian/ the global identity gets to be defined.

3. Conclusion

The White Tiger once again confirms that India is a land of a million mutinies (Luce, 2006: 115) taking place among millions of its underprivileged citizens, displaying its capability to shock removing the gloss of prosperity and revealing what lies hidden beneath innumerable layers of caste or religion, smoldering until they explode into violence. The voice of Balram Halwai, 'a kind of continuous murmur or growl beneath middle-class life in India…what you'd hear if one day the drains and faucets in your house started talking,' (BookBrowse Interview, 2008) makes one such mutiny visible. The fact that he questions credibility of any moral judgment and presents the Darwinian law as the prime principle of survival in the jungle of the New India is what has led many to castigate the novel for employing stereotypes to cater to Western prejudice and once again render an idea of India as a land outside the Hegelian margins of history. Even though the New India does not receive favorable treatment, it would be to simplistic to understand the critique of the jungle law as aimed against India only. In the last section, the paper contends that there is nothing distinctively Indian about Balram Halwai's position from which the narrative is given. The embodiment of the New India(n), located in the cyberspace of his e-mails allegedly written from his office in Bangalore, presents a new form of identity no longer tied to a physical space or territory but a member of a new ‘global’ community whose identity gets shaped, among other things, by the same ‘liberatory’ philosophy behind slogans of global corporations. His violence is ours.

Literatura

Abbas, A (2003) “Building on Disappearance: Hong Kong Architecture and Colonial Space”, in During, S. (ed.) **The Cultural Studies Reader**, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 146-166

Adiga, A. (2008) **The White Tiger**, New York: Simon and Schuster

Aijaz, A. (2001) “Jameson’s Rhetoric of Otherness and the ‘National Allegory’ in Ascroft, B., Griffiths, G and Tiffin, H. (eds.) **The Post-Colonial Studies Reader**, London and New York: Routldege, pp. 77-82

Connor, S. (1997) **Postmodernist Culture, An introduction to the Theories of the Contemporary**, Oxford: Blackwell

De Certeau, M. (2003) “Walking in the City” in During, S. (ed.) **The Cultural Studies Reader**, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 126-133

Foster, T. (2005) **The Souls of Cyberfolk: Posthumanism as Vernacular Theory**, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Hall, S. (1995) “New ethnicities”, in Donald, J. and Rattansi, A. (eds.) **‘Race’, Culture & Difference**, London: Sage Publications

Heath, J. and Potter, A. (2004) **Nation of Rebels: Why Counterculture Became Consumer Culture**, New York: Harper Collins

Khilnani, S. (2003) **The Idea of India**, London: Penguin Books.

Luce, E. (2006) **In Spite of the Gods: The Strange Rise of Modern India**, London: Little, Brown

Upstone, S. (2006) “Negotiations of London as imperial urban space in the contemporary postcolonial novel”, in Linder, C. (ed.) **Urban Space and City Scapes: Perspectives from Modern and Contemporary Culture**, Oxon and New York: Routledge, pp. 88-100

Bailey, C (15 October 2008) “Man Booker Prize winner Aravind Adiga dedicates The White Tiger to New Delhi”, Telegraph, www.telegraph.co.uk/.../bookprizes/.../Man-Booker-Prize-winner-Aravind-Adiga-dedicates-The-White-Tiger-to-New-Delhi.html (Last retrieved: 4 Jan 2010)

Subrahmanyam, S. (6 november 2008), “Diary”, **London Review of Books**, http://www.lrb.co.uk/v30/n21/sanjay-subrahmanyam/diary, (Last retrieved: 4 January, 2010)

Aravind Adiga – an interview with author, **BookBrowse**, http://www.bookbrowse.com/author_interviews/full/index.cfm?author_number=1552, (Last retrieved: 5 January 2010)

UDK 821.111.09Barns Dž.

Jelena Pralas

DŽULIJAN BARNS, PISAC RAZLIČITIH KULTURA

Apstrakt: *Opus savremenog britanskog književnika Džulijana Barnsa (Julian Barnes) iznad svega odlikuje raznorodnost, kako tema koje u svojim djelima istražuje, tako i forme, tehnika i pristupa. Stoga se u kritici često navodi da se njegova djela opiru kategorizaciji, a nerijetko ga nazivaju kameleonom britanskog pisma čije je svako novo djelo u potpunosti drugačije od prethodnog. Ovaj će se rad baviti tananom niti koja se provlači kroz cjelokupno Barnsovo stvaralaštvo - njegovom fasciniranošću kulturom – britanskom iz koje je ponikao, njenog odnosa sa francuskom kulturom koja mu je bliska, ali i drugim za njega mnogo daljim kulturama koje istražuje u svojim kasnijim djelima.*

Ključne riječi: *književnost, Džulijan Barns, kultura,*

1. Uvod

Savremenog britanskog pisca Džulijana Barnsa (Julian Barnes) ne treba posebno predstavljati. Poznat je široj čitalačkoj i stručnoj javnosti po svojim brojnim interesantnim djelima u kojima, kako u svojoj knjizi *Proza Džulijana Barnsa* kaže Vanesa Ginjeri (Vanessa Guignery) „stalno traži nove teme i originalne načine u naraciji“[299]. Tako smo svjedoci da se do sada bavio istinom, istorijom, ljubavlju, ljudskom psihom, starenjem, smrću i raznim drugim temama, a nadaleko je poznat po svojoj ironiji i inteligentnom humoru, neprekidnoj sofisticiranoj i izuzetno suptilnoj igri sa jezikom i eksperimentima sa formom. Dobitnik je brojnih nagrada, a dva puta je do sada nominovan i za prestižnu Bukerovu nagradu.

Jedna od značajki djela Džulijana Barnsa koju često pominju kritičari jeste žanrovska raznorodnost. Do sada je, naime, napisao *buildungsroman*, psihološku dramu, biografiju, istoriju, ljubavni roman (sa sve nastavkom!), politički roman, kratke priče, detektivski roman, a posljednje mu je djelo *Nije to ništa strašno (Nothing To Be Frightened Of)* objavljeno 2008. godine, opisano kao novi žanr kome su čak nadjenuli i naziv *barnsijana*. Sve to pomalo izgleda kao da Barns jednostavno želi i čitaocima i kritičarima da pokaže svoju virtuoznost, kao da želi da pokaže da može briljantno da se snađe u svakom žanru koji mu padne na pamet. On sam tvrdi da se radi o isprobavanju i u svom stilu komentariše “ne biste valjda željeli poći u grob a da ne isprobate sve

[299] Guignery, Vanessa (2006), **The Fiction of Julian Barnes**, Hamshire: Palgrave Macmillan, str. 132 *(„the author is constantly looking for new topics and original ways of dealing with narrative“)*

mogućnosti i kapacitete proze koje postoje"[300]. No, bez obzira na prave razloge, ovakva raznorodnost opusa donijela mu je titulu *kameleona britanske književnosti*.

Za ovu konferenciju koja se bavi jezicima i kulturama, interesantna je jedna druga nit koja, čini se, povezuje djela Džulijana Barnsa – to je kultura koja se javlja što kao tema, a što kao pozadina koju Barns slika za svoje likove. Riječ je dominantno o engleskoj kulturi, koju Barns analizira samu za sebe iznutra i u odnosu sa drugim kulturama, ali značajno mjesto zauzimaju prije svega francuska kultura, te kultura post-komunističkih zemalja, a dotiče se i američke, finske, švedske i ruske kulture.

2. Barns i engleska kultura – pogled iznutra

Kao što je već navedeno, dominantna kultura kojom se Barns u svojim djelima bavi jeste engleska kultura. To, naravno, ne čudi, jer, kako kaže Ana Vierzbicka (Anna Wierzbicka) "kao ljudska bića ne možemo se postaviti van svih kultura"[301], pa "nužno boravimo unutar neke određene kulture i neizbježno nas vode određeni principi i određeni ideali za koje znamo da ne moraju da važe u cijelom čovječanstvu"[302]. A Barns, nema sumnje, boravi prvenstveno unutar engleske kulture jer iz nje potiče, ona ga okružuje, on je analizira i kritikuje. Za nju možemo reći da je prisutna u svim njegovim djelima, negdje kada se svjesno njome bavi, a negdje kao važan uticaj zbog kojega je Barns upravo ono što jeste i kao čovjek i kao pisac, ili je ona tu kroz jezik koji je jedan od najznačajnijih elemenata svake kulture. Barns ispituje kako se može funkcionisati u engleskoj kulturi, kakve su njene specifičnosti, nerijetko se našali njenim manama ili nerazumnostima, kao neko iznutra, neko ko ima pravo na kritiku, pa i na sarkazam.

Ova doza kritičkog stava prema engleskom društvu može se uočiti posebno u njegovom djelu *Engleska, Engleska (England, England)* objavljenom 1998. godine, gdje Barns radnju smješta u zabavni park kome je tema upravo Engleska i koji posjeduje replike svih značajnih turističkih atrakcija Engleske na jednom mjestu. U ovom se djelu Barns, po mišljenju Vanese Ginjeri, „fokusira na pitanje što to zapravo znači biti Englez"[303], a po riječima Vere Naning (Vera Nunning) on „istražuje, parodira i dekonstruiše 'izmišljene tradicije' poznate kao 'engleske'"[304]. Međutim, možda je analizu

---

300 Guignery, Vanessa (2006), **The Fiction of Julian Barnes**, Hamshire: Palgrave Macmillan, str. 132 *("You don't want to go to the grave having not tried out every prose facility and faculty you've got")*

301 Wierzbicka, Anna, (1991), **Cross-Cultural Pragmatics**, Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, str. 9 *("as human beings, we cannot place ourselves outside all cultures...")*

302 Wierzbicka, Anna, (1991), **Cross-Cultural Pragmatics**, Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, str. 9 *("we remain within a certain culture, and we are inevitably guided by certain principles and certain ideals which we know are not necessarily shared by the entire human race")*

303 Guignery, Vanessa (2006), **The Fiction of Julian Barnes**, Hamshire: Palgrave Macmillan, str. 107 *("focusing on the issue of Englishness")*

304 Nunning, Vera (2001) "The Invention of Cultural Traditions: The Construction and Deconstruction of Englishness and Authenticity in Julian Barnes' England England", **Anglia -**

engleske kulture u ovom djelu najbolje opisao Džon Friman (John Freeman) koji ističe da nas „Barns prosto katapultira da bi nam pokazao što se dešava kada se neka osoba ili nacija omami svojom vlastitom istorijom“[305].

Samom engleskom kulturom se ponovo ovako iznutra, mada iz drugog ugla, Barns bavi u svom djelu *Artur i Džordž (Arthur & George)* iz 2005. godine. Roman je to koji paralelno prikazuje život Artura Konana Dojla (Arthur Conan Doyle), poznatog tvorca Šerloka Holmsa i Džordža Edaldžija (Geogre Edalji), advokata porijeklom iz Indije nepravedno osuđenog zbog mučenja životinja i slanja prijetećih pisama. Ponovo je centralno pitanje što to zapravo znači biti Englez. Artur, koji je škotskog porijekla, sebe i Džordža opisuje kao „nezvanične Engleze“[306], dok Džordž to osporava i, tvrdeći da je on „slobodni Englez“, postavlja ključna pitanja “Kako je to on manje od punokrvnog Engleza? On jeste Englez rođenjem, po državljanstvu, obrazovanjem, veroispovešću, profesijom... on nema drugu zemlju. Ne može se vratiti dve generacije unatrag. Teško da može da se vrati u Indiju, na mesto koje nikada nije ni posetio i koje i ne želi da poseti”[307]. Na ovaj način Barns po prvi put u svojim djelima uvodi likove koji su dio engleskog društva, ali svojim porijeklom nisu Englezi i ispituje predrasude engleskog društva prema njima.

3. Opsjednutost i divljenje francuskom kulturom

I kritika i čitaoci nesumnjivo su zamijetili koliko posebno mjesto u djelu i životu Džulijana Barnsa zauzima francuska kultura. Tako Merit Mosli (Merritt Moseley) kaže da je jedna od najznačajnijih tema u Barnsovom djelu upravo “Francuska i englesko u kontaktu sa tom bliskom, ali izuzetno drugačijom kulturom”[308], te da “ta zemlja, a posebno odnos Engleza prema toj zemlji i kulturi ostaju među konstantama Barnsovog djela”[309]. Džejson Kauli (Jason Cowely) čak tvrdi da “Francuska, čini se, predstavlja ono idealizovano Drugo u odnosu na koje on (Barns) mjeri sve druge zemlje, uključujući

---

Zeitschrift für englische Philologie. Vol 119, Issue 1, str.59 *(“England, England explores, parodies and deconstructs the ‘invented traditions’ known as “Englishness”...”)*

[305] Freeman, John (1999), **Julian Barnes, England, England**, Citypages, http://www.citypages.com/1999-06-02/books/julian-barnes-england-england/ *(“In England, England, Barnes catapults us forward to show what happens when a person, or a nation, is fatigued by its own history.")*

[306] Barns, Džulijan (2006), Artur & Džordž, Beograd: Geopoetika, str 288

[307] Barns, Džulijan (2006), Artur & Džordž, Beograd: Geopoetika, str 288- 289

[308] Moseley, Merritt (1997), **Understanding Julian Barnes**, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, str. 16 *(“There are other subjects in Barnes’s fiction, perharps most insistently France and the English in contact with that nearby but ultimately very different culture)*

[309] Moseley, Merritt (1997), **Understanding Julian Barnes**, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, str. 77 *(“The country, and especially the relationship of English people to the land and the culture, have remained among the constants of Barnes’s work”)*

Englesku, i dolazi do zaključka da su one, u poređenju sa Francuskom, razočarenje koje vas zbuni"[310].

Već u svom prvom djelu *Metrolend (Metroland)* objavljenom 1980. godine Barns, po mišljenju Merita Moslija najavljuje temu "Francuske, i kao mjesta i kao psihološkog uticaja na Engleze"[311]. Radi se, naime, o *buildungsromanu* u kome se prikazuje koliko je u odrastanju i formiranju ličnosti glavnog junaka Francuska odigrala značajnu ulogu. U ovom romanu često se javljaju dijelovi na francuskom jeziku, bez prevoda na engleski jezik, koje Barns koristi kada želi da pokaže sofisticiranost svojih likova, koji se dive francuskoj kulturi i smatraju je superiornijom od engleske.

Francuska je prisutna i u kasnijim djelima, najprije u psihološkoj drami *Pre no što me je srela (Before She Met Me)* u kojoj Barns opisuje patološku ljubomoru glavnog lika sa tragičnim završetkom u kome je Francuska stalno prisutna iako u pozadini, a ne kao centralna tema, a zatim i u ljubavnom romanu *Troje (Talking It Over)* (i njegovom nastavku *Ljubav itd. (Love Etc.)*, u kojima se Barns poigrava naracijom dajući nam priču o ljubavnom trouglu ispričanu iz različitih uglova više likova. Glavni lik u romanu, Džilijan (Gilian), napola je Francuskinja, što ima veliki uticaj na njenu ličnost, a i njena majka Francuskinja gospođa Vajat (Mme Wyatt) ima značajnu ulogu u samom romanu jer je dio priče ispričan i iz njenog ugla. Ona često koristi citate francuskih autora, posebno moraliste Šamfora (Chamofort), a dijelovi teksta na francuskom jeziku nisu rijetkost ni kod drugih likova. Nadalje, polovina radnje odvija se upravo u Francuskoj gdje, nakon preljube i razvoda od Stjuarta (Stuart), Džilijan odlazi da živi sa Oliverom (Oliver).

Francuska je mnogo više nego u ovim romanima prisutna u romanu *Floberov papagaj (Flaubert's Parrot)* objavljenom 1984. godine. Ona tu zauzima gotovo centralno mjesto. To je, naime, neobična biografija francuskog pisca Gistava Flobera (Gustave Flaubert) iz pera naratora Džefrija Brajtvajta (Geoffrey Braithwaite) smještena duboko u francusku kulturu. Mosli tvrdi da je to „knjiga u potpunosti o Francuskoj, smještena u Francusku, osim kada se ljupko bavi detaljima vezanim za dolazak jednog Engleza u Francusku i vraćanje iz nje"[312]. U njoj se vidi koliko Barns poštuje i voli francusku kulturu, a naročito Flobera. A takođe se vidi i koliko je temeljit njegov istraživački rad koji je prethodio romanu. Ali, iako se prvenstveno bavi francuskom kulturom, ne možemo reći da je Barns ovdje uspio da se bavi samo njom, njegov narator je Englez i njegov je rad, kao i Barnsov, time u velikoj mjeri determinisan. Ova jaka veza sa engleskom kulturom simbolično je prikazana u detaljnom opisivanju putovanja naratora između Francuske i

---

[310] Cowley, Jason (2005), "New Gauls, Please", **Star Weekend Magazine,** Vol 4, Issue 48, http://www.thedailystar.net/magazine/2005/05/04/bookr.htm ("*France, it seems, is the idealised Other against which he measures all other countries, including England, and finds them, by contrast, a perplexing disappointment")*

[311] Moseley, Merritt (1997), **Understanding Julian Barnes**, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, str. 18 *("France, as both a place and a psychological influence on the English")*

[312] Moseley, Merritt (1997), **Understanding Julian Barnes**, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, str. 77 *("here is a book enterly about France, set in France, except when it delves lovingly into the details of an Englishman's going to and coming back from France")*

Engleske. I, kako kaže Merit Mosli, „Očigledno je da je kulturološki susret engleskog i francuskog jedna od centralnih tema Barnsovog djela, ona kojom se lako može opisati sadržaj *Metrolenda*, *Floberovog papagaja* i velikog dijela romana *Pre no što me je srela* i *Troje*."[313] Ali ne samo njih.

Barns i dalje nastavlja intenzivno da se bavi ovim susretom engleske i francuske kulture u svojoj zbirci kratkih priča simboličnog naziva *Preko kanala (Cross Channel)* u kojoj, kako piše Vanesa Ginjeri, „potvrđuje svoju frankofiliju slikajući Engleze u Francuskoj, uživajući u zamršenosti jezika i slaveći francuske umjetnike"[314], dok Majkl Vud (Michael Wood), govoreći o kratkoj priči *Jermitaž (Hermitage)* iz ove zbirke konstatuje „Sam jezik ovdje ljubavna je pjesma određenoj Francuskoj, a takođe i odavanje počasti načinu na koji neka druga zemlja može da postane tvoja."[315] U ovoj zbirci priča Barns „smješta svoje fiktivne likove na pozadinu istorijskih događaja u Francuskoj"[316].

Možda u želji da objasni odakle toliko Francuske u njegovim djelima, ili možda zbog svoje fasciniranosti njome, Barns 2002. godine objavljuje djelo *Nešto da izjavim (Something to Declare)* – zbirku eseja o Francuskoj i njenoj kulturi. U ovim esejima on se divi svemu što je francusko – životu na selu, pop pjevačima, ali prije svega piscima – Simenonu, Bodleru, Žorž Sand, Sartru i naravno Floberu.

4. Kultura post- komunističkih zemalja

Od svih kultura kojima se Barns u svom djelu bavio, posebno moramo izdvojiti njegov prikaz kulture post-komunističkih zemalja i to ne samo zbog toga što nam je ona bliska, već i iz još jednog razloga. Nigdje, naime, kao u romanu *Bodljikavo prase (The Porcupine)* iz 1992. godine Barns nije uspio da se na neki način „isključi" iz engleske kulture i da ne komentariše kulturu o kojoj piše iz ugla kulture iz koje potiče.

Bodljikavo prase kratak je roman o događajima nakon pada komunizma u jednoj bivšoj komunističkoj državi. Riječ je, prilično je jasno iz samog romana, o Bugarskoj, a diktator o čijem se suđenju radi je Todor Živkov. Knjiga je, što je interesantno, objavljena najprije na bugarskom jeziku u Bugarskoj, uoči suđenja Todoru

313 Moseley, Merritt (1997), **Understanding Julian Barnes**, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, str. 159 *(„Obviously, the English-French encounter is one of the central topics of Barnes's work, one which might easily describe the contents of Metroland and Flaubert's Parrot and large parts of Before She Met Me and Talking it Over.")*

314 Guignery, Vanessa (2006), **The Fiction of Julian Barnes**, Hamshire: Palgrave Macmillan, str. 116 (*„asserts his francophilia by portraying English people in France, delighting in the intricacies of the language and celebrating French artists")*

315 Guignery, Vanessa (2006), **The Fiction of Julian Barnes**, Hamshire: Palgrave Macmillan, str. 116 *(„The very language here is a love song to a certain France and also a tribute to the way in which another country can become your own")*

316 Guignery, Vanessa (2006), **The Fiction of Julian Barnes**, Hamshire: Palgrave Macmillan, str. 117, *(„situates his fictional creation against a background of historical events in France")*

Živkovu, pa tek poslije u Britaniji. Neke od osnovnih tema kojima se ovaj roman bavi pitanja su pravih vrijednosti; sposobnosti post-komunističkih zemalja da se suoče sa svojom prošlošću; psihologija tiranina i pitanje može li svaki čovjek u datim okolnostima postati tiranin, te pitanje ljudskih slabosti. Radnja je smještena u krizni period nakon pada komunizma kada je u Bugarskoj, kao i u svim post-komunističkim zemljama, došlo do teške ekonomske krize i pada morala. U Britaniji ovaj je roman primljen sa prilično mješovitim kritikama. Iako se priznaje da je "prvi ozbiljan pokušaj romanopisca sa zapada u dužem periodu da se uhvati u koštac sa komunističkim iskustvom"[317], ipak mu većina kritičara prebacuje da je roman loš, likovi jedno-dimenzionalni; tek predstavnici političke ideologije; da je "pomalo površan, ni dovoljno dubok ni dovoljno širok da bi mogao odraziti ono mnoštvo svjetova o kojima piše"[318] i da je "tako kratak da likovi u njemu jedva da imaju vremena da budu predstavnici političkog stava koji im je dat"[319].

Mnogi kritičari smatraju da problemi ovog romana potiču od toga što je sama tema post-komunističke Evrope veoma teška tema. Međutim, možda se samo radi o nemogućnosti kritike zapadnog svijeta da shvati oštrinu kojom Barns prodire u dubinu problema u post-komunističkom društvu kojim se bavi. Ovo možemo dokazati i činjenicom da je kritika kod nas, iako malobrojna, ipak mnogo bolje prihvatila ovaj roman. Tako Teofil Pančić kaže da je Bodljikavo prase "sasvim neobičan, odvažan i vrlo "neengleski" pokušaj da se, romanesknim sredstvima, prodre u zbivanja i stanje duhova onkraj "gvozdene zavese", onda kada je ta zavesa već pala, da bi u prašini koju je taj tresak podigao Istok za mnoge evropske Zapadnjake postao još nerazumljiviji i protivrečniji, još manje vidljiv, još neuklopljiviji u racionalističke sheme starog "slobodnog sveta"[320], te da se u ovom romanu "Barns uspešno uhvatio u koštac s temom s kojom se muče i batrgaju i oni koji su proživeli decenije u "društvu večite bolje budućnosti""[321]. Čitajući sam roman možemo jasno vidjeti koliko se Barns posvetio istraživanju samog društva i kulture o kojoj u ovom romanu piše.

---

317 Puddington, Arch (1993), **After the Fall,** commentarymagazine.com, http://www.commentarymagazine.com/viewarticle.cfm/the-porcupine--byjulian-barnes-8110 *("the first serious Western novelistic attempt in some time to come to grips with the Communist experience")*

318 Stone, Robert (1992), **The Cold Piece**, The New York Times, http://www.nytimes.com/books/01/02/25/specials/barnes-porcupine.html *("a little perfunctory, not quite deep or broad enough to reflect the myriad worlds of its subject")*

319 Stone, Robert, 1992, **The Cold Piece**, The New York Times, http://www.nytimes.com/books/01/02/25/specials/barnes-porcupine.html *(„so short that its characters have only enough time to represent the political attitudes assigned to them")*

320 Pančić, Teofil (1999), 'Kraj Velikog Vodje', **Vreme** br. 435, http://www.vreme.com/arhiva_html/435/index.html

321 Pančić, Teofil (1999), 'Kraj Velikog Vodje', **Vreme** br. 435, http://www.vreme.com/arhiva_html/435/index.html

5. Sto od limunovog drveta – mnoštvo različitih kultura

Govoreći o različitim kulturama u Barnsovom djelu, moramo izdvojiti zbirku priča *Sto od limunovog drveta (The Lemon Table)* objavljenu 2004. godine, jer u njoj jasno možemo zamijetiti da Barns širi lepezu kultura kojima se do tada bavio, pošto osim engleske i francuske koje su, čini se, prisutne u gotovo svim njegovim djelima ovdje možemo naići i na razne druge kulture. Posebno je interesantna kratka priča 'Šta ti sve znaš' *(The Things You Know)* gdje Barns, uz teme starenja, istine, zabluda i samozavaravanja u kojima žive glavni likovi ove priče analizira englesku kulturu u odnosu na američku. Radnja je, naime, smještena u Ameriku i govori o Britanki Dženis (Jenice) i Amerikanki Meril (Merrill) koje redovno zajedno odlaze na doručak i uvijek iznova prepričavaju priče o svom životu koje su, kako i jedna i druga znaju (za onu drugu, a ne za sebe, naravno) daleko od prave istine. Iako odnos engleske i američke kulture nije centralna tema, ipak se kroz cijelu priču proteže kroz stavove ove dvije protagonistkinje ne o svojoj, već o kulturi iz koje dolazi ona druga. I dominantno kod Dženis, možemo vidjeti predrasude, nerazumijevanje i jak osjećaj da je kultura kojoj ona pripada mnogo superiornija od drugih. Tako ona gotovo sa prezirom razmišlja o jednostavnoj razlici u običajima: "čak ni posle tolikih godina, nije shvatala zbog čega Amerikanci prihvataju kafu svaki put kada im je konobar ponudi..."[322] ili „Konobar je međutim, samo odneo onaj minijaturni čajnik, za jednu šoljicu, koji su Amerikanci iz nekog nedokučivog razloga smatrali dovoljnim za jutarnji čaj..."[323], a svoju prijateljicu gotovo osuđuje zbog neumjerenog i neprikladnog ponašanja koje, kako ona misli, upravo ima veze sa tim što je Amerikanka.[324]

Ostale priče iz ove zbirke ne bave se kulturom u ovako značajnoj mjeri, ali ih je interesantno pomenuti zbog raznovrsnosti kultura kojih se Barns u njima dotiče. Tako se u 'Priči o Matsu Izraelsonu' ('The Story of Mats Israelson') Barns bavi švedskom kulturom smještajući dio radnje u ruralni gradić u Švedskoj; priču 'Preporod' ('The Revival') posvećuje Ivanu Turgenjevu, ruskom piscu i Floberovom prijatelju dotičući se tako ruske kulture; a priča 'Tišina' ('The Silence') "napisana je u prvom licu od strane osamdesetogodišnjeg kompozitora koji, kako mu se smrt primiče, razmišlja o smrtnosti, i koji je, iako mu Barns ne daje ime, fikcionalno otjelovljenje Jana Sibelijusa (Jeana Sibeliusa, 1865 – 1957), najvećeg finskog kompozitora"[325].

---

[322] Barns, Džulijan (2005), "Šta ti sve znaš", **Sto od limunovog drveta**, Beograd, Geopoetika, str 59

[323] Barns, Džulijan (2005), "Šta ti sve znaš", **Sto od limunovog drveta**, Beograd, Geopoetika, str 69

[324] Barns, Džulijan (2005), "Šta ti sve znaš", **Sto od limunovog drveta**, Beograd, Geopoetika, str 63 *("Eto šta nije valjalo kod Meril: ona kao da nije shvatala da u izvesnim godinama žene treba da prestanu da se pretvaraju da su ono što su nekada bile. Trebalo bi da se pokore vremenu. Neutralnost, suzdržanost, dostojanstvenost, to su sada bile poželjne osobine. Merilino odbijanje da to prihvati mora da je imalo neke veze sa činjenicom da je Amerikanka.")*

[325] Guignery, Vanessa (2006), **The Fiction of Julian Barnes**, Hamshire: Palgrave Macmillan, str. 120 *(„is written in the first person by an octogenarian composer who, approaching death, reflects upon*

6. Zaključak

Ovaj kratak pregled pokazao je koliko je kultura značajna u djelima Džulijana Barnsa. Prisutna je kao tema koja ga opčinjava i kao pozadina u koju smješta svoje likove. Fascinira ga odnos kultura i njihova međusobna interakcija, te uticaj kulture na razvoj ličnosti. Ako se hronološki osvrnemo na njegovo djelo sa ovog aspekta možemo reći da se od samog početka bavi engleskom kulturom i njenim odnosom sa francuskom kulturom (*Metrolend*, 1980), te da francusku kulturu koristi kao pozadinu u svojim romanima (*Pre no što me je srela*, 1982. i *Troje* 1991) i kao jednu od centralnih tema (*Floberov papagaj*, 1984. i *Preko kanala* 1996), da bi se zatim počeo baviti analizom samog engleskog društva i kulture iznutra (*Engleska, Engleska*, 1998.), ponovo se vratio francuskoj kulturi (*Something to Declare*, 2002), pa zatim opet analizirao englesku kulturu iznutra, samo sada sa drugog aspekta (*Artur i Džordž*, 2006). Ova njegova opsjednutost francuskom i engleskom kulturom i njihovim odnosom, prošarana je izletima u kulturu post-komunističkih zemalja (*Bodljikavo prase*, 1992), i razne kulture kojima se bavi u zbirci kratkih priča *Sto od limunovog drveta* (2004). I uprkos dominaciji francuske i engleske kulture, kada se sve sagleda, mogli bismo reći da je i u bavljenju kulturom Barns ostao vjeran sebi i svom eksperimentisanju i raznorodnosti, te da je raznovrsnošću kultura kojima se bavi još jednom opravdao titulu *kameleona britanske književnosti*, ali i dao povoda kritičarima da se malo više pozabave ovom interesantnom stranom njegovog djela, koja je za sada možda nepravedno zanemarena.

Literatura

Barns, Džulijan (2006) **Artur & Džordž**, Beograd: Geopoetika

Barns, Džulijan (2005) "Šta ti sve znaš", **Sto od limunovog drveta**, Beograd, Geopoetika

Cowley, Jason (2005) "New Gauls, Please", **Star Weekend Magazine,** Vol 4, Issue 48, http://www.thedailystar.net/magazine/2005/05/04/bookr.htm

Freeman, John (1999) **Julian Barnes, England, England**, Citypages, http://www.citypages.com/1999-06-02/books/julian-barnes-england-england

Guignery, Vanessa (2006) **The Fiction of Julian Barnes**, Hamshire: Palgrave Macmillan

Moseley, Merritt (1997) **Understanding Julian Barnes**, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press

Nunning, Vera (2001) "The Invention of Cultural Traditions: The Construction and Deconstruction of Englishness and Authenticity in Julian Barnes' England England", **Anglia - Zeitschrift für englische Philologie**. Vol 119, Issue 1

mortality, and, though unnamed, is the fictional embodiment of Jean Sibelius (1865 - 1957), Finland's greatest composer")

Pančić, Teofil (1999) 'Kraj Velikog Vodje', **Vreme** br. 435, http://www.vreme.com/arhiva_html/435/index.html
Puddington, Arch (1993) **After the Fall,** commentarymagazine.com, http://www.commentarymagazine.com/viewarticle.cfm/the-porcupine--byjulian-barnes-8110
Stone, Robert (1992) **The Cold Piece**, The New York Times, http://www.nytimes.com/books/01/02/25/specials/barnes-porcupine.html
Wierzbicka, Anna, (1991) **Cross-Cultural Pragmatics**, Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter

UDK 821.161.1.09-31

Jovan Radojević

MITOPOETSKI MOTIVI U NOVELI *SALAMANDER* VLADIMIRA ODOJEVSKOG

Apstrakt: *Polazeći od ključnih filozofskih i estetičkih pogleda Vladimira Odojevskog koji su se direktno ili indirektno odrazili na strukturu i kompoziciju novele „Salamander“, u našem radu smo pokušali da ukažemo na osnovne mitopoetske motive. Takođe smo ukazali na mitopoeteme vatre i vode, na opoziciju profanog i sakralnog vremena, profanog i sakralnog prostora i njihovu funkciju u tekstu novele.*

Ključne riječi: *mit, Salamander, profano, sakralno, Odojevski.*

1. Uvod

Novela „Salamander“ je nastala tokom 1838. godine. Njena struktura i geneza su složeni. Odojevski je prvo napisao priču pod ovim naslovom namijenjenu *Otadžbinskim zapisima* Krajevskog. Radnja „Salamandera“ je prvobitno bila zamišljena drugačije, ali od ovog plana Odojevski je odustao[326]. Visarion Bjelinski je u širem osvrtu posvećenom djelima Vladimira Odojevskog podijelio njegovo stvaralaštvo na dva dijela. Novele „Knjeginjica Mimi“ i „Knjeginjica Zizi“ svrstava među najbolje novele u ruskoj književnosti. Socijalni plan i podtekst analize Bjelinskog odiše težnjom da u ovim ostvarenjima naglasi didaktičnost, prosvetiteljski fon i da podvuče značaj i aspekte takozvane angažovane književnosti. Bjelinski, međutim, prilikom pokušaja analize „Silfide“ i „Salamandera“, pristupajući djelima sa pozitivističkih i pseudokritičkih pozicija zapada u ozbiljne poteškoće što rezultira nerazumijevanjem suštine i unutrašnje

[326] Siže i shema prvobitnog plana novele je bila još kompleksnija: Alhemičar u svojoj laboratoriji naređuje mladom adeptu da gleda u vatru i da pazi da vatra bude uvijek iste boje; učenik zaspi – iz središta ognja mu se ukazuje lice djevojke koja ga uvjerava da stari alhemičar neće ništa uspjeti da uradi. Traži od njega da je zavoli i ona će mu otkriti tajnu kako se dobija zlato. A, ako bilo kome otkrije istinu i jedno i drugo će umrijeti. Mladi učenik pristaje, postaje bogat, živi u Rimu. Bogatstvo privlači pažnju inkvizicije. Ispituju ga, ali on ne odaje tajnu. Papa Lav X saosjeća sa njim, pošteđuje mu život. On se potom skriva u Njemačkoj – slijede novi progoni. Bježi u Francusku, zaljubjuje se u jednu od Franciskovih ljubavnica i otkriva joj tajnu dobijanja zlata. Salamander ih oboje spaljuje i od tada se ispod te kuće čuju vapaji i krici. Docnije se Odojevski odlučuje da radnju prebaci u vremena Petra Velikog, mijenja naslov priče u „Elza“ i piše drugu priču – „Južna obala Finske početkom XVIII stoleća“. Ove dvije priče objedinjuje pod istim naslovom „Salamander“ i objavljuje ih u drugom tomu Sabranih djela 1842. godine. O ovome vidi: *Сакулинъ П.Н.* Изъ истори русскаго идеализма. Князь В. Ө. Одоевскій. Мыслитель – писатель. С. 75.

strukture književnog djela. Nerazumijevanje fantastike i fantastičnih motiva došlo je do izražaja i u osvrtu na siže novele „Salamander“. Bjelinski se „pohvalno“ izrazio o prvom dijelu novele: «Тут есть прекрасные картины быта финнов, прекрасная финская легенда о борьбе Петра Великого с Карлом XII-м; есть картины русского быта при Петре Великом и вскоре после него; есть удачные очерки характеров; сама эта полудикая Эльса в противоположности с образованною Марьею Егоровною...»[327] Međutim, drugi dio novele u kojem su nagoviješteni motivi iz prvog dijela do kraja razvijeni za Bjelinskog ostaje potpuno nerazumljiv: «Но Саламандра, ее роль в повести, разные магнетические чудеса, искание философского камня и обретение оного, - все это было для нас непонятно; а чего мы не понимаем, тем не можем и восхищаться»[328]. Temeljeći svoju kritiku na idejama prosvetiteljstva, Bjelinski odriče ontološku potku i interne zakonitosti umjetničkog djela; a samim tim utemeljuje utilitaristički pogled na umjetnost koji je posebno u ruskoj književnoj kritici dugo ostao vladajući. Umnogome su i njegovi pogledi na djelo Odojevskog uticali da se formira stav koji najznačanija ostvarenja ovog autora pomjera u drugi plan[329]. Još jedan od uzroka

---

[327] *Белинский В.Г.* Соб. соч. в IX-ти томах. Т. 7. Статьи, рецензии и заметки. декабрь 1843 – август 1845. Редактор тома Г.А. Соловьев. Статья и примечания Ю.С. Сорокина. М. Худож. лит. 1981.

[328] Ibidem. Jednake probleme je imao Bjelinski i prilikom pokušaja analize novele „Silfida“: «„Сильфида“ принадлежит к тем произведениям, князя Одоевского, в которых он решительно начал уклоняться от своего прежнего направления в пользу какого-то странного фантазма. Отсюда, происходит то, что до сих пор каждое из его произведений имеет две стороны – сторону достоинств и сторону недостатков. Пока автор держится действительности, его талант увлекателен по-прежнему и проблесками поэзии и необыкновенно умными мыслями; но как скоро впадает он в фантастическое, изумленный читатель поневоле задает себе вопрос: шутит с ним автор или говорит серьезно». Ibidem. Očigledno je da Bjelinski ne razumije kosmološku osnovu Ljepote i lijepog u književnom djelu. Realizam na kome on insistira je put osiromašenja i umjetnosti i života: „Realizam u umetnosti je – ekstremni oblik prilagođavanja ’ovom svetu’. [...] Program realističke umetnosti je pad umetnosti, ponižavanje umetnosti, pokoravanje stvaralačkoj nemoći.“ Nikolaj Berđajev, *Smisao stvaralaštva*, knj. 2, Logos Ant, Beograd, 1996, str. 56.

[329] Ni Vsevolod Saharov ne može da se distancira od ovakvog pristupa djelu Odojevskog i trudi se da na razne načine svrsta i smjesti stvaralaštvo Odojevskog u takozvane realističke okvire: «Причудливый фантастизм „таинственных“ повестей и всем известный интерес их автора к алхимии и сочинениям средневековых мистиков иногда заставляли забыть о весьма трезвом, реалистическом мышлении Владимира Одоевского, о его всегдашней приверженности к науке, к точному знанию о мире» [Всеволод Сахаров. Сеятель мыслей. О жизни и творениях В.Ф. Одоевского // *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 21]. V. Saharov prenebregava činjenicu da je Odojevski imao posve drugačiji odnos prema nauci, posebno imajući u vidu savremenu nauku i njeno odvajanje od filozofije i religije, što je i dovelo do hladnog i demonskog scijentizma. Ni prilikom žanrovskog određenja novele „Salamander“ V. Saharov, po našem mišljenju, nema pravo: «Одоевский [...] соединил в рамках одного произведения историческую прозу и философско-романтическую повесть „Эльса“. Он шел от романтической повести к историческому роману, как бы стягивая, спрессовывая в своей

nerazumijevanja fantastičnog u djelu Odojevskog bio je i u nepoznavanju osnovnih tokova i učenja srednjovjekovnog misticizma od strane Bjelinskog, kao i nepoznavanje razvoja mističkih simbola i njihovog prodora u stvaralaštvo romantizma.

U prvom dijelu novele „Južna obala Finske početkom XVIII veka“, koji nije i prvi po svom nastanku, Odojevski daje početnu konkretno realističku situaciju koja se potom nadograđuje i razvija ka fantastičnom. Po strukturi i tehnici autor se služi montažom disparatnih motiva. Opisom svakodnevnog života Finaca na Imatri, na obalama Vuokse, daje portrete starog Rusija i Gine, njihove kćerke Elze i sina Pavalija i posinka Jakka. Odojevski sa realističkim iskazom kombinuje naučni stil. U fusnoti skreće pažnju čitaocu da je priča većim dijelom zasnovana na finskim narodnim vjerovanjima. Takođe upućuje na etnografske radove Jakova Grota o karakteru i predanjima Finaca objavljene u *Savremeniku* 1839–1840 godine i na njegov prevod Tegnerove „Sage o Fritihofu“.

2. Mitopoetski motivi

Autor nas direktno, dijaloškom formom, uvodi u radnju. Stari Rusi, Gina i Jakko razgovaraju o svom odsutnom sinu Pavaliju koga su švedski vojnici odveli da im pokaže put. Radnja je vremenski situirana u 1711. godinu u doba velikog rata između Rusa i Šveđana pod vođstvom Petra Velikog i Karla XII. Nakon kratkog dijaloga Odojevski daje pejzaž obala i rijeke Vuokse sa potenciranim motivom vode koji razvija i uzdiže na ravan mitopoeteme:

> Теперь берега Вуоксы выглажены, разряжены, по скалам тянется ровная дорожка с перилами; беседки в безвкусном английском роде, хорошо выбеленные, ожидают праздных путешественников; но и теперь, как прежде, ужас находит на человека, когда он осмеливается заглянуть в страшную клокочущую бездну. Река Вуокса тиха и спокойна в своем течении; но беспрестанно скалы то ложатся поперек ее, то сжимают ее узкими берегами; и река кипит, бурлит, рвется к родному морю, ползет на утесы, бросает в воздух глыбами белой пены, подмывает огромные сосны; сосны падают в пучину, чрез минуту за версту от порога Вуокса прибывает к берегу дребезги огромного дерева – и снова течет тихо и спокойно.[330]

Voda je u svijetu simbola, simbol koji vezujemo i za život i za smrt. Ona prethodi svakom uobličavanju svijeta i svakom stvaranju, kako to naglašava Mirča Elijade: „Akvatičkoj kosmogoniji na antropološkoj ravni odgovaraju hilogeneje, verovanja po kojima je

---

дилогии художественное время, используя для этого фантастику и народное предание» [Всеволод Сахаров. Сеятель мыслей. О жизни и творениях В.Ф. Одоевского // *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 23]. Teško da je istorija i istorijsko ono što je primarno u noveli „Salamander“. Naprotiv, istorijski događaji su poslužili tek kao fon za fantastično i mističko u kom se otkriva jedna dublja istorija i istina. Istorija ličnosti i istina o postanku bića.

[330] *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. Русскій міръ. М., 2006. С. 149.

ljudski rod nastao iz Voda. Potopu ili periodičnim propastima kontinenata (mitovi tipa ’Atlantide’), odgovaraju na ljudskom planu ’druga smrt’ duše [...] ili inicijacijska smrt pri krštenju.“[331] Odojevski slike rijeke Vuokse koja ključa, bijesni i podlokava, razbija, mrvi i uništava stablo borova transponuje na simboličku ravan „vode smrti“, vode koja rastvara i uništava sve oblike, a potom dajući sliku sporog i mirnog toka asocira na njenu polivalentnost koja je istovremeno simbol života i novog rađanja. U drugom dijelu opisa rijeka Vuoksa je data u visokom stepenu antropomorfizacije: «Она похожа на доброго человека, которого судьба раздражает на каждом шагу жизни: гневно и сильно борется он с судьбою, но после борьбы все затихает в душе его, и снова светится в ней ясное солнце»[332]. Za mitopoetemu vode na kosmogonijskom planu karakteristična je cikličnost koja se ogleda u smjeni rađanja i smrti. U pripovjednom postupku Odojevski se koristi ovom simbolikom da bi prikazao junake novele u ekstremnim egzistencijalnim situacijama. Voda je ona koja rađa, podražava stvaranje, igra ulogu hraniteljke, u davna vremena «она была во всем своем девственном величии; но и тогда, как и теперь, между порогов скользила ладья рыболова; отважный, он вверялся родной реке и спокойно закидывал сети между клокочущими безднами»[333]. Na leksičkom planu data je vertikala i dubina pjesničke slike. Na ovo ukazuje nekoliko puta ponovljena sintagma *клокочущая бездна.* Bezdan asocira na prapočetke na *ungrund* Jakoba Bemea; iznad bezdana data je slika rijeke, vode (ženskog načela) i muški aspekt na vrhu (*ладья рыболова*) aspekt koji uobličava. Motiv mreže je još jedan od simbola muškog načela i upućuje na ukroćenu stihiju. Da bi se najednom, ista ta voda, u narušenom mitskom prostoru i vremenu, kao što ćemo to vidjeti kasnije, pretvorila u onu koja donosi smrt.

3. Kosmogonijski aspekt legende

Poslije uvodnog dijela Odojevski usložnjava tekst novele novim prostornim i vremenskim planom, kontaminira ga motivima iz usmene tradicije, etnografskim podacima i lokalizuje radnju preko umetnute legende koju pripovijeda stari Rusi. Finska legenda počinje sa vremenom sadašnjim. Najljepša zemlja na svijetu je Suoma (stari naziv za Finsku): «У нас и море широкое, и озера глубокие, и сосны вечно зеленые; и в других землях также есть солнце, да оно покажется, посветит и спрячется, как у нас зимой. А наше солнце полгода отдыхает, зато полгода светит, и на полях наших едва уляжется роса вечерняя, как поднимается роса утренняя»[334]. Narator preko priče o Sampo proširuje legendu elementima bajke. Sampo je čudesna dragocjenost koja je sve radila za ljude. U Suomi je to bilo rajsko doba, sve dok se bog Vejnejmenen (neka vrsta finskog Apolona) nije naljutio na Fince. Sampo se sakrila u zemlju i od tog trenutka

---

[331] Mirča Elijade, *Slike i simboli. Ogledi o magijsko-religijskoj simbolici*, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci, Novi Sad, 1999, str. 177.

[332] *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 149.

[333] Ibidem.

[334] *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 151.

se pokreće lanac nedaća. Car Vejnelejsa (naziv za Ruse) i kralj Rutca (ili Šveđana) bore se međusobno za finsku zemlju ne bi li se domogli dragocjenosti Sampo koja bi im dala veliku moć. Ovdje prepoznajemo otvorenu mitologizaciju istorije i elemente kosmogonijskog mita. U potekstu možemo da naslutimo vrijeme haosa. Haos je prethodio Zlatnom dobu koje je vremenski označeno od pojave do nestanka dragocjenosti Sampo. Nakon Zlatnog doba neposredno dolazi do nazadovanja i recidiva haosa koje je uslijedilo kao kazna za grijeh[335]. U sižeu legende kao prototip za cara Vejnelejsa poslužio je Petar Veliki, a za kralja Rutca, švedski kralj Karlo XII. Na ovo nam ukazuje mitologema grada koji izranja iz mora: «Видит он, как поднимаются с суомийских берегов огромные скалы, переплывают под ноги царя вейнелейсов, и все они поднимаются все выше и выше [...]. На береге моря скалы разрываются с треском, а из них выходит огромный блестящий город[336]». U takozvanom peterburškom tekstu u ruskoj književnosti motiv izgradnje Peterburga prikazan je sa dva aspekta: sa sinhronijskog i panhronijskog. Odojevski u finskoj legendi daje sliku nastanka panhronijskog (vječnog) Peterburga[337]. Car Vejnelejsa savlađuje stihiju (more) koje na njega šalje protivnik i pobjeđuje kralja Rutca uz pomoć sumpora i šalitre[338]. Kao pobjednik, sa zlatnim vijencem, uznosi se iznad oblaka; pod njegovo okrilje sklanjaju se Suomci, a na Suomu padaju zlatne iskre sa carevog vijenca. Narator naglašava da ni car nije pronašao Sampo, iako ga je svuda po svijetu tražio. Ovo implicitno upućuje na mitski

[335] Meletinski naglašava da je „mitu o 'zlatnom veku' u suštini veoma blizak mit o 'izgubljenom raju', u kojem je vremenski aspekt očevidno dopunjen prostornim [...]. U stvari, prema mitemama 'zlatnog veka' ili 'izgubljenog raja' mogućno je kretanje ne samo od haosa ka kosmosu nego i od kosmosa ka haosu" [E.M. Meletinski, *Poetika mita*, Nolit, Beograd, 1983, str. 226]. Za recidive haosa nakon zlatnog vijeka najkarakterističnija je i najrasprostranjenija slika potopa. Meletinski primjećuje da u skandinavskom mitu „posle 'zlatnog veka' dolazi kršenje zaveta i prvi rat". E.M. Meletinski, *Poetika mita*, str. 227. Elementi i motivi ovog kosmološkog mita prisutni su i u sižeu finske legende.

[336] *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 153.

[337] Vladimir Toporov o polisemičnosti mitologeme Peterburga između ostalog piše: «Внутеренний смысл Петербурга, его высокая трагедийная роль, именно в этой несводимой к единству антитетичности и антиномичности, которая самое смерть кладет в основу новой жизни, понимаемой как ответ смерти и как ее искупление, как достижение более высокого уровня духовности. Бесчеловечность Петербурга оказывается органически связанной с тем высшим для России и почти религиозным типом человечности, который и только может осознать бесчеловечность, навсегда запомнить ее и на этом знании и памяти строить новый духовный идеал». *Топоров В.Н.* Миф. Ритуал. Символ. Образ. Исследования в области мифопоэтического. Прогресс. Культура. М., 1995. С. 260.

[338] Odojevski, uvođenjem elemenata sumpora i šalitre, na leksičkom planu, ukazuje, postupkom oneobičavanja (rečeno jezikom Viktora Šklovskog), na simboličku složenost svega u svijetu. Ukazuje da sve ima svoje korijene u prima materiji. Jasno je da car Vejnelejsa pobjeđuje uz pomoć baruta. Barut se sastoji od oko 70% šalitre i 10% sumpora, ostatak otpada na drveni ugalj. Ukazivanjem na dva osnovna elementa: sumpora (u alhemiji simbola muškog načela) i šalitre, Odojevski podvlači podvojenost i destruktivnu funkciju baruta na šta u hemijskom sastavu ukazuje nizak procenat sumpora.

podtekst da sile haosa nisu savladane. Novi ciklus mladog vremena koji sa sobom donosi novi Zlatni vijek nije otpočeo. Solarni mit na kraju legende nije dominantan, već je dat u segmentiranom i atomiziranom vidu. Sunce kao simbol cjelovitosti i duha prikazano je kao hiljadu zlatnih iskri koje padaju na Suomu.

Početak i kraj legende uokviren je mitopoetemama vazduha, vode i vatre. Element vazduha, kao jedan od četiri kosmogoinijska elementa koji predstavlja vezu između neba i zemlje dat je u stihiji vjetra, naporedo sa stihijom vode u dinamiziranoj slici koja služi kao predtekst i najava višeepizodičnosti legende, brze smjene događaja i promjene prostornih i vremenskih planova: «Ветер свистал в волоковое окно, некрепко припертое, иногда пробегал по струнам кантелы, и струны печально, нестройно звучали; когда утихал ветер, тогда слышался гул порогов; тряслись стены старой избушки, дверь, скрипя, поворачивалась на вереях»[339]. Mitopoetema vatre kao elementa koji je takođe blizak duhovnom i eterskom aspektu (čiji je simbol vazduh) prije pripovijedanja legende o Finskoj svojom silinom nagovještava početak putovanja: «Искры сыпались из печи, дым облакам выносило из устья»[340]. Da bi paralelno sa utihnućem naratorovog glasa ovaj element na simboličkom planu bio dat tek u naznakama: «Длинные тени от очага то являлись, то исчезали по закопченным бревнам избушки»[341]. Tamni valeri dominiraju slikom i uokviruju Legendu o Finskoj.

U Legendi su na mikroplanu date dvije epizode vezane za cara Vejnelejsa. Prva o njegovom putovanju i traganju za simbolima moći: «Царь собрал своих вейнелейсов и стал с ними ходить по белому свету; перешел он и за полудесятое море, там, где небо к земле прислонилось. Придет в одно место, ударит железом по земле, скажет: копайте, и из земли выйдет железо. В другом месте ударит, выйдут из земли сера и селитра; в третьем – разные сокровища. Но все он не дорылся до Сампо, потому что Сампо только в нашей Суомии»[342]. Odojevski pripovjednim postupkom i motivima putovanja, potrage za čudotvornim Sampo u dalekim krajevima gdje se uvođenjem binarne opozicije neba i zemlje (nebo i zemlja se spajaju), ukida prostorna hijerarhizacija i označava tačka koja predstavlja kraj svijeta, mitologizuje istorijske događaje vezane za vladavinu Petra Velikog i njegova putovanja, prije svega u Holandiju i Englesku, gdje je sa svojim saradnicima boravio duže vremena učeći zanate i ratničku vještinu. U drugoj epizodi, takođe vezanoj za lik cara Vejnelejsa, prikazan je sukob između cara i njegove sestre. Ona traži da kovači koji kuju i prave oružje, iskuju za nju ogrlicu:

> Но, про это узнала сестра царева. Приходит, смотрит и молвит: «Много ты, братец, навел ковачей из-за полудесятого моря; вели мне сковать царское ожерелье, чтоб все почитали меня царицей; да вели мне выковать месяц из серебря и солнце из золота, чтоб они ходили вокруг

[339] *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 190.
[340] *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 150.
[341] Ibid., str. 154.
[342] Ibid., str. 152.

меня и днем и ночью светили. Не выкуешь, братец, злые слова пошлю на тебя». Рассердился царь, услышав такие речи. «Нет царя, – сказал он, – кроме меня; есть у меня царское ожерелье, да не для тебя; есть месяц и солнце, да не тебе они светят».[343]

Odojevski preko simbola zlata i srebra, to jeste njihovih analogija na simboličkom planu, – sunca i mjeseca uvodi u siže novele „Salamander“ prve simbole iz alhemijske mitologije. Osim što spojeni zajedno predstavljaju (uz ogrlicu koja ima formu kruga, simbol savršenstva i punoće) simbole carske moći, istovremeno su i simboli objedinjenog Animusa i Anime na duhovnom planu[344]. Fantastično u proznom izrazu Odojevskog ima svoje porijeklo u arhetipskim predstavama i slikama, u susretu legende i stvarnosti, profanog i sakralnog prostora, profanog i mitskog vremena. Svijet fantastike je transponovan kao viša realnost i živi u svakom biću i svakoj stvari. On je inherentan svakoj ličnosti. Junaci Odojevskog nose ga u sebi i izražavaju ga kroz svoje postupke.

4. Opozicija *profano - sakralno*

Prostor Suome pripada kategoriji sakralnog prostora i na makroplanu u direktnoj je opoziciji prema profanom prostoru (Rusija, Švedska). Na mikroplanu se ova opozicija sakralnog/profanog odrazila u opoziciji Imatra/Peterburg. Imatra kao sakralni prostor u suprotnosti je prema Peterburgu kao desakralizovanom prostoru. Ista opozicija je karakteristična i za kategoriju vremena. Profano vrijeme sadrži u sebi svakodnevne događaje lišene religioznog sadržaja. Za sveto vrijeme je karakteristična povratnost zato što je po svojoj suštini i porijeklu mitsko vrijeme[345]. Vrijeme na Imatri pripada sakralnom vremenu. Prekid ovog vremena dat je u podtekstu (na vizuelnom planu): upad vojnika Rutca (Šveđana) i odvođenje Pavalija je čin narušavanja sakralnog prostora, ali i mitskog vremena. Profani svijet (rat, vojnici) prodire u sakralni čiju granicu predstavljaju obale rijeke Vuokse. Kraj mitskog vremena na Imatri označen je i na auditivnom planu: pucanj iz topa simbolički predstavlja kraj svetog vremena i početak profanog. Odmah nakon ovog narušen je sakralni prostor upadom Rutca (Šveđana), samo što je ovaj put slika data direktno – na mikroplanu: vojnici ubijaju Ginu, ženu

343 Ibidem.

344 U studiji o alhemijskim simbolima Titus Burkhart o značenjima sunca i mjeseca piše: „Sunce, ili zlato, jeste u izvesnom smislu simbol aktivnog i generativnog pola egzistencije, dok Mesec ili srebro inkarnira pasivni pol, *materia prima.* Zlato je Sunce; Sunce je duh. Srebro, ili Mesec, jeste duša.“ Titus Burkhart, *Alhemija. Nauka o kosmosu, nauka o duši*, str. 69.

345 O opoziciji svetog i profanog Mirča Elijade između ostalog piše: „Postoje razdoblja svetog Vremena [...], ali postoji i profano Vreme. Svakodnevno vremensko trajanje u koje se upisuju činovi lišeni religioznog značenja [...]. *Sveto Vreme je po svojoj prirodi povratno,* otuda što je to, pravo govoreći, *prvobitno mitsko Vreme koje je učinjeno prisutnim.* “ Mirča Elijade, *Sveto i profano*, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci i Novi Sad, 2003, str. 110.

starog Rusija; ona glavom udara o kućni prag[346] koji predstavlja granicu između sakralnog i profanog prostora. Sakralni prostor i mitsko vrijeme narušeni su i po treći put od strane vojnika Vejnelejsa koji odvode sa sobom Jakka.

Finalna slika ovih događaja koji čine jedno od dva dramska središta novele data je u slici smrti starog Rusija u talasima Vuokse. Rusi se sveti za sinovljevu smrt i čamac sa vojnikom Rutca koji mu je ubio sina usmjerava na stijene: «Русские соскочили с камней к берегу и увидели, как волна прибивала вдребезги лодки, обезображенные трупы старого рыболова и шведа в финской одежде»[347]. Na mitopoetskom planu rijeka Vuoksa od djevičanske vode, preko vode hraniteljke sa naglašenim majčinskim i generativnim aspektom trasformiše se u donju vodu – vodu koja donosi smrt.

Čovjek je jedan svijet sa nebom, sa zemljom, vatrom, vodom i vazduhom. Za Paracelzusa, sa čijim učenjem je bio upoznat Vladimir Odojevski, nema kosmogonije bez antropologije: „Kada je bog hteo da stvori zemlju i posmatrao u svojoj božanskoj mudrosti, kakva i kojim putem ona treba da bude, podelio je na četiri dela, a to su četiri korpora, koje treba da budu majke svih stvari koje treba da pripadnu, onome koje je on prema svom obličju stvorio, to jest Adamu, to jest čoveku. Kada je to u bogu odlučeno, stvorena su četiri korpora, naime, nebo, zemlja, voda i vazduh."[348] I zemlja i nebo i vazduh i voda su podijeljeni na „tri species" i po svojoj suštini su trostruki. Ova trostrukost vodi porijeklo iz samog boga: zemlja je „u svome korpusu trostruka, vatra, sal i balsamus, i ono što iz nje raste jeste takođe u tri species istih [...] isto je i voda ignis, sal, balsamus [...] vatra, sal i balsam, svakako (se) mogu i drugim imenima nazvati [...] kao vatra 'sulphur' kao 'sal', 'balsam', kao 'liquor mercurius'. To bi značilo: sulphur, balsamus i mercurius jesu troje, koje se tamo naziva prima materia rerum"[349]. Četiri elementa su korporalna, ali su po svom ishodištu i sadržini i duhovna jer sama prima materia proishodi i vodi porijeklo od boga. Praelement vatre je u prvom dijelu novele, direktno vezan za Elzin lik. Elza ima dar da „gledajući u vatru" vidi događaje koje običan čovjek ne može da vidi. Neposredno prije upada švedskih vojnika u njihovu kuću i narušavanja sakralnog prostora, stari Rusi prisiljava Elzu da gledajući u vatru vidi sudbinu i događaje vezane za njenog oca Pavalija:

> Почти силою старик подвел ее к огню и посадил на обрубок. Едва лицо бедного дитяти стало краснеть от действия жара, как она еще более задрожала, все ее тело пришло в судорожное движение. Старик взял ее за голову и придерживал крепко, чтоб лицо бедной малютки не отворачивалось от очага.

---

[346] „Prag koji razdvaja dva prostora upućuje u isto vreme i na odvajanje dva načina bivstvovanja, svetovnog i religioznog. Prag je istovremeno i međa, granica koja razdvaja i suprotstavlja dva sveta." Mirča Elijade, *Sveto i profano*, str. 78.

[347] *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 157.

[348] Paracelzus. Četiri rasprave. „Gradac" Čačak, 12/ maj-avgust, 1985, str. 14.

[349] Ibid., str. 15.

> Через несколько времени он сказал ей тихим, но сердитым голосом: "Смотри, где твой отец". Судорожное движение дитяти увеличилось; бедная Эльса билась, чтоб вырваться из рук старика, но тщетно; его железные руки приковывали ее к обрубку.
>
> – Смотри же, где твой отец? – повторил старик еще более гневным голосом.
>
> Эльса затрепетала сильнее, но пристально устремила глаза свои в очаг.
>
> – Вижу, – наконец сказала она прерывающимся голосом, – вижу отца... он сидит на камне... возле него дерево... нет, не дерево... возле него человек... солдат... он что-то говорит отцу... но я не могу расслушать...[350]

Prvi dio slike je dat isključivo na vizuelnom planu. Za element vatre je, možda, najočiglednije vezana ambivalentnost i polarnost. Vatra se vezuje za prapočetke i praosnove bića i svijeta. Ovaj element dominira podjednako i u vizijama pakla i u vizijama raja[351]. Lik Elzin, dat kao pandan svijetu civilizacije, po svojoj suštini ganolik osjeća sile svijeta i pulsiranje svih stvari. Njeno biće u svojoj čistoti može da vidi ono što drugi ne mogu jer „vatra je za čoveka koji je posmatra uzor brzog postanka i uzor podrobno prikazanog postanka [...]. Ona uveličava ljudsku sudbinu; ona povezuje malo sa velikim, ognjište sa vukanom, život jedne cepanice i život jednog sveta"[352]. Odojevski u drugom dijelu opisa Elzine ekstatičke vizije uvođenjem auditivnog plana pojačava dramski naboj i dovodi ga do vrhunca:

> - Слушай, - сказал грозно старик.
>
> - Солдат говорит отцу, чтоб он отдал ему свое платье... отец не дает... они горячо спорят... ах, он замахивается на отца... отец ударил солдата... ах, солдат стреляет... отец падает... ах, отец умер...
>
> Старик отскочил от нее при этих словах. Гина вскрикнула на печке... Эльса зарыдала, старик наклонил голову в ужасе и шепотом проговорил: "Вот мое наказание..." Якко дрожал под хворостом... [353]

I na leksičkom planu je ova slika podijeljena na dva dijela: u prvom dijelu preovladavaju glagoli koji su semantički vezani za čulo vida – *смотреть* dat u imperativu koji se ponavlja dva puta (Rusi) i glagol *видеть* dat u prvom licu jednine (Elza) što odgovara vizuelnom opisu Elzine vizije. Glagol *слушать* dat u imperativu (Rusi) označava početak auditivnog plana koji dominira u drugom dijelu pjesničke slike. Kontaminacijom glagola *говорить* u trećem licu jednine (солдат говорит), *вскрикнуть* takođe u trećem licu

---

[350] *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 155.
[351] O tome podrobnije vidjeti Gaston Bašlar, *Psihoanaliza vatre*, Alef Gradac, Čačak, 1996, str. 12.
[352] Ibid., str. 19.
[353] *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 155.

jednine (Гина вскрикнула), *зарыдать* (Эльса зарыдала), uz trostruku upotrebu uzvika *ах!* autor pojačava dramatičnost: „Čuti je dramatičnije nego videti“[354], kako to ističe Gaston Bašlar. Prvi dramski trenutak je vezan za susret bića (makrokosmosa) u početku sa sopstvenim glasom, a potom sa glasom drugog. Glas je odjek bića. Zvukovni plan daje dubinu pjesničkoj slici. Odojevski kraj scene vezane za ekstatičnu Elzinu viziju smrti njenog oca i Rusijevog sina uokviruje prilogom *шепотом*, čime je radnja dovedena do kraja, nakon visokih tonova vezanih za tragično i smrt – dolazi stišavanje. Motiv mističke ekstaze koja se javlja prilikom „gledanja u vatru“ i prelaska u svijet onostranog u kom se otkrivaju tajne postanja Odojevski ponavlja još jednom u dijelu novele kada je radnja već situirana u Peterburg, a Elza živi u kući Zverevih. Za razliku od prve ekstatične vizije, ova druga je mnogo šira i poprima kosmogonijske obrise. Prva vizija skoro da je sinhrona (usmjerena je samo na događaj koji se tek nedavno odigrao). Druga sadrži i sinhrone i dijahrone elemente, a jednim dijelom zalazi i u ono što će se tek desiti. Dakle, obuhvata vrijeme i događaje u totalitetu i po svojoj suštini je okrenuta vječnosti. Neposredno pred Elzino ekstatično stanje narator opisom enterijera gostinske sobe Zverevih, suptilno, uvođenjem opozicije svjetlosti i sjenke nagovještava početak dramatične vizije u Elzinoj duši:

> Было уже около семи часов вечера; на дворе морозило; в гостиной Зверева затопили огромную шведскую печку; заслонки были распахнуты; свет из устья багровым туманом проходил по комнате; тень от кошек, освещенных полною луною, резко обозначалось на торцевом полу; две нагоревшие свечи стояли на столе и колебались от движения воздуха; все эти роды освещения мешались между собою; отраженные ими причудливые тени мелькали на потолке, на широком деревянном карнизе и на стенах, обитых черною кожею, с светящимися бляхами.[355]

Vatra u peći je simbol ukroćenog plamena života, simbol ograničenja. Ali motiv otvorenih vratanaca nagovještava savlađivanje granice. Dvije svijeće potenciraju individualnost koja će u Elzinoj viziji biti transponovana i personalizovana u njenom i Jakkovom susretu. Svijeća, upaljena svijeća, probuđena plamenom, simbol je pokrenutih kosmičkih sila zemlje, vatre, vode i vazduha.[356] U sebi sadrži inkorporirane telurske elemente (vosak, fitilj) i eterske – plamen koji se pokreće uz strujanje vazduha. Igra i miješanje svjetlosti i tame ukazuju na kosmizaciju prostora. Toplota koja prethodi ekstazi ostvarena je u poetskom iskazu različitim leksičkim sredstvima: багровый туман, свет луны, нагоревшие свечи, движение воздуха. Unutrašnjem (toplom) svijetu suprotstavljen je spoljašnji: на дворе морозило. Time narator pojačava opoziciju unutrašnje/spoljašnje uz pomoć opozicije vatra/led. Mjesečevi zraci su spona sa svijetom onostranim i uz kretanje vazduha uvode u prostor dinamičke imaginacije.

---

[354] Gaston Bašlar, *Vazduh i snovi*, str. 281.
[355] *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 174.
[356] O tome vidi in: Gaston Bašlar, *Psihoanaliza vatre.*

Početak Elzine ekstaze je istovremeno i njen ulazak u gostinsku sobu Zverevih i susret sa vatrom u otvorenoj peći: «Эльса ничего не отвечала и все пристальнее устремляла глаза в устье очага; лицо ее разгорелось; локоны повисли на глаза; лунный свет широкою полосою ложился на ее белое платье»[357]. Preko uvođenja motiva bijele boje, simbola posvećenosti i čistote narator u formi odgovora na Jakkova pitanja koji u početku pokušava da je vrati u stvarnost, daje cjelovitu kosmogonijsku viziju nastanka bića i svijeta:

> Я еще была ребенком, когда старый Руси брал меня к себе на колени и садился против огня; он накрывал руками мою голову и, показывая на устье печи, говорил: “Эльса, Эльса смотри свою сестрицу”. Тогда я, неразумная, боялась, хотела вырваться из рук старика, но невольно глаза мои устремлялись на огонь и скоро уже не могли оторваться; скоро в глубине, посреди раскаленных угольев я видела, как теперь вижу, великолепные палаты; там столбы из живого пламени вьются, тянутся в небо и не тухнут. От них сыплются багряные искры и блестят на белой огнепальной стене: посреди тех палат мне являлось лицо ребенка, совершенно похожего на меня; оно улыбалось, манило меня к себе, исчезало в потоках пламени и снова появлялось с тою же улыбкою. “Сестрица, сестрица, говорила она мне, - когда же мы с тобой соединимся!” […] Стоило мне подумать о чем-нибудь или старый Руси спрашивал меня, и с дальней стены срывался пелена, и я видела все, что на земле и под землею, и горы и леса, и пропасти водные, и людей, и слышала, что они говорили, видела, что они делали.[358]

Vatra je po svojoj suštini antagonistička telururskim elementima i time je kao agens duhovnog i emocionalnog bliža svijesti. U Elzinoj viziji vatra se u obliku plamenova koji ne gasnu uzdiže ka nebu i prelazi u svjetlost. Svjetlost koja u sebi inkorporira elemente vatre i vazduha (u suštini oksigena) je simbol logosnog reda. Palata u viziji je simbol stvorenog svijeta, a grimizne iskre koje padaju po njoj predstavljaju aktivnost božanske, stvaralačke energije, energije u pokretu. To je jedan od simbola *logosa spermaticosa.* Slika djeteta koje se ukazuje u vatri je transponovana slika rađanja pneumatskog čovjeka. Novo rođenje je i jedino moguće u vatri duha, vatri koja pročišćava od svega zemaljskog i preobražava sve zemaljsko. A onaj koji prolazi kroz vatru očišćenja stiče dar da vidi i objektivirani svijet i svijet skriveni, noumenalni. Drugi dio vizije u podtekstu je konstruisan na opoziciji Vuoksa (Imatra) / Peterburg. Vuoksa je unutrašnje, numinozno, Peterburg – spoljašnje, objektivirano. Vuoksa i njen svijet je kosmički svijet, svijet Peterburga je akosmičan:

---

[357] Ibidem.
[358] *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 175.

«Беги отсюда, - говорит мне теперь сестрица, - здесь развлекут тебя, удалят тебя от меня, погасят, ты отвыкнешь понимать язык наш! На берегах Вуоксы люди не совратят тебя, там сосны и утесы безмолвны, луна светит своей живительной силой и духотворит грубое тело; там в лучах луны, в потоках пламени мы сольемся веселым хороводом, облетим всю землю, и вся земля для нас будет светла и прозрачна». Слышишь, Якко, что говорит сестрица; тебя одного недостает нам [...]. Оставь этих людей, Якко; в наших живоогненных чертогах светло и радостно, там встретимся мы и в одну пламенную нить сольемся с тобою.[359]

Vatra teži uzdizanju, vertikalnosti i u svom djelovanju dodiruje se i presijeca elemente za koje je karakteristična horizontalnost (zemlja i djelimično voda), elemente u kojima dominiraju vrijeme i prostor. Vatra je nosilac supstancijalnosti i simbol esencijalnog. Svijet Vuokse u Elzinoj viziji ima noumenalni karakter: jele, hridi, mjesec, su aspekti projavljivanja samog božanstva[360]. Za motiv mjeseca na ovom mjestu narator vezuje jedan kvalitativno novi aspekt: «луна светит своей живительной силой и духотворит грубое тело». Lunarni aspekt nije dat u opoziciji prema solarnom. Mjesec isijava životvornom svjetlošću: „Sunce je po Bogu nazvano ocem i roditeljem svih stvari, pošto u njemu leži skrivena semenska i formativna moć svega što god da je. Mesec je majka i žena Sunca, koja u svojoj vazdušnoj materici rađa spagirički fetus začet od Sunca."[361] U pojedinim gnostičkim tekstovima Marija je prikazivana kao kanal kroz koji prolazi svjetlost (Hrist). Motiv kruga, mandale, kao jedan od ključnih simbola Sopstva prisutan je u motivu kola (хороводы).[362] Na arhetipskom nivou ženski aspekt (lik Elze) i muški

[359] Ibidem.

[360] „Za ljude prethodnih epoha materija je bila jedan od vidova Boga. U kulturama koje se obično nazivaju arhaičnim ovakvo gledanje je neposredno povezano sa čulnim iskustvom, jer je simbol materije bila zemlja. A zemlja je, u svojoj večnoj realnosti, predstavljala pasivni princip vidljivih stvari, dok je nebo bilo aktivni i stvaralački princip. Ova dva principa su kao dve ruke Boga. One se jedna prema drugoj odnose kao muško i žensko, kao otac i majka, i ne mogu se međusobno razdvojiti." Titus Burkhart, *Alhemija. Nauka o kosmosu, nauka o duši*, str. 51.

[361] *Physica Trismegisti.* p. 423, 424. Citirano po: Paracelzus, *O dugom životu*, Alef Gradac, Čačak, 1987, str. 65.

[362] „Kružno kretanje ima [...] i moralno značenje oživljavanja svih svetlih i mračnih sila ljudske prirode i time svih psiholoških suprotnosti kakve god vrste bili. To ne znači ništa drugo do samospoznaju putem samosazrevanja [...]. Sličnu prasliku o savršenom biću predstavlja i Platonov potpuno okrugao čovek u kome su ujedinjeni i polovi." [Karl Gustav Jung, *Alhemijske studije*, str. 29]. Narator prilikom prvog Jakkovog povratka na Imatru daje u sklopu Elzinog portreta i njenu sklonost ka muzici i plesu: «Невдалеке несколько праздных финнов окружали молодую девушку лет двадцати; она перебирала пальцами по кантеле, пела старинные песни о финском сокровище Сампо и приплясывала». [*Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 161]. Mandala (krug ili magijski krug kako to naglašava Jung) na simboličkom planu predstavlja ujedinjene suprotnosti. Kao simbol Jednog, simbol noumenalnog reda mandala je umnogome značenjski podudarna sa kružnim kretanjem i plesom: „U Indiji za to postoji termin:

aspekt (lik Jakka) nagovještavaju potencijalno novo rođenje preobraženog i nepropadljivog tijela, tijela koje je prošlo kroz oganj očišćenja[363]. Na ovo asocira i motiv slivanja u jednu ognjenu nit. Da je riječ o arhetipskim predstavama božanskog sjedinjavanja upućuje i odgovor koji Elza dobija od svoje čudesne sestrice iz središta ognja: «Все вырастает по степеням, как дерево из зерна. Сперва на земле, потом под землею, а потом... над землею, Эльса, и нет границ нашей силе и нашему блаженству!»[364] Asocijacija na bezgranično nakon sjedinjenja je simbol Boga i božanskog svijeta koji je po svojoj suštini bezgraničan i nalazi se u opoziciji prema demonskom svijetu, svijetu ograničenom i zatvorenom.

Literatura

Bašlar, G. (1996) **Psihoanaliza vatre**, Čačak: Alef Gradac

Bašlar, G. (2001) **Vazduh i snovi**, Sremski Karlovci i Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića

Berđajev, N. (1996) **Smisao stvaralaštva**, Beograd: Logos Ant

Burkhart, T. (2007) **Alhemija. Nauka o kosmosu, nauka o duši**, Novi Sad: Stilos

Белинский В.Г. (1981) **Соб. соч. в IX-ти томах. Т. 7. Статьи, рецензии и заметки. декабрь 1843 – август 1845,** Москва: Художественная литература

Elijade, M. (1999) **Slike i simboli. Ogledi o magijsko-religijskoj simbolici,** Sremski Karlovci i Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića

Elijade, M. (2003) **Sveto i profano,** Sremski Karlovci i Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića

Jung, K. G. (1997) **Alhemijske studije**, Beograd: Atos

Meletinski, J. M. (1983) **Poetika mita,** Beograd: Nolit

Paracelzus. (1985) „Četiri rasprave“ Alef Gradac Čačak, 12/ maj-avgust, , str. 5-27

Paracelzus, (1987) **O dugom životu**, Čačak: Alef Gradac

Одоевский В.Ф. (2006) **Записки для моего праправнука**, Москва: Русскій міръ.

Сакулинъ П.Н. (1913) **Изъ исторіи русскаго идеализма. Князь В. Ѳ. Одоевскій. Мыслитель – писатель,** Москва: Изданіе М. и С. Сабашниковыхъ

Сахаров В. Сеятель мыслей. О жизни и творениях В.Ф. Одоевского // Одоевский В.Ф. **Записки для моего праправнука**, Москва: Русскій міръ

Топоров В.Н. (1995) **Миф. Ритуал. Символ. Образ. Исследования в области мифопоэтического,** Москва: Прогресс. Культура

---

mandala nrithya, mandala – ples. Plesne figure izražavaju isti smisao kao i crteži.“ [Karl Gustav Jung, *Alhemijske studije*, str. 26].

[363] Na kvalitativni obnavljajući aspekt koji predstavlja element vatre ukazuje i Gaston Bašlar: „Očarano biće čuje zov lomače. Za njega je uništenje nešto više od promene, ono je obnavljanje.“ Gaston Bašlar, *Psihoanaliza vatre*, str. 19.

[364] *Одоевский В.Ф.* Записки для моего праправнука. С. 175.

UDK 82.09

Marjana Đukić

IZVORI NARATOLOGIJE

Apstrakt: *Rad se bavi jednom vrstom geneze naratologije koja će svoj potpun i cjelovit oblik dobiti u radu Žerara Ženeta. Podsjećajući na interno proučavanje teksta još od antičkog vremena, izvori analize pripovijedanja pronalaze se prije svega u učenju ruskih formalista i strukturalizma.*

Ključne riječi: *naratologija, formalni metod, strukturalizam, Ženet*

1. Uvod

Teorija pripovijedanja, poznatija pod imenom naratologija, kako ju je Todorov krstio, svoj sistematičan i potpun oblik dobila je, kao što se zna, u radu Žerara Ženeta. Međutim, interna analiza narativnog teksta poznaje dugu tradiciju stvaranu u različitim kulturama i na različitim jezicima. Svi ti raznoliki izvori, od antike do perioda posle II svjetskog rata, vodiće zapravo ka ovom velikom francuskom teoretičaru, koji se, među brojnim književnim kritičarima, može okvalifikovati bez ikakve sumnje kao naučnik. Upravo je Ženet čitavom formalističkom postupku dao naučan karakter, sistematizovao dotadašnja znanja i učenja i stvorio novu naučnu disciplinu.

Naratologija izvire iz strukturalističkog talasa i lingvističkih istraživanja pa će kao dio Nove kritike učestvovati u velikoj borbi strukturalizma sa univerzitetskom kritikom šezdesetih godina XX vijeka. Uprkos neiscrpnom radu u oblasti retorike, poetike, teorije rodova, estetike, intertekstualnosti, Ženetovo ime ostaje najčešće vezano za naratologiju, u početku poznatu pod nazivom analiza pripovijesti. Njegovi prvi radovi iz te tada nove discipline biće objavljeni u kolektivnim publikacijama pod mentorstvom Rolana Barta, a zatim u seriji *Figure* među kojima *Figure III* imaju posebno mjesto. U toj ključnoj studiji naratologije Ženet preko analize Prustovog *Traganja za izgubljenim vremenom* predlaže jednu teoriju pripovijesti, ili kako on skromno kaže pokušaj metode. Taj «pokušaj» će ustvari ustanoviti čitavu naučnu disciplinu – naratologiju.

2. Strukturalizam

Brojne su priče na svijetu. Tako je počeo čuveni Bartov tekst u osmom broju časopisa *Communications*, 1966, specijalnom broju posvećenom strukturalnoj analizi priče kojom su francuski strukturalisti preuzeli cilj Ruskih formalista da pronađu u tim bezbrojnim pričama univerzalne elemente, postupke i strukture. Dio književnog strukturalizma svoja istraživanja je usmjerio ka redukciji narativnih funkcija i narativnih uloga. Ženet je, međutim, ponudio ne klasifikaciju postupaka, nego je u traženju onog što je univerzalno u narativnom tekstu, predložio eksplicitno jednu metodu analize koja će poštovati strukturalistički kredo da se u pojedinačnim djelima pronađu opšti zakoni pripovijedanja.

Ne zadržavajući se ovde na prezentaciji Ženetovog sistema, koji je danas poznat svima koji se bave narativnim tekstom, ističemo nekoliko suštinskih tačaka. Prije svega, Ženet je dao naučni karakter izučavanju književnosti koje je u to doba, šezdesetih godina dakle, još bilo zagubljeno između pozitivističkih anahronih sistema tumačenja koje se vezivalo za univerzitetsku kritiku s jedne strane i impresionističkog čitanja s druge. Zatim, njegova teorija pripovijedanja uspjela je da prevaziđe dihotomiju djela koju su stvorili najprije pozitivisti podjelom na formu i sadržaj, zatim ruski formalisti fabula-siže, a brojni strukturalistički radovi tražili su rešenje takođe u parovima priča-tekst (histoire-recit, histoire-discours). Ženet je narativno djelo posmatrao preko tri aspekta - priča, narativni tekst i naracija. Pritom, Ženet je stvorio jedan konzistentan i inventivan terminološki aparat, budući da je terminološka raznolikost od autora do autora bila velika slabost novih tumačenja književnosti. Najzad, Ženetova zasluga je što je sakupio čitavu tradiciju imanentnog pristupa književnosti formalističke orjentacije, čije će zasluge isticati i prihvatiti, ali i kritički promatrati.

Naratologija je, kao i čitav strukturalizam, pod velikim uticajem razvoja lingvistike. Naučni karakter lingvistike dao je krila književnoj kritici da krene u potragu za mogućnostima naučnog bavljenja književnošću. Trojica lingvista su imali suštinsku ulogu na razvoj nauke o književnosti – Ferdinand de Sosir, Roman Jakobson i Emil Benvenist. Kako to kaže Dubravko Škiljan, strukturalistički karakter lingvistike XX vijeka je toliko značajan da se nerijetko savremena lingvistika izjednačava sa strukturalističkom lingvistikom:

> *Onog trenutka kada su lingvisti počeli prekidati sa mladogramatičarskom tradicijom i kad su prestali promatrati izolirano pojedinačne jezične jedinice u njihovu historijskom razvitku pa su obratili pažnju na relacije u određenom vremenskom presjeku, dakle na jezički sistem i njegovu strukturu, tog se trenutka rodio strukturalizam u lingvistici.*[365]

Činjenica da je Sosir odvojio lingvistička izučavanja od istorijskih, socijalnih, psiholoških i drugih van-lingvističkih fenomena, uticala je na grupu mladih književnih kritičara, kao i činjenica da je je jezik posmatrao kao sistem znakova, a sistem je za njega skup relevantnih odnosa koji čine strukturu; pritom, izbor sinhronije umesto dijahronije uticaće na razvoj novih književno-teorijskih radova. Radovi Romana Jakobsona, naročito oni posvećeni funkcijama jezika gdje je skrenuo pažnju sa komunikacijske funkcije kao isključive funkcije jezika, takođe su bili vrlo podsticajni. Ženet će podstaknut tim radom

[365] D. Škiljan, *Pogled u lingvistiku*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1987, str. 54.

napraviti podjelu funkcija naratora. Međutim, lingvista koji je direktno, kao predavač, uticao na tzv. Bartovu grupu jeste svakako Emil Benvenist. Njegova predavanja, kasnije objavljena pod imenom *Problemi opšte lingvistike* bila su od fundamentalnog značaja za buduće naratologe. Predavanja o odnosu vremena kod francuskih glagola, kao i ona posvećena prirodi zamjenica i o subjektivnosti u govoru, kao i Benvenistovo razlikovanje dva vremenska sistema – govor i pripovijedanje, predstavljaće osnovu naratološkog sistema.[366] Pripovijedanje ili priča ili prošlost jeste sistem koji prikazuje činjenice koje su se desile u izvesnom trenutku u vremenu, bez intervencije govornika u pripovijedanje. Karakteristike ovog sistema jesu upotreba trećeg lica, a glagolska vremena koja se upotrebljavaju su aorist (passé simple), imperfekat i pluskvamperfekat. Sistem govora s druge strane pretpostavlja govornika i primaoca, odnosno slušaoca. Govor upotrebljava lične zamjenice *ja* i *ti*, isto kao i *on*, a od glagolskih vremena moguća su sva osim aorista, mada su tri osnovna prezent, perfekat i futur. Evidentno je koliko naratologija duguje ovim lingvističkim radovima, naročito u naratološkoj oblasti «Glasa».

Veliki nelingvistički izvor ili bolje podsticaj bio je čuveni Klod Levi Stros koji je strukturalizam primijenio na antropologiju. Primjena metode koja je do tada bila isključivo lingvistička na antroploško proučavanje porodice i kasnije mita, dalo je poleta drugim humanističkim naukama da strukturalnom analizom stvore nove naučne discipline.

3. Formalizam

No nisu svi podsticaji naratologiji stigli iz drugih nauka. Književno-teorijski radovi imaju dugu i staru tradiciju, od Platona i Aristotela. Kao što se zna, naratološki termini *diegesis* i *mimesis* u stvari su Platonovi, a Aristotel, analizom elemenata tragedije i epa u *Poetici*, može se smatrati prvim strukturalistom, pokazajući da je svako djelo sačinjeno od univerzalnih elemenata koji organizovani na poseban način čine djelo originalnim.

Direktan i moglo bi se reći istinski izvor naratologije jesu Ruski formalisti koji u ovom slučaju imaju stvarnu i simboličku vrijednost. I ova škola je u osnovi vezana za strukturalnu lingvistiku, naročito za Praški lingvistički krug. Prije svega, oni su prvi imali ambiciju da književnim izučavanjima daju naučni karakter i ta koncepcija je stavila samo djelo u centar pažnje istraživača, odbijajući psihološke, sociološke i filozofske pristupe. Imanentni pristup započet dvadesetih godina u Rusiji biće dominantan pristup književnosti najvećeg dijela XX vijeka. U Francuskoj u to isto vrijeme samom djelu, konstrukciji teksta, traženju oblika posvećeni su više stvaraoci, nego teoretičari i kritičari. Malarme, Prust, Žid, Valeri imaju razmišljanja vrlo bliska Ruskim formalistima. Budući da su ovu školu nazivali «formalnom metodom» u pežorativnom značenju,

[366] Emil Benvenist, *Problemi opšte lingvistike*, prevod Sreten Marić, Beograd, Nolit, 1975. Prevodilac Sreten Marić koristi termine « istorija » i « beseda », ali ovaj rad prihvata naratološke termine « pripovijedanje » i « govor ».

Ejhenbaumov stav je da suštinski problem nije problem metode već same književnosti kao predmeta izučavanja, a teorija je samo radna hipoteza pomoću koje se shvataju činjenice,[367] što je blisko Ženetovom stavu da je naratologija samo metoda. Prevazilaženje pozitivističke podjele djela na formu i sadržaj, Ruski su formalisti riješili stvaranjem nove opozicije – fabula/siže, gdje je fabula vanknjiževni tok zbivanja, priča koja može postojati i van književnog djela, a siže način na koji je fabula organizovana u književnom tekstu, konstruktivni postupak oblikovanja. Kako navodi Cvetan Todorov, forma je kod Ruskih formalista pojam koji pokriva sve vidove, sve dijelove umjetničkog djela, ali samo kao odnos dijelova u cjelini, kao skup funkcija. [368]

Predstavnik kopenhagenske lingvističke škole Hjemslev analizira formu izraza i formu sadržaja, čime prevazilazi prostu podjelu između riječi i stvari, izneđu jezika i života. Formalizam shvata forme upravo u ovom značenju. Ženet smatra da se formalizam ne zasniva na tome što bi davao prednost formama na štetu značenja, već što samo značenje posmatra kao formu uključenu u jedinstvo stvranosti.[369] Opozicije binarnih parova fabula/siže ili kako su mnogi naratolozi preuzeli u vidu histoire/discours, histoire/recit, Ženet razrješava jednim trijadnim sistemom. Za njega dakle djelo ima tri aspekta: priču (histoire), dakle narativnu sadržinu, označeno, *signifié*, zatim pripovijest (*récit*), što je ustvari narativni tekst, oznaka, *signifiant*, i treći aspekt je pripovijedanje (*narration*), sami narativni čin. Analiziranje odnosa koji postoje između ova tri aspeka djela čine sistem naratologije.

Radovi Ruskih formalista na postupku, na stvaranju sižea polazeći od neke fabule u radovima Tomaševskog otvaraju put tematskoj kritici ali i strogo formalističkim pristupima (linija V. Propa). Brojne igre između nivoa fabule i naracije grupisane su u raznolike postupke, zatim izdvojeni su tipovi naracije (objektivna pripovijest, subjektivna pripovijest i miješani tipovi), izučavano je vrijeme fabule i vrijeme naracije, znanje naratora, što je bazni sistem za buduću naratologiju.

Ne samo da su izučavanja Ruskih formalista uticala na naratologiju, već su stvorila značajne osnove za izučavanje intertekstualnih relacija, put kojim će i Ženet nastaviti svoj teorijski rad. Pojam odnosa koji je suštinski za svaki vid strukturalne metode, Šklovski primenjuje ne samo kada govori o pojedinačnom književnom djelu, već i u odnosu djela prema drugim, postojećim književnim djelima. «Umjetničko djelo je shvaćeno u odnosu prema drugim umjetničkim djelima i uz pomoć asocijacija koje pravi sa njima. Ne samo pastiš, svako je umjetničko djelo stvoreno kao paralela i kao opozicija nekog modela.»[370] Dakle, ni samo djelo se ne posmatra kao izolovana činjenica, sama po sebi, već samo u odnosu na druga djela. Doprinos Ruskih formalista na čitavu književno-teorijsku misao XX vijeka je od presudnog značaja, ali da ne zaboravimo da kažemo da je

[367] B. Eikhenbaum, « La Théorie de la méthode formelle », u : *Théorie de la litterature*, Seuil, 1965.
[368] Tzvetan Todorov, « L'Héritage méthodologique du Formalisme », *Poétique de la prose*, Seuil, Paris, 1971, str. 10.
[369] Gérard Genette, « Raisons de la critique pure », *Figures II*, Seuil, Paris, 1969, str. 19.
[370] *Theorie de la litterature*, str. 50.

taj doprinos bio značajan i u oblasti jezika, versifikacije, metrike, teorije rodova, književne evolucije.

Imanentni pristup književnosti početkom XX vijeka razvija se i u Engleskoj i Americi. Radovi Persija Laboka (Percy Lubbock, *The Craft of Fiction*, 1921) tretiraju književno djelo kao cjelinu u kojem posebno mjesto imaju postupci. Pitanje tačke gledišta i glasa autora, koje je kasnije Ženet precizirao i definisao u okviru kategorija «Glasa» i «Načina», kod Laboka se razlikuju kao scenično i panoramsko predstavljanje, kasnije poznato pod imenima *showing* i *telling*, predočavanje i kazivanje. Nove tendencije u američkoj kritici naći će se u radovima Henrija Džejmsa (*The Art of the Novel*, 1934) i Forstera (*Aspects of the Novel*) a najpotpuniji oblik dobiće kod Vejna Buta u *Retorici proze*. Ovaj neo-aristotelovac redefinisaće kategorije naratološke analize, kao što su teorije tačke gledišta i naročito kategorizacija naratora prema kojoj postoji distinkcija između naratora, stvarnog autora i implicitnog autora. Doprinos anglo-američke teorije romana jeste i što je reaktuelizovala antičku opoziciju dijegezis/mimezis.

Novi pristupi književnosti razvijaju se i u Njemačkoj – Valcel, Kajzer, i za naratologiju naročito značajan Štancel i K. Hamburger.

No, Francuzi imaju i sopstvenu književno-teorijsku tradiciju, od Tibodea do Žana Pujona i Žorža Blena. U svojoj čuvenoj studiji *Vrijeme i roman* (1946), Pujon posmatra lik iz tačke gledišta autora i pritom razlikuje tri vizije: viziju *avec*, sa, gdje je jedan lik cenatr pripovijesti, sa njim se posmatraju i ostali protagonisti i događaji koji se pričaju; zatim vizija *par derriere*, iza, gdje se dakle autor povlači iza lika da bi ga posmatrao na jedan nepristrasan način. Budući da je autor iza svi likovi su viđeni na isti način. Najzad, vizija *de dehors*, spolja, jeste posmatranje izvana, na osnovu izgleda, ponašanja. Ova podjela će direktno biti preuzeta od strane Todorova i Ženeta.

Žorž Blen je koristio pojam restrikcija polja u radovima posvećenim Stendalu želeći da označi zatvorenost naratora u tačku gledišta junaka. Blen je značajno proširio domen istraživanja analizirajući autorova uplitanja u fikcionalni svijet, što je u naratologiji dobilo mjesto i važnost u oblasti ekstradijegetičkog nivoa i ekstradijegetičkog naratora. Kao što se vidi samo po nekim od naznačenih radova, veliki problem novovjekovne teorijske misli bilo je upravo terminološko nejedinstvo koje će upravo riješiti Ženet.

Kako se približavamo Ženetu, rad koji se bavi ovom temom ne može zaobići dvojicu velikih strukturalista – Rolana Barta i Cvetana Todorova. Bart je centralna figura oko koje su se okupili tada mladi istraživači i koji su zajedno sa njim vodili jednu od poslednjih velikih borbi starih i modernih, pokušavajući da se suprostave univerzitetskom načinu predavanja i izučavanja književnosti. Pobjednički čin bio je objavljivanje Bartove studije *O Rasinu.* Osim radovima iz teorije književnosti, semiotike i lingvistike, Bartov angažman je naročito značajan po predavačkom poslu na (van-univerzitetskom) kursu kojem će Ženet u *Figurama 4* iskazati mali *hommage* između ostalog rekavši da je to bila tada jedina svjetlost za njega i Todorova. Bart je ustanovio novi pristup programskim tekstom «Uvod u strukturalnu analizu pripovijesti», a kasnije je, opet prvi, objavio radove u pravcu post-strukturalizma.

Todorov je šezdesetih došao iz Bugarske tražeći u Francuskoj nova znanja iz oblasti teorije književnosti. Nakon prvih razočarenjana francuskom univerzitetu, nalazi Ženeta sa kojim odlazi na Bartove časove, i postaje jedan od najvećih teoretičara strukturalizma. Njegova prednost bila je dobro poznavanje teorije Ruskih formalista čiji postaje najveći portparol u strukturalizmom zahvaćenoj Francuskoj. Prevod i izbor radova Ruskih formalista koji je napravio Todorov i objavio pod nazivom *Teorija književnosti*, s predgovorom Romana Jakobsona, 1965. godine jedno je od najznačajnih izdanja tog perioda, odakle su se napajali svi koji su htjeli da se računaju u ozbiljne književne kritičare. Analizirajući Bokača, Lakloa, *Hiljadu i jednu noć,* Todorov je lingvistički model primijenio na književnost. Prvi je skovao izraz gramatika književnog teksta (*Gramatika Dekamerona*), a stvorio je i osnovni sistem posmatranja književnih činjenica preko lingvističkih kategorija vremena, načina i aspekta. I danas su njegove knjige iz tog perioda, kao *Uvod u fantastičnu književnost*, *Poetika* i *Teorija simbola* klasici univerzitetskih udžbenika.

Neobično je da u isto vrijeme kada se formira grupa novih kritičara u Parizu, jedan Švajcarac, član Ženevske škole, Žan Ruse, objavljuje 1963. delo posvećeno književnim strukturama. Riječ je o djelu *Oblik i značenje*. To je prva studija koja tretira književne činjenice kao strukture i izvršiće veliki uticaj na parisku grupu naratologa. Pritom, ova zbirka praktičnih analiza književnih djela pokazala je dosljednu primjenu imanentne, strukturalističke metode. Za Rusea je svako djelo oblik, u meri u kojoj je djelo. Djelo ne može da postoji bez oblika, pa čak kada umjetnik traži ukidanje forme, on to čini posredstvom neke forme, jer se forma, po Ruseovim riječima, ne može svesti na neki plan, shemu ili skup postupaka i sredstava.[371] Na ovaj način Ruse istovremeno prati i formu i sadržinu, te dvije nerazdvojne dimenzije književnog djela. Njegova metoda do značenja dolazi preko formi. Značajan Ruseov stav je da je kritika imanentna djelu i da ne postoje aprioristične kategorije koje bi važile za sve pisce. Ne postoje kritičarske alatke koje bi bile važeće za sve. Metod zavisi od pisca, od književnog djela, ali i od kritičara. Kao i Ruske formaliste, manje ga je zanimao metod, a više sama književnost kao predmet proučavanja kojem treba podrediti metod. Neobičnost Ruseovog pristupa jeste i u tome što je *teme* posmatrao kao oblikovne sheme, čime se udaljava od predstavnika tematske kritike. «Teme su oblikovne sheme po funkciji koja im je namijenjena opštom organizacijom, po njihovom položaju u razvoju, po njihovim fazama izranjana i uranjanja, zgušnjavanja ili naizmeničnosti, po njihovom doprinosu skupnim ritmovima, njihovim pojedinačnim odnosima.»[372] Kod Rusea tema prelazi sa semantičkog na formalni nivo, on tematizuje formu što je značajne teorijske važnosti. Najbolji primer ovakvog tretiranja tema Ruse je pokazao u knjizi *Pogledi im se susretoše*

371 Žan Ruse, *Oblik i značenje*, prevod Ivan Dimić, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci, Novi Sad, 1993, str. 19.
372 *Isto*, str. 23.

gdje analizira scenu prvog viđenja u romanu. Na ovaj način Ruse strukturalni metod proširuje i na izučavanje tematskog dijela književnog djela.

U svom dugogodišnjem radu od skoro četrdeset godina, Ruse je izvan glavnog toka naratologije stvarao sopstveni metod izučavajući razne romaneskne strukture i naratološke probleme: status naratora, vremenski raspored, perspektivu i tačku gledišta, prvo lice u romanu, narativne nivoe, znake naratera u tekstu. Oslanjajući se takođe na Benvenistov sistem govora i pripovijedanja, Ruse se posebno bavi monološkim i dijaloškim oblicima sistema govora, stvarajući, potpuno nezavisno od pariske škole, ali ne bez međusobnog uvažavanja i prihvatanja, jednu apartnu naratologiju.

3. Zaključak

Svi ovi izvori naratologije ne umanjuju njen doprinos i značaj. Upravo nakon što je Ženet problematizovao i analitički preispitao nasleđe formalističkog metoda stvorivši pritom naratološki sistem, u analizi pojedinačnog književnog djela nije se otišlo mnogo dalje, bar što se tiče unutrašnjeg metoda. Zapravo, književna teorija od poststrukturalizma vraća se referentu, spoljnim činiocima kako u Francuskoj, tako i SAD-u. Sva nova učenja poznata danas pod imenom *studies* (gay, lesbien, cultural, gender, feminist) a u francuskoj tradiciji Burdjeov dominantan uticaj, ustvari su stari dobri sociološki metodi. Sama naratologija je u Americi krenula prema feminizmu i psihoanalizi, no Ženet je naratologiju u užem smislu, ili modalnu naratologiju, vratio *Novom raspravom o pripovijedanju* 1983. na put izvornog analitičkog izučavanja narativnog teksta.

Danas savremeni pristupi i udžbenici naratologiju izučavaju čak nezavisno i od samog strukturalističkog metoda. U tradiciji ovog velikog naučnika, nećemo isključiti potencijal drugih književno-kritičkih metoda, ali, kako zavrsava Kompanjon svoju čuvenu studiju *Demon teorije*, da bi se izučavala književnost, neophodno je stati pod neku zastavu, odlučiti se za određeni put. Ako se izučava narativni tekst, naratologija je jedan dragocjen, siguran i neizbježan put.

Literatura

Aristotel (1990) **O pesničkoj umetnosti**, prevod dr Miloš N. Đurić, Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva

Barthes, R. (1966) "Introduction à l'analyse structurale des récits", Paris: **Communication,** No. 8

Benveniste, E. (1966) **Problèmes de linguistique générale**, Paris: Gallimard

Blin, G. (1954) **Stendhal et les problèmes du roman**, Paris: J. Corti

But, V. (1976) **Retorika proze**, prevod Branko Vučićević, Beograd: Nolit

Compagnon, A. (1998) **Le Démon de la Théorie**, paris: Seuil

Genette, G. (1966) **Figures I,** Paris: Seuil

Genette, G. (1969) **Figures II,** Paris: Seuil, coll. Tel Quel
Genette, G. (1972) **Figures III**, Paris: Seuil, coll. Poétique
Genette, G. (1983) **Nouveau discours du récit**, Paris: Seuil
Genette, G. (1999) **Figures 4**, Paris: Seuil
Jakobson, R. (1963) **Essais de linguistique générale**, Paris: Minuit
Lubbock, P. (1921) **The Craft of Fiction**, London: Jonathan Cape
Pouillon, J. (1946) **Temps et roman**, Paris: Gallimard
Ruse, Ž. (1995) **Oblik i značenje**, prevod Ivan Dimić; Sremski Karlovci, Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića
Škiljan, D. (1987) **Pogled u lingvistiku,** Zagreb: Školska knjiga
Štancel, F. (1987) **Tipične forme romana**, Novi Sad: Književna zajednica Novog Sada
Théorie de la littérature, textes des Formalistes russes, réunis, présentés et traduits par Tzvetan Todorov (1965), Paris: Seuil
Todorov, Tz. (1971) **Poétique de la prose**, Paris: Seuil, coll. Poétique
Todorov, Tz. (1978) **Les genres du discours**, Paris: Seuil
Todorov, Tz. (1968) **Poétique**, Paris: Seuil

UDK 82.09

Milena Kostić

MODERN VERSIONS OF THE FAUSTUS MYTH: RAVENHILL'S FAUST (FAUST IS DEAD) AND MEMET'S FAUSTUS

Abstract: *Tzvetan Todorov, a literary critic, has referred to modern Western culture as Faustian. His diagnosis has been confirmed by a number of contemporary playwrights who resort to the Faustian archetype to describe the combination of tremendous technological advancement and profound moral failure that characterizes our modernity. This paper deals with two recent plays, directly influenced by Marlowe's* Dr. Faustus – Faust (Faust is Dead) *by Mark Ravenhill and* Faustus *by David Mamet.*

Key words: *the Faustus myth, the Faustian archetype, forbidden knowledge, soul*

1. Introduction

Tzvetan Todorov, a literary critic, has referred to modern Western culture as Faustian. His diagnosis has been confirmed by a number of contemporary playwrights who resort to the Faustian archetype to describe the combination of tremendous technological advancement and profound moral failure that characterizes our modernity. Two recent plays, directly influenced by Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus – Faust (Faust is Dead)* by Mark Ravenhill and *Faustus* by David Mamet – will be the subject of this paper.

2. Ravenhill's *Faust is Dead*

In Ravenhill's version of *Doctor Faustus*, one of the most resonant of Marlowe's lines, "this is Hell, nor am I out of it", becomes a synonym for the life in the contemporary America – the world drained of feelings, steeped in consumerism, thoroughly controlled by mass media. It is to this Unreal City, where all reality is virtual, that the hero, the visiting French philosopher, feels properly at home. The author of the postmodern, anti-humanist work *The End of History and the Death of Man,* is a modern Faust, briefly enjoying his post mortem existence among the generation of numbed, disoriented American youth. One of them, Pete, is drawn to Alain by the latter's air of authority. As we follow them on their 'educational journey' across America, we become aware of ironic reversals in relation to Marlowe's original. Marlowe's Faustus is in Hell because he has sold his soul to the Devil; Pete is ready to sell his own soul to escape the Hell he is trapped in. He is ready, that is, to compromise what integrity he has left in exchange for a direction he hopes to get from the older man. Instead of offering hope for guidance out of the inauthentic existence, Alain thrusts Pete deeper into it. Thus, although Pete does not really fit in the theory of multiple sexualities, propounded by Alain, he is nevertheless seduced by his 'mentor'. He is also instructed to accept his abuse as a 'transaction' that will eventually guide him to spiritual illumination that Pete, beneath his pretended coolness, secretly covets. In the meantime, the boy is to watch what is happening through his camcorder, as a TV spectacle; in that way he will be spared not only the natural revulsion but any feelings whatsoever. The teacher's abuse of his disciple is thus not only a physical one. The rape of Pete's mind is suggestive of the kind of the verbal indoctrination to which the contemporary youth are subjected. The result is an obliteration of the natural emotional impulses and needs, and of pervasive confusion as to what one's sexual or any other identity is. Pete's quest for an adequate father figure thus involves a lot of experimentation, mistakes, suffering, but is not ultimately successful. Rejecting Alain's cruel nihilism, Pete ends by embracing the equally hopeless alternative – he returns to his biological father, a software magnate, and his solution to the problem of excessive structuring of the individual – which is electronically controlled chaos. He has created a program involving the use of most famous world's masterpieces whose purpose is the very opposite of what those works of art were meant to achieve – to keep one's perception as fragmentary and disconnected as possible, and thus eliminate all painful awareness of the kind of the world one lives in. While embracing this dispersed consciousness, Pete also, paradoxically, hopes to exchange the disc he has stolen from his father for a vast sum of money which will buy him something he has been denied all his life – new, "totally real experiences".[373]

The use of Chorus represents one of the most important aspects of *Faust (Faust is Dead)* since, appearing at crucial points as in Marlowe's play, it provides an insight into the conditioning process whereby children, naturally endowed with moral perception, are turned into dehumanized, indifferent subjects. The earliest memory this collective voice recalls is of a seven-year-old boy who could not sleep "because of all those bad things going on" in the world. He was "crying night after night…because the

---

[373] Ravenhill is just one of many modern authors who criticize the American life style for its emotional atrophy and consumerism. This is how, for example, Adrienne Rich, a contemporary American poetess, describes the spiritual condition of contemporary American citizens:

> We see daily that our lives are terrible and little, without continuity, buyable and saleable at any moment, mere blips on a screen, that this is the way we live now…We become stoical; we hibernate; we numb ourselves with chemicals; we emigrate internally into fictions of past and future; we thirst for guns; but *as a people* we have rarely, if ever, known what it is to tremble with fear, to lament, to rage, to praise, to solemnize, to say *We have done this, to our sorrow;* to say *Enough*; to say *We will,* to say *We will not*.

The only way to 'recharge desire' and 'put numbed zones into feelings' is, according to Rich, to 'lay claim to poetry', 'to read and write as if your life depended on it', which is, as a solution to the postmodern condition, totally disregarded by Ravenhill's heroes, though not by Ravenhill himself. (Adrianne Rich, *What is Found There: Notebooks on Poetry and Politics*, Virago Press, 1993, p. 20) world is such a bad place". His mother promised him that "it's gonna get a whole lot better". He taught himself "to cry in a special way that means she wouldn't hear him ever again". The child evolves into a teenager who smashes the window of a store to get himself a VCR. His mother's reproach that he should have gone to the food store instead is totally illogical to the boy. "What is the point of having something to eat if you do not have anything to watch while eating it?", he asks himself. The following stage of his development is overseen by the Minister of a local church, another dangerous surrogate father, who, deciding not to lag behind the modern tendencies, installs a terminal and modem in the church. The fact that mothers, who have raised the funds for the terminal, begin to lose their children to the Internet is explained by the Minister as one of the Lord's mysterious ways which leads towards a brighter future. For a moment, the Chorus also speaks in the voice of Donny, Pete's Internet friend, a disturbed boy, who cuts his flesh with a razor, the pain being the only way he has of feeling anything. When this way of proving to himself that he is alive ultimately fails, he commits suicide. The Chorus speaking in Donny's voice recalls a childhood memory – gulping cherry slush from the slushie machine in the store where his mother worked. After the sudden removal of the machine, Donny developed symptoms of 'pathological' aggression, first towards the teachers at school and then against his own body - he leaves bloody razor marks on his body, hoping that one day Jesus will explain why he does this to himself.[374]

At the end of the play, the voice of the Chorus becomes the voice of the adult who is looking for the signs that the world is getting better, as mother promised it would, but perceives that the world has neither ended nor become better and discovers that he does not feel a thing about it:

> *It's just going on, on and on and on. And I wonder if I should feel something about that. But – you want the truth? – I don't feel a thing...And I wonder what made me that way*[375]*.*

How capable the system is of neutralizing any attempt of authenticity is ultimately demonstrated by the fact that Donny's suicide, meant to be a kind of rebellion, is turned into a marketable commodity – his and Pete's idol, the rock star Stevie makes a song about Donny's suicide, and it is now showing three times an hour on MTV.

The play ends in another suicide – Alain's. He is first shot by Pete who has realized the importance of Alain's part in Donny's decision to kill himself. Horrified by the image of Donny's corpse, Pete fires at Alain, which is the last thing he does before

---

[374] Although Donny remains ignorant of the causes of this horrific act, Ravenhill, Rebellato writes, assures the readers that "cutting is a desperate way of making contact with reality, pain stimulating a body numbed by the delirium of consumer pseudo-choice and mediation on every level." (Dan Rebellato, Introduction to Mark Ravenhill's *Plays: I*, Methuen Drama, 2001, p. xvi)

[375] Mark Ravenhill, *Faust (Faust is Dead*), p. 137

he finally returns to his father. Alain is, however, not dead, but seriously wounded. At the end of the play, he decides to refuse medical help and dies.

Ravenhill's rejection of post-modern hedonism, represented by Alain, can be compared to Erich Fromm's criticism of radical hedonism. Starting from a dilemma – to have or to be? – Fromm concedes that there is nothing wrong in determining happiness as the source of life; what is wrong is the definition of happiness as the satisfaction of any desire or subjective need a person may feel (*radical hedonism*), since, defined in that incomplete way, in contemporary society, based on the existential mode of having rather than being, it does not lead to harmony and peace but to egotism, selfishness and greed. As a consequence of people being conditioned to have only selfish and possessive desires, there appears an atrophy of emotional life: we become alienated both from ourselves and other human beings. Acts of cruelty take place not because people are driven by innate aggression, but because they no longer have or feel any emotional bond to other people. The way out, according to Fromm, of this state of 'constant disequilibrium' is to achieve the unity of the fully developed human reason and love. By becoming fully human, "man will arrive at the experience of oneness… - oneness within man, oneness between man and nature, and oneness between man and other man"[376]. In this manner, which looks back to the teaching of Ficino, Mirandolla and Bruno, modern man might transcend his narcissistic position and "escape the hell of self-centredness and hence self-imprisonment"[377].

Ravenhill's characters, unfortunately, do not manage to escape the prisons of their selfish selves otherwise than by suicide. Yet, if we agree with Lionel Trilling, when he observes that death destroys the man, but the idea of death saves him from the omnipotence of culture, we might find in the way Donny and Alain voluntarily end their lives the final desperate affirmation of precisely those values their society systematically try to deny them.[378] If, as already noted, the impact of Donny's suicide is neutralized by being turned into a TV show, Alain's death, caused by the despair beneath his cruelty and hedonism, is a clear indication of his moral ascent beyond his real life prototypes,[379] but equally too beyond his literary predecessor, Marlowe's Faustus.

---

[376] Erich Fromm, *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*, Penguin Books, Midlesex, England, 1977,
p. 314

[377] Ibid, p.315

[378] See Lionel Trilling, "Freud: Within and Beyond Culture", in Lena Petrovic, *Literature, Culture, Identity: Introducing XX century Literary Theory*, p. 265

[379] It did not escape the notice of critics that Ravenhill's Alain, a French philosopher whose main ideas rest on the recognizable post-modern slogans of the death of man, the death of the real and the death of the progress, is actually an amalgam of the French philosophers Michael Foucault and Jean Baudrillard. (Dan Rebellato, *Introduction to Mark Ravenhill's Plays*, Methuen Drama, 2001, p. xiv) Significantly, the title of Alain's book also refers to the postmodern anti-humanist orthodoxy; in fact, it is a reflection of Francis Fukuyama's book *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992). In his book, Fukuyama proclaims that "what we may be witnessing nowadays… is the end of history: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of

3. Memet's *Faustus*

David Mamet is another contemporary playwright who draws on the Marlowian tradition. As already discussed, Marlowe's Faustus, an eccentric, lonely, poor, bachelor scholar, unsatisfied with legitimate education he has acquired, sells his soul in exchange for ultimate knowledge that will accomplish his unlawful ambition. Unlike him, Mamet's Faustus is a domestic bourgeois and a respectable philosopher/scientist, in the prime of life, healthy, wealthy and blessed with the devotion of a beautiful wife and child – both of whom he tends to ignore for his work. Yet he shares his XVI century prototype's chief trait, his tragic egomania.

It seems at first that this modern Faustus is only eager to get things right. "I fear failure, I sicken of success," he confides to the mysterious magician who has arrived to provide the entertainment for a child's party. Faustus has just finished his **opus magnum**, in which he claims to have reduced the secret of life to a mathematical equation - he believes he has the power and omniscience to put forth an overreaching view of the world based on periodicity. In other words, Faustus claims that all natural phenomena (the recurrence of draught, famine, fire etc.), including the processes and stages in man's life (conception, first love, betrothal, marriage), can be abstracted and boiled down to a number. The number is "the secret engine of the world", the modern Faustus claims. This concept reminds us of another mathematician/philosopher, Pythagoras, who discovered that number was the foundation, the essence, of all phenomena, including music. But number, for him, unlike for Mamet's Faustus, could not be abstracted from things, "it was not a pure disembodied Platonic idea transcending the earthly existence. It was always inherent, in music and dance as rhythm, in sculpture as proportion, in geometry as ratio, and in ethics as a sense of inner harmony, perfectly attuned, with the singing cosmos"[380].

That the modern Faustus's conception of periodicity lacks the ethical dimension, e.g. that it is divorced from the knowledge of the soul, is quite obvious from the very beginning of the play. The 'tragic doom' of Faustus's family is anticipated in the gift given to Faustus by his son. It is an incomplete poem:

Heavy heavy the hired man
Weary, how weary the willing hand
One for the Heart, One for the Head
One for the Lad who tarries abed…
Three swift swallows in the summer sky…
Gone in the twinkling of an eye.

Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government." (Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man,* Free Press, 1992). Thus Fukuyama, celebrates the 'American-style' democracy as the only 'correct' political system that all other countries will only be happy to follow. Ravenhill, on the other hand, tells the truth.

[380] Bela Hamvas*, Patam*, Centar za geopoetiku, Beograd, 1994, p. 254.

What mystic light, illumines the night
A father's care...[381]

The poem describes the innocent child's view of the modern dysfunctional family. The feminine principle is embodied in the Heart – his mother/the soul - who provides him with love and affection, unlike his father, who is an embodiment of the Head or reason, and is drained of any emotion towards anyone but himself. Significantly, the boy is seriously ill, "he has a cold upon his chest" which indicates, as Ted Hughes would suggest, that until these two contrary principles are equally combined, the child' life is in a mortal danger. This is the first warning that the stubborn Faustus is given. However, he disregards it. He never manages to find enough time to visit his sick child, although he constantly reminds himself of this obligation: "I was to go to him. I have forgotten."

Thus, Mamet's Faustus joins in the tradition of over-reachers: his desire for knowledge is similar to the one that animates Marlowe's Faustus. Although he discovers the ultimate truth about the world, the goal that Marlowe's Faustus also strives for but does not achieve, soon it becomes obvious that knowledge is not his only or ultimate ambition. Like Marlowe's Faustus, he has secondary motives. He secretly yearns for scholarly fame, and admits it quite frankly to his friend Fabian. As it turns out, he is essentially small-minded and self-absorbed, upset because his book has received bad reviews. It is this petty vanity of the academic that in the end proves stronger than any other need or impulse: he neither desires, nor is capable of love.

Although Magus, Mamet's Mephistophilis, warns him from the beginning of their dispute that "the greater the mind, the more ease in its misdirection", Mamet's Faustus is too proud and assured of the revolutionary quality of his work. Magus admonishes Faustus that the secret engine of the world is regret – he advises him "never to do that which might engender it", thus anticipating Faustus's future condition. However, Faustus remains resolute, a striking feature reminding us of Marlowe's Faustus. Like Marlowe's protagonist, he too is for the most part unable to understand the consequences of his actions and his own responsibility for them. Magus repeats his warning once again, reminding Faustus of his family and the claim that they have on him. It is a legitimate claim, Magus insists; however, Faustus is more willing to be the only possessor of the Secret Knowledge of the world, preferring to indulge in 'the burden of his loneliness' than enjoy the company of his family. His wife, suggestive of Marlowe's Dido, reminds him that he can find an answer and spiritual fulfilment in "the love for a child which seeks nothing for itself". But he remains deaf to her appeals till the end of the play.

In Mamet's version, the pact with the Devil takes form of a bargain in which his Faustus, accused of plagiarism through the manipulations of the demonic Magus, consents to wager and finally sacrifice the lives of his wife and child because he wants to prove the accuracy and authenticity of his work. Like Marlowe's Tamburlaine and

[381] David Mamet, *Faustus*, Vintage Books, New York, 2004, p. 13

Barabas, who also turn against their children, he remains impervious to any sense of guilt or feeling of pity.

In Act II, Faustus, lonely but unchanged, encounters his old friend Fabian at a crossroads. His friend is old, sightless and walking with a stick. He is bitter at the desertion of Faustus that, years ago, led to the death of his child and wife. Faustus can hardly believe the passage of the years. Locked in eternal disputation with the Devil, time, for him, has passed in an instant. He realizes that his wife committed suicide, takes a glimpse of her in the underworld and then, for a brief, bewildered and desperate moment of unlocked feelings, he begs for the intercession from his angelic child in heaven. Neither can recognize him, but the child, in his goodness, agrees to take his case before God and the angels. At one point the child seems to remember his previous life, and although it is a memory of pain, he gives Faustus another chance to be saved – the son urges his faithless father to complete the poem for him. "Why do you hesitate?", he cries. But Faustus, again locked in the prison of his scholarly pride, and convinced that he has finally won a victory over the great Magus ("I am become as God", he triumphantly exclaims), misses his chance, and the Heavenly gates clang shut. There is no welcoming chorus of Heavenly angels for him. The modern Faustus, just like his predecessor in Marlowe's version of the legend, is eternally damned.

Another, related elaboration on the Faustus's theme can be found in David Duncan's article *Return of Dr. Faust Presents Important Ethical Lessons for Scientists.* The article was inspired by the performance of Mamet's *Faustus*. In Duncan's opinion, Mamet's greatest shortcoming in this play is his failure to update the Faustian legend for the sharp edge of the new technology and represent Faustus as a modern scientist in a laboratory:

> *Instead of jumping into the dramatic possibilities of carbon dioxide emission or genetic super-races, Mamet rather blindly places the good doctor in a past that looks vaguely Edwardian, with a scientific discovery that is equally murky, something about all existence being explained by a single mathematical equation he has just devised. Love, hate, bravery, disease, even God - everything is explainable by numbers, Faustus says to his wife and later to his friend Fabian, waving a page containing the all-encompassing equation. It's a shame that Mamet didn't dress up Faustus in a white lab coat holding up a computer print-out filled with a sequence of As, Ts, Cs and Gs - letters of genetic code. This, too, is an equation, or code, unraveled by modern scientists to offer what is essentially a digital explanation of life, containing clues about the mechanisms of love, hate, bravery and disease.*[382]

Thus, Duncan, appalled at the way modern scientists believe that they can tread the Faustian line and not destroy the humanity, warns the readers, in Marlowian fashion, against the probability of even more horrible diabolical bargains that will arise

---

[382] David Duncan, *Return of Dr. Faust presents important ethical lessons for scientists,* San Francisco Chronicle, March 8, 2004, davidewingduncan.com

unless the contemporary technological craze is checked by the recovered sense of responsibility:

> *Think of Pandora's Box and Robert Oppenheimer's horror at unleashing the awesome power of the atomic bomb. And think biotech, with the unraveling of DNA sequences and other molecular knowledge and technologies that may provide us with a fabulous new power for good or evil...I have already written in this column about stem cells and cloning, which I'm optimistic will one day cure disease, but this science also could create a Faustian Hell of cloned super-humans and pseudo-human drones grown for spare hearts and brain cells. Our technological society ripples with other potential Faustian bargains, from potential genetic fixes to extend lifespan, which may overpopulate the planet, to global warming caused largely by our insatiable appetite for fossil fuels.*[383]

Yet, Mamet's apparent failure to bring Faustus up to date in every technical detail, does not, in my opinion, diminish his play's contemporary significance.

4. Conclusion

Both Ravenhill and Mamet offer powerful restatements about the destructive power of science or philosophy when they are divorced from conscience. They criticize this divorce in terms of its most devastating consequences: the suffering of children. Thus they ask us, with renewed relevance and urgency, to re-examine our conceptions of knowledge: to distinguish more clearly between the kind of knowledge that ensures merely power and profit, and that which makes for more freedom, justice and sanity.

References

Duncan, D. (2004) "Return of Dr. Faust presents important ethical lessons for scientists", **San Francisco Chronicle,** March 8, davidewingduncan.com

Fromm, E. (1977) **The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness**, Midlesex, England: Penguin Books

Fukuyama, F. (1992) **The End of History and the Last Man**, Free Press

Hamvas, B. (1994) **Patam,** Beograd: Centar za geopoetiku.

Mamet, D. (2004) **Faustus,** New York: Vintage Books

Ravenhill, M. (2001) **Faust (Faust is Dead),** Methuen Drama

Rebellato, D. (2001) Introduction to Mark Ravenhill's *Plays: I*, Methuen Drama

Rich, A. (1993) **What is Found There: Notebooks on Poetry and Politics,** Virago Press

Trilling, L. (2004) "Freud: Within and Beyond Culture", in Petrovic, L. **Literature, Culture, Identity: Introducing XX Century Literary Theory,** Nis: Prosveta

---

[383] Ibid.

UDK 811.111(73).09'31:070(497.11)

Мирјана Лончар Вујновић

КРИТИЧКА ПЕРЦЕПЦИЈА САВРЕМЕНОГ АМЕРИЧКОГ РОМАНА У СРПСКОЈ ПЕРИОДИЦИ

Апстракт: *Савремени амерички роман друге половине двадесетог века, или како се у америчкој критици прецизира, од 1945. године, имао је врло скроман одјек код нас. Истраживањем смо могли закључити да су писани критички прикази, студије, чланци у новинама или есеји у књижевним часописима више него што су дела била превођена на српском говорном подручју. Овај историјски препород даје многа имена аутора и критичара, чије дело одише новонасталим стилом тзв. „нове прозе", и то касних шездесетих година, те током седамдесетих и осамдесетих. Поред романа који указују на углађеност, манире и морал (Сол Белоу, Џон Апдајк), настају и нови главни токови тзв. „озбиљне прозе" Џона Барта, Џона Хокса, Томаса Пинчона, Џозефа Хелера и Курта Вонегата. Роберт Сколс ове писце назива „fabulators" – 1967. и додаје имена Виљема Гаса, Доналда Бартелмија, Роберта Кувера и других.*

Кључне речи: *роман, перцепција, модерно, постмодерно, архетип, теорија, критика, рецепција, експериментално, иновација...*

1. Увод

Књижевни критичари с краја деветнаестог века сматрају да је Америка после грађанског рата, дефинитивно, постала „нови свет". Критика је у овом периоду врло невешта, она ретроспективно само сугерише делимично објашњење не остављајући места за евентуални субјективни утисак публике, што је уствари површно презентовање интензитета осећања које преовладава с почетка двадесетог века.

Анализа модерног романа се, у већини случајева, сагледава у анализи оживљених ликова. Како „мото" савремених критичара налаже да не треба причати о лику, ситуацији и догађају, већ их треба видети, осетити и препустити се импресији доживљеног, издвајамо један од мноштва значајних метода у анализи - метод аутопсије. Овај метод Хосе Ортега и Гасет дефинише као „присуство ликова са аутентичним разговорима и стварним покретима."

Посматрајући роман двадесетог века, примећујемо да, осим смањивања дистанце између јунака и читалаца, описи постају секундарни, а примарно је јединство садржине и форме заоденуто експериментом. У постмодерном, експерименталном америчком роману радња се премешта, готово потпуно, са нарације на ликове, тако да психолошки моменти имају несумњиво водећу улогу, на пример код Вонегата, Белоуа, Маламуда, Керуака и других. Представници „бита" чине врло значајну спону између психолошког и потпуно новог архетипског аспекта упереног кроз књижевност ка животу, ка негирању стварности.

Адекватна рефлексија значајних момената постмодерне и експериментализма у америчком књижевном стваралаштву, осим у жанровском смислу, осећа се и у тематским и структурним иновацијама кроз такозвани набоковљевски синдром, кроз научно-фантастичну, антиратну, антирасистичку тематику, увек прожету незаобилазном психолошком цртом.

> *„Блискост додира учинила је Америку делом свакодневне европске егзистенције, а присност није увек доприносила доброј вољи. Сан о америчком вођству у врлом демократском свету ускоро је заменила стварност, америчког самозадовољства и изолационизма у двадесетим годинама. Негативни утицај је био појачан вулгарним и комерцијалним карактером америчке масовне цивилизације која је сувише често ширена по свету путем филмова; па и нова струја америчке прозе стварала је сличан утисак својом битком критиком америчког живота. Ова слика Америке добро је дошла европском послератном песимизму и Европом је овладала мода олаког стварања општих судова о америчком искуству. (...) За многе Европљане, растући продор америчке масовне цивилизације почео је да се уклапа у филозофску слику светског процеса који је чинио још злокобнијим због смањене моћи Европе да на њега утиче.“ (Константиновић, 1957:60-61)*

2. Рецепција америчког романа

Амерички роман друге половине двадесетог века имао је врло скроман одјек код нас. Уколико узмемо у обзир мноштво написаних дела у овом периоду, који жанровски припадају роману, имали смо на уму да нека од њих имају недостатке, те не би могла доспети у круг уметнички вредних романа, или би то питање било дискутабилно, с тога смо направили избор оних који засигурно представљају уметничко остварење овога периода.

Међутим, термине „модерно“ или „савремено“, би требало, у овом случају, са резервом прихватити јер не значи да је све што је модерно и уметнички вредно.

> *„Савремени Американац може с правом да сматра, да га само брижљиво одабирање и одлучно занемаривање свега оног што га се директно тиче и не интересује, може да спасе од утапања у таласима узбурканог мора речи. Услед те узбурканости теку струје озбиљне књижевности. Читалац кога интересује уметност, лепота форме и изражавања, а посебно стваралаштво, мора сам да пронађе те струје. И он ће их пронаћи и установити да теку снажније, комплексније и шире него икад раније. (...) А опште је познато да је мода у књижевности исто тако непостојана као и мода шешира.“ (Cady, 1963:141)*

Осим тумачења Едвина Кедија у преводу, требало би поменути и тумачења Ивана Лерика у књизи ***О модернистичкој уметности***, који појам „модерно“ тумачи позитивно, а појам „модернистичко" негативно и Александара Тодоровића који у свом есеју каже: „теоретичари модернизма изједначавају модернизам са новим, модерним и савременим." (1955:17) Иван Лерик у својој књизи прецизније одређује карактеристике писца модернизма, помињући елементе које можемо наћи код Хемингвеја, Фокнера и других америчких писаца прве половине двадесетог века, односно модернизма у америчкој књижевности. Они су уметници који не могу да ухвате јединство садржаја и форме и да реше проблем у целини, односно „оно што ови уметници обрађују показује да живот код њих нема смисла, морал још мање, гађење од рада и људи, бежање у егзотику, лов на срећу, одрицање од рационалних мисли итд." (Лерик, 1955:3-4)

О разликовању термина „модерно" и „модернистичко" говори и Радивоје Пешић у есеју ***Модерна литература: парола бр. 1*** врло поједностављено тумачећи „модернистичку литературу лошом.'' (1957:84) Савремена проза је увек имала „безоблично", али истовремено и флуидно полазиште дајући примат одвајању форме од садржине, фантазије од чињенице (стварности). „Реч ‚савремен' опстаје, али било каква проза тако именована постаје предмет историје већ следећег дана." (Klinkovitz, 1987:354)

Наиме, можемо закључити да се америчка белетристика од 1970. удаљава од доктрине конвенционалног *мимезиса* у тежњи да се поново приближи новом стилу реализма и то током ове деценије, па и касније. Барт, Хокс и Пинчон представљају прву важну тријаду овог периода. Хокс је пропагирао своје уверење да, само непријатељи живота уопште и белетристике, садрже у својим делима отрцане калупе приче, карактера и теме. Међутим, његово дело је по многим критичарима најтрадиционалније баш у његовом покушају свргавања традиције. Он тематски користи „сан" и „перверзну психологију" који директно утичу на нарацију у делу. Његов свет је пун кошмара и ноћних мора, почевши од ***Канибала*** (*Cannibal*, 1949), преко ***Липове гранчице*** (1961) до ***Страсног уметника*** (*The Passion Artist*, 1979). У његовим делима јасно осећамо ослобађање сексуалности, посебно у делу ***Њена два живота*** (1982), у коме женски протагонист одговара и физички и емоционално импулсима причања приче. „Џон Барт је спектакуларнији по начину израстања из интелектуално-комичног, пост-егзистенцијалног романа 1950-их, преко екстравагантних књижевних експеримената шездесетих, до шаљивих прича у већини својих дела." (према Klinkovitz, 1987:355) Барт се, у ствари, слагао са већином теоретичара, да се више није могла пратити аристотеловска традиција, тј. имитација живота у радњи књижевних дела. Ипак, врло занимљиво је то да је Барт у својим делима ипак више следио Аристотела, драматизујући имитацију имитације збивања, него пост-модернистички корак у свет у коме „стварање није ништа до представљање себе." (према Klinkovitz 1987:355) Овде Барт прави границу између нарације која наглашава уметничку страну приче или фабулације и мета-прозе која истражује услове свог настајања. (према Cunliffe 1987:354) Оно што је Томас Пинчон писао, критика је назвала „мега-романом". Овакве „мега-романе" писали су, сем Пинчона, Дон Де Лило, Виљем Гадис, Џозеф Мекилрој и Роберт Кувер.

Један од писаца овог периода, који је понајвише тежио да се удаљи од аристотеловских конвенција, био је Курт Вонегат, чији је први роман ***Slaughterhouse – five*** (1969) доживео успех седамдесетих и био изузетно прихваћен од читалачке публике. Курт Вонегат је имао способност да одреди себи улогу приповедача за све што је написао, била то машта или не. Вонегат је у својим романима изједначавао себе са својим креацијама проналазећи спој између фантазије и стварности. Речи на почетку романа „све се ово више или мање издогађало" потврђују претходни став. (Vonnegut 1969:7) Роман је написан формом „тралфамадорског романа" као што глас са те планете објашњава протагонисти Билију Пилгриму да су то телеграми, скупине симбола, хитне поруке, које, када се виде, све одједном продукују живот. (Vonnegut 1969:76) Осим Вонегата, можемо издвојити још двојицу америчких писаца који пишу тзв. „тралфамадоријанске романе": Доналд Бартелми и Ричард Бротиген. Бартелмијева ***Снежнобела–Снежана*** (1967) је местимично препричавање бајке *Снежана*, смештене у савремено доба, у којој протагонисти дискутују о језику и природи квази-митолошке нарације на комичан начин. Ричард Бротиген у свом последњем роману, објављеном за живота 1982, ***So The Wind Won't Blow It All The Way*** размишља о свету у времену. „Пажљиво сам прилазио дечјим колицима. Нисам желео да се спотакнем о прошлост и поломим ногу своје садашњости која би могла да ме обогаљи у будућности. Ухватио сам ручицу колица и одвукао их од 1900-тих у годину 1947." (Brautigan, 1982:11)

Славећи имагинативну снагу у делу ***Кораци*** (1968), сатиру у ***Бити тамо*** (*Being There*, 1971) и насиље у ***Ђавољем дрвету*** (1974), Џон Ирвинг прихвата техничку супериорност у уметности као и имагинацију у животу, с обзиром на то да је био студент Курта Вонегата на Универзитету у Ајови, а желео је да нагласи разлику између фиктивног и стварног у животу.

Ову „поджанровску егзистенцију" најбоље објашњава Том Вулф (Tom Wolfe) у својој антологији ***Ново новинарство*** (*The New Journalism*, 1973). „Најозбиљнији амерички романописци би радије одсекли своје шаке него да буду познати као ‚чиновници америчког друштва' и то не само због идеолошких опредељења. Са легендом, митом и светом надлежношћу да размишља о томе ко жели такву улогу?" (Wolfe 1973:29)

Хантер С. Томсон, у роману ***Страх и гађење у Лас Вегасу*** (*Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, 1972), успева да и сам, не само физички већ и емоционално, буде идентификован са особом која је у центру догађаја и која описује своје реакције на дрогу, алкохол и насиље. Као иноватор, Томсон креира своју сопствену митологију, док код Роберта Кувера имамо „класичне америчке митове", какви су ујка Сем, Јенки торбар, али у савременом контексту, на пример у делу ***The Public Burning*** 1977.

Централну групу америчких иноватора чине Роналд Сјукеник, Виљем Гас и Гилберт Сорентино, који роман удаљавају од естетике „морала и манира", укључујући такозвани „црни хумор". Нешто другачија, од већ поменуте, је тзв. „морална проза", на пример, код Џона Гарднера који се позивао првенствено на појам „божјих упутстава", на развијање карактера и пишчево велелепно представљање људске врсте. Још другачија је, засигурно, „минималистичка проза", на пример, код Рејмонда Карвера који је, крећући се Гарднеровим стопама, побијао све естетичке новине зарад анализе овоземаљских проблема узвишеног живота. Из два интервјуа са Рејмондом Карвером, објављена у преводу, једног у Летопису матице српске 1987, и другог у „Данас“-у 1989. године, можемо доста тога сазнати о приступу овог аутора уметности и животу. „Она књижевна дела која ме највише занимају имају додирних тачака са стварношћу.“ (1987:895,914) Требало би поменути и ствараоце „експерименталне реалности“, као што су Грејс Пели и Стефан Диксон, који конструишу виртуелно нов амерички „роман нарави“. Ликови у овим романима (и кратким причама) су често налик читаоцима. Теме ових романа могу се представити на другачији начин. У делу Грејс Пели има елемената милитаризма, феминизма и социјалног благостања. У роману ***Касније истог дана*** (*Later The Same Day*, 1985), атмосфера одише тзв. „анти-утопијском будућношћу“, атмосфером која се знатно разликује од оне коју је она могла осетити у Њујорку (Paley, 1985:101).

Грејс Пели користи прозу да креира лик који је подстакнут да узвикне нешто против опасног понашања и догађајима утиче на значајније проблеме света око нас. Њени наратори разговарају са необичним смислом за анимацију – „То је нешто налик овоме да сам ја луди грађевински радник који разговара са цементом“ – приметио је један од наратора.

Романи и кратке приче Стефана Диксона представљају потпуне приче које креирају виртуелни унутрашњи монолог са потпунијим значењем. Неопходно је поменути експерименталисте Рејмонда Федермана са романом ***Дупло или ништа*** (*Double or Nothing*, 1971), у коме разјашњава смисао одсуства субјекта артикулацијом и Волтера Ебиша који се супротставља ограничењима, искључиво алфабетске структуре у делу ***Алфабетска Африка*** (*Alphabetical Africa*, 1974).

Ако направимо пресек оне литературе која је превођена, онда су то несумњиво у највећем обиму поезија и кратка проза. Постоји податак објављен у Хрватској „Републици“ 1957. у тексту ***Стагнација у Америци*** – преглед књижевне дјелатности у 1956. години) да је у САД у току 1956. године издато 13.000 нових књига, од чега је 2.049 дела лепе књижевности, а остало су књиге за децу, дела религиозног садржаја, криминални романи, популарно-научне и техничке књиге и приручници „how to do it”. Код нас је од тога 1956. и 1957. објављено само неколико наслова и то: 1. ***Трилогија САД***, Џона Доса Пасоса (John Dos Passos), у Летопису Матице српске; 2. Стоун Ирвинг ***О свом стварању и о неким савременим питањима америчке књижевности***, есеј, објављен у „Политици“, 30.09.1956. године; 3. Мајлер Норман, „Белешке“, превод М.М., „Народни лист“, 14.09.1956. године; 4. Норман Мајлер: ***Голи и мртви***, критички приказ, Летопис Матице српске, 1956, М.Селаковић; 5. Стајнбек Џон (Steinbeck, John), ***Из романа «Источно од раја»***, „Борба“, 12.02.1956, Нин, 20.01.1957. (Радомир Константиновић); 6. Месаровић Јован, ***Детективски романи***, „Књижевне новине“, 20.01.1957, 7. Бандић Милош: ***Поновљени пакао*** (о роману „Голи и мртви“), „Књижевност“, 1956, 8. Селаковић М.: ***Голи и мртви***, антиратни роман Н. Мајлера, у Летопису Матице српске 1956.

Конкретан рецептивни преглед америчког романа на нашем говорном подручју започињемо тврдњом једног од хрватских критичара која говори врло сажето и прецизно о тематици романа педесетих, шездесетих и седамдесетих година, додирујући и психоаналитичке елементе ликова у њима. „Тематски они наглашавају збуњујућу сложеност данашњег свијета: конфузију појмова, моралну несигурност, притиске најразличитијих организацијских структура на појединца, поплаву робе и предмета, али и отпада и смећа, а изнад свега дезинтеграцију и дехуманизацију личности Они описују људе који се састоје од механичких дијелова, чудовишне аутомате, гласове и ликове без идентитета, који очекују или су већ доживјели апокалипсу.“ (Башић, 1974:71)

Важно је осврнути се на критичке радове америчких критичара, који су код нас превођени.

> *„Озбиљнији романописци се не задовољавају тиме да буду љубазни репортери и водичи. За многе од њих сложеност и аморфност поратног живота учинила је ирелевантном реалистичку традицију романа. Да би ухватили корак са струјом, неки млађи романописци из педесетих и шездесетих година напустили су старо линеарно прављење заплета и пажљиво убацили врхунац у невезане, нелогичне ситуације које у себи садрже елементе комичног и халуцинантног. Умјесто заокружених, употпуњених ликова, они креирају једнодимензионалне карикатуре састављене од крхотина чије је гротескно понашање створено с намјером да одрази нереалне квалитете свјета око њих.“ (Натан, 1976:87)*

Термином „црни хумор“ критичари врло грубо повезују имена Џона Барта (***Фактор пијанчења***), Томаса Пинчона (***V***), Џозефа Хелера (***Замка 22***), Џона Хокса (***Људождер***) и друге, док у делима Сола Белоуа, Бернарда Маламуда, Нормана Мајлера, Фланери О’Конор, црног хумора нема, већ реализам који је у кризи и модификован је - можемо слободно додати - трага за самим собом.

Есеј Малкома Каулија (Malcolm Cowley) ***Стереотипности у америчкој литератури*** (превео Александар Спасић) објављен је у „Књижевним новинама“ 1959. године и може се сматрати прихваћеним у процесу рецепције романа код нас педесетих и шездесетих година. „Свако доба има своје прозне калупе, своје познате приче, бескрајно понављање у романима младих аутора, од којих је сваки уверен да његова драга причица није никада раније испричана.“ (Каули:1959) Каули сматра да свака промена или дешавање у друштву производи тематски стереотипне романе. Најпрепознатљивију су послератни стереотипи, на пример, почетком двадесетог века, била је омиљена прича о културном , младом човеку, који савладава све тегобе и побеђује непријатеље. Двадесетих година, у „доба цинизма и моралне побуне“, постоји прича о осећајном човеку, најчешће „идеализованом уметнику“ (Каули,1959) кога угњетава свет. Од другог светског рата, тематика је ратна. Анализирајући тематски америчку прозу педесетих година, по Каулију, сусрећемо најчешће шест калупа који се појављују у романима сврстаних у књижевност. „1. Роман о сензитивном и уметнички наклоњеном младићу који има добрих разлога да сам себе жали. 2. Авантуристичка прича која почиње у породичном кругу. 3. Сатирични и помало надреалистички роман о младом богаташу. 4. Роман о пуританцима и иностранству. 5. Нежна носталгична прича о свету детињства. 6. Роман о опсесивној потери за неком животињом.“ (Каули, 1959)

У савременој књижевности посебно значајна питања које поставља Зоран Константиновић су „космополитизам и национализам“, која развијају националну књижевност, што можемо применити у анализи америчког модерног и постмодерног романа, помињући роман романописаца Јевреја са посебно израженом националном тематиком или црначки роман са темом ослобађања од колонијалног ропства, метафорички. „Под националном књижевношћу може се подразумевати целокупно литерарно наслеђе неког народа, значи и оно које је постојало још док није било националне свести.“ (Константиновић, 1964)

Термином „нетрпељивост“, Бора Ћосић у тексту ***Позитивни и негативни роман*** презентује несклад између старог и новог књижевног света, при чему зачетнике модерне, рекли бисмо, другачије уметности (Џојса, Езру Паунда и друге) назива „генерацијама рушилаца“. Новине у књижевном стварању, очито не прихвата, презентујући њихово постајање као одрицање и негирање старог. „Гађење пред најневинијим трагом неке класичне могућности романсијерске технике је опште. Питања везана за личност, заплет или само приповедаштво довољна су да натерају у очај, представа једне књиге која би, писана године 1960-те, рецимо, имала све анатомске састојке једне њене сто година старије претходнице, у стању да осујети већ скована намеру.“ (Ћосић, 1961:64)

Очито близак класицима, Бора Ћосић врло оштро критикује и посебно негативно оцењује „технику тока свести“ у романима, како Џојса тако и Фокнера, са чиме се ми апсолутно не можемо сложити.

> *„Ток свести у првом случају (Џојс) и један реченични ток, рекао бих, у другом (Фокнер) умеће да значајно охрабре будућег романсијера показујући му више колико се може но како треба, али и ова поука вредна је учитељеве жртве која је потпуна... Чини ми се да ће се пред оваквом алтернативом показати срећнијим подстицајем пример који не решава проблеме структуре, већ, чак и запостављајући их, доноси један нови угао чија перспектива је првенствено психолошка, морална и друштвена бивајући истовремено обдарена једном несрављеном полифонијом сачињеном од фантазма, метафизике и најтрансцендентнијих елемената.“ (Ћосић, 1961:65)*

Бора Ћосић период од почетка двадесетог века назива негативним периодом, а модеран роман „романом који сам себе руши“ (1961:67), при чему глорификује традиционални роман. Негативан став Б.Ћосића према модерном роману, а у корист традиционалног, можемо сажети у јасне тезе: 1. „Нови редослед“ и раскид са старим је потпун, али ново дело не пружа никакву перспективу, односно модерни писци „или показују како не треба и како се не сме (надреалисти), или само дају делимична обећања, показујући на које све начине може да се сагледа реалност (Вирџинија Вулф, Орвел, Фокнер); (Ћосић, 1961:70-71) 2. Један начин описивања замењује се другим, рецимо „опис крагне замењује се описом малог исечка мисли.“ (1961:71) По Ћосићу, ток свести оптерећује роман; 3. Модерни писци виде свој посао у решавању општих моралних и хуманистичких проблема, односно, „гледајући на период који нам је иза леђа, као на време целовитог очишћења, роман ће израсти као једна потпуно нова целина тајанством своје новине и са дирљивошћу своје једноставности.“ (Ћосић 1961:71)

Као одговор на критику новог у корист старог, налазимо чланак објављен у „Јединству“ (Приштина, 1960) под називом ***Личности у савременом роману***, Миодрага Шијаковића. Аутор у овом есеју креће од карактера класичног романа (са животним путем једне личности), преко романа који добија социјални карактер (из грађанске породице сели се на улицу, у фабрику, у друштво), до психолошког романа (под утицајем Сигмунда Фројда – психоанализа главног јунака, односно, духовни живот личности). Страх је, по њему, основна компонента многих личности савременог романа, уствари, он је производ самог друштва, „у коме је неизвесност дошла до крајњих граница и где је људска личност само један статистички податак.“ (Шијаковић:1960)
Битни елементи егзистенцијализма су страх, отуђеност, брига и скученост. Шијаковић сматра да су ови елементи означили почетак модерне књижевности и каже „када имамо у виду друштвену основу, онда нам многа савремена дела постају јасна. Отуђена личност која фигурира у њима такође је схватљива. Она је сва окренута себи и својим проблемима. Док читамо роман ми не пратимо више њене покрете или акције, већ линију њене свести, отуђене и изгубљене. Џојс је с тим отишао најдаље. Такав је случај и код Фокнера. Све његове личности, изопачене и оптерећене комплексима осећају страх од фаталности и кривице, траже предах од уморних лутања. То потврђује и Дос Пасос, па и Хемингвеј, у чијем делу се назире и она друга страна – хуманизам и вера у бољу будућност. (...).“ (Шијаковић, 1960)

„Политика“ је објавила чланак под називом ***Амерички бестселери за последњих десет година*** (17.01.1960) који донекле потврђује, већ поменут, „бизнис“ у америчкој књижевности - педесетих и шездесетих година, уз изузетке, писало се о ономе што се најбоље продаје. То су биле теме из међународне политике (Далсов ***Рат или мир***, ***У Русији данас*** Џона Гантера и сл.), ту су књиге о умрлим филмским звездама („Само у току једне недеље у мају 1955. бестселери су били животи глумица Етел Баримор, Гертруде Лоренс, Лорете Тејлор и Грете Гарбо.“ (Цветковски, 1960) У тексту се помињу романи ***Старац и море*** Ернеста Хемингвеја, Вилсонов ***Човек у сивом оделу***, Набоковљева ***Лолита***, Лоренсов ***Љубавник Лејди Четерли***, Мајлеров ***Голи и мртви*** и други. „Декада је оставила много еротике. Мислим да ће наша деца прескакати те дуге неинтересантне сексуалне пасусе, као што смо ми прескакали дугачке незанимљиве описе предела у ***Ајванху*** или ***Воденици на Флоси***.“ (Цветковски, 1960)

Током посете Филолошком факултету у Скопљу, професор Џејмс Торсон, одржао је предавање на тему америчке и светске јавности, критике и естетичких остварења у области америчке књижевности, наводи у свом тексту ***Погледи на америчку књижевност*** проф.др. Владимир Цветковски. „Оно што је на известан начин оставило видан траг у савременом књижевном изразу јесу сигурно имена Хенрија Џејмса, Фокнера, Хемингвеја, Сола Белоуа и Џона Барта“ (Thorson, 1982:151-152) каже Владимир Цветковски, цитирајући Џејмса Торсона.

Значајан је запис са америчког симпозијума из књижевности, посвећеног роману из 1992. године. ''Симпозијум је замишљен као покушај да се легитимишу она кретања у култури која су досад била потискивана и занемаривана, да би се коначно схватила плуралистичка идеја у Америци. (...) Америка се још увек открива – а ми можда можемо открити ону Америку која досад није била видљива." (Драгојлов 1993:16,18) Скуп су отворили писци Тони Морисон, која је читала одломке из романа ***Jazz***, и Карл Саган.

3. Закључак

Можемо закључити да је, квантитативно и квалитативно, одјек америчке књижевности, посебно друге половине двадесетог века на српском говорном подручју оскудан и сиромашан. Ову рецептивну и културолошку чињеницу објашњавамо постојањем више република у претходној заједничкој држави и ратовима у најновијој историји. Анализирајући рецепцију америчке књижевности у публикацијама на српском говорном подручју установљујемо есеј као основни жанр тумачења и представљања преведених романа.

Литература

Brautigan, R. (1982) **So The Wind Won't Bow It All Away**, New York

Cady, E. H. (1963) „После модернизма: радикална наивност и одговорност у савременој америчкој лиетратури", **Одабрани проблеми друштвених наука**, стр. 141-147

Carver, R. (1987) "Interview", превод Владислава Гордић, **Летопис матице српске**, 163, Књ. 439, 6, стр. 895-914;

Carver, R. (1989) „О чему говоримо када говоримо о љубави." (прев. Никола Петковић), **Данас**, 36, стр. 41.

Gass, W. H. (1970) **Fiction and the Figures of Life**, New York

Klinkovitz, J. (1987) „The New Fiction"**, American Literature Since 1900**, according to M. Cunliffe, Sphere Books, pp. 354.

Paley, G. (1985) **Later the Same Day**, New York

Scholes, R. (1979) „Fabulation and Metafiction", **Urbana** Ill, pp. 355.

Sorrentino, G. (1971) **Imaginative qualities of actually things**, New York

Sukenick, R. (1969) **The Death of the Novel and Other Stories**, New York

Sukenick, R. (1985) "In form: Digressions on the act of fiction", **Carbondale**, Ill. стр. 11

Vonnegut, K. (1969) **Sloughterhouse-Five**, New York

Wolfe, T. (1973) **The New Journalism**, New York

Башић, С. (1974) „Педесет година америчког романа", **Књижевна смотра**, стр. 71

Драгојлов, В. (1993) „Амерички симпозијум посвећен роману 1992“, **Кровови**, Сремски Карловци, стр. 16-18
Глик, Н. (1976) „Педесет година америчког романа“ (прев. Драган М. Вугделић), **Стварање**, стр. 87
Каули, М. (1959) „Стереотипности у америчкој литератури“ (прев. Александар Спасић), **Књижевне новине**, 16.01.195
Константиновић, Р. (1957) „Грозница за савременом темом“, **Култура-уметност**, 1, 37, стр. 60-61
Константиновић, З. (1964) „Космополитизам и национализам у савременој литератури“, Белешке са међународног Конгреса за упоредну књижевност у Фрибуру, **Политика**, септембар 1964.
Лерик, И. (1955) „О модерној уметности“, **Филозофски преглед,** III, стр. 3-4.
Пешић, Р. (1957) „Модерна литература: парола бр.1“, **Вечерен репортер**, фебруар 1957, III, стр. 84
Ћосић, Б. (1961) „Роман јуче и данас, позитивни и негативни роман“, **Књижевност**, XVI, књ. XXXII, 1, стр. 64
Цветковски, В. (1960) „Амерички бест селери за последњих десет година“, **Политика**, 17.01.1960
Цветковски, В. (1982) „Yugoslav Perspectives of American Literature“, (An Anthology edited by James.L.Thorson), Ann Arbour, **Спектар**, стр. 151-152
Шијаковић, М. (1960) „Личности у савременом роману“, **Јединство**, Приштина, јануар, 1960.

UDK 821.161.1.09-2

Наталия Няголова

СЕМАНТИЧЕСКИЕ ПРИЗНАКИ ПРЕДМЕТНОГО КОДА В ДРАМАТУРГИИ А.П. ЧЕХОВА (К проблеме деформации предмета)

Абстракт: *В докладе рассматривается один из основных семантических параметров функционирования предметного кода в драматургии А.П. Чехова – деформация предметов. Объектом исследования являются многоактные пьесы автора: "Безотцовщина", "Иванов", "Леший", "Чайка", "Дядя Ваня", "Три сестры", "Вишневый сад". Развертывание предметного кода интерпретируется не только в контексте драматургической поэтики Чехова, но и в плане присутствия "новой драмы" в европейском литературном процессе второй половины XIX века.*

Ключевые слова: драматургия, предметный код, поэтика, семантический признак, „новая драма".

1. Введение

В эволюции поэтики драмы Чехова предметный мир оказывается полем масштабных и сложных художественных внушений, поскольку он дает возможность для создания дискретного второго плана, который выявляет многообразие основного смыслового ядра произведений – идеи экзистенциальной безнадежности. Эта безнадежность представлена как медлительный отказ от познаваемости и предвидимости жизни. Этот процесс хорошо виден, когда отдельные пьесы Чехова читаются линеарно – как отдельные действия одной мегапьесы. При таком прочтении заметно постоянное функционирование предметной образности, эксплицирующей семантики деформации. Целостный анализ разрущающейся вещности в драматургии Чехова, предлагает И. Е. Лощилов в своей статье, посвященной семантической близости между „Вишневым садом" и натюрмортами эстетики Vanitas (Лощилов 2002: 394).

В ранних пьесах Чехова драматургическое письмо в целом подчиняется социально-психологическим параметрам жанра. Все приемы художественного языка целенаправлено выражают душевные коллизии героев. Поведение, жесты, речь отражают психическую динамику персонажей. В поздней драматургии писателя психологическое начало остается доминантным, но оно максимально дистанцируется в плане внешних проявлений, усложняется его рецептивный "перевод", речь лишается комуникативных функций.

2. Деформация: плоть

Процесс деформации предмета в пьесах Чехова отражен в мотиве болезни, который особенно характерен для раннего творчества писателя. В “Безотцовщине”, “Иванове”, “Лешем” объектом деформации и распада становится именно человеческое тело. Куча самоубийств, туберкулез Сары, бесконечное хныканье Серебрякова – разные формы телесной слабости и человеческой бренности. Но концепт "болезнь" у Чехова имеет и иную семантику. Он выражает господство материального начала над идеальным, колебание сознания в выборе между телом и душой. У человека, отдалённего от идей, природы и красоты, тело (опухшее, болящее, исполненное грез) приобретает диктаторские права. (Зингерман 1979: 76) Человеческое тело оказывается самым ранимым и многозначным элементом в ранней драматургии Чехова. Оно – индикатор несчастья и душевной усталости. Посредством болезни проявляется неадекватность существования человека, его невозможность найти валенции для сближения с другим человеком и для постижения гармонии в рамках социума.

В “Безотцовщине”, при встрече между Михаилом Васильеевичем и Софьи после пяти лет разлуки, героиня с трудом узнает старого друга из-за его изменившегося лица. Эти изменения связанны с деформацией и уподобляются “разъеданию” плоти:

“Платонов – Прошло четыре с половиной года, а никакие крысы не в состоянии изгрызть так хорошо человеческую физиономию, как мои последние пять лет”. (Чехов 1978: 33)

Время не просто ставит свою отметину на лице человека, но и разъедает тело. В данном контексте становится актуальным образ „время-мышь”, присутствующий в поэзии А. С. Пушкина:

“Мне не спится, нет огня;
Всюду мрак и сон докучный.
Ход часов лишь однозвучный
Раздается близ меня
Парки бабье лепетанье,
Спящей ночи трепетанье,
Жизни мышья беготня...” (Пушкин 1959: 550)

В пушкинской метафоре просвечивает мифологическая семантика времени, «съедающего» человеческую жизнь, «поглощающего Кроноса» и это значение можно легко рассмотреть в плане поведения чеховских персонажей. Желая отомстить Платонову, Венгерович заказывает Осипу искалечить, а не убить его противника. Обречение на жизнь-страдание более жестоко, чем сама смерть.

Оно являтся отречением права другого человека быть защищенным в собственном теле.

В “Иванове” герой неоднократно говорит о болезни своего духа как о болезни тела, как о каком-то “надорвании”, после которого уже невозможно быть таким же, каким был в прошлом – нежным, любящим и искренним к другим людям. Эта параллель духовного и телесного отражена в рассказе о рабочьем Семене, который во время молотьбы поднимает слишком большой вес и умирает. Такое “надорвание” для Иванова – настоящая причина его странного душевного состояния:

“Иванов – Веровал я не так, как все, женился не так, как все, горячился, рисковал, деньги свои, сам знаешь, бросал направо и налево, был счастлив и страдал, как никто во всем уезде. Все это, Паша, мои мешки… Взвалил себе на спину ношу, а спина-то и треснула”.

В пьесе поступки Иванова неоднократно связываются с семантикой молотьбы и зерна – связь, восходящая, на наш взгляд, к двум семантическим комплексам: к мифологической образности и к вышеупомянутому отношению „душа-тело”:

“Саша – Помню, года три назад, ты раз во время молотьбы, пришел к нам весь в пыли, загорелый, измученный и попросил пить. Принесла я тебе стакан, а ты уж лежишь на диване и спишь как убитый.” (Чехов 1978: 59)

“Иванов – Остается одно: ждать осени, когда я хлеб продам.” (Чехов 1978: 50)

Семантика молотьбы отводит к мифологической символике зерна („зерно”, ”хлеб”, “колос”) в его значении “жизнь”. В данной вегетативной мотивике молотьба реализует значения распада, гибели.(Фрейденберг 1997: 227)

Болезнь Сары - доказательство исчезновения любви между супругами. Она является зеркальным соответствием мучительным процессам, происходящим в душе Иванова. Поэтому дидактические поучения Львова, которыми он пытается заменить пропавшее чувство любви чувством долга, напрасны и досадны.

В пьесе „Леший” стареющее тело профессора Серебрякова становится источником страдания не только для самого героя, но и для всех родных людей. Отсутствие диагноза, неточное описание боли и ее внезапное исчезновение, индикируют не только физиологическую природу. Неизлечимость болезней в драматургическом мире Чехова – проявление их тотальности и перерастание их конкретной симптоматики. Болезнь вылечить невозможно, потому что она является не только нарушением каких-либо телесных функций, но и знаком неустроенности социального и бытийного механизмов, в котором все существующие отношения и связи распадаются. Так появляется образ врача, который не может лечить. Дорн, лечащий всех своих пациентов валерьяновыми каплями, неспособный понимать и утешать Львов, забывший свою профессию Чебутыкин и „убивший” д-р Астров, послание: единственные настоящие лекарства – любовь и счастье, а поскольку их нет в мире героев Чехова, никакая болезнь не поддается лечению. Данная импликация раскрывается в образах чеховских врачей, которые из-за самой сути своей работы им доступно “понимание глубинного несовершенства человеческой жизни, самой природы человека” (Ивлева 2001: 54).

Лекарство как “аптечный знак” эксплицирует, как минимум, два значения – опасности и исцеления, благодаря которым “лекарство и аптека густо окутаны метафорическими обертонами” (Борисова 2004). В пьесах Чехова проявляются самые негативные коннотации лекарства – лекарство как яд (баночка с морфием, взятая Войницким) и лекарство как субстанция без функций (”Леший”, “Чайка”, “Дядя Ваня”, “Вишневый сад”). Нереализованной оказывается только положительная изначальная семантика лекарства (вещества, которым лечат), поскольку подобное значение вступает в противоречие с принципами изображенного драматургического мира.

В поздних пьесах, от “Чайки” до “Вишневого сада”, деформация предметов редко связана с телесной патологией. Сломанные, уроненные, потерянные предметы – факты того же порядка, которые, как и болезнь, эксплицируют разными формами основную концепцию Чехова о безнадеждной и абсурдной жизни. В актантной схеме уже активно присутствуют движения персонажей-вещей, чтобы продублировать и комплицировать и без того проблемное существование человека.

В “Чайке” перекрещиваются процессы деформации в их физиологическом и предметном проявлениях. Костя Треплев не только пытается нарушить целостность собственного тела, но и проявляет подчеркнутое влечение к деформации внешних объектов – убивает чайку, рвет перевязку с головы и уничтожает свои рукописи. Это его бунт против мира, которого он не понимает. Это его способ показать, что мир не может быть целостным, если человеческая душа подвержена деформации. Преображение чайки в чучело становится актом расчленения жизни и ее доведения до материального подобия, неодушевленности, смерти. Появившееся из шкафа чучело вроде бы превращается в конкретную причину самоубийства Кости и в своеобразное отмщение за то, что он сделал в прошлом. (Карасев 1998: 81). В разрушении домашнего театра можно рассмотреть подобный смысл. Если в первом акте важнейшим понятием в смысловом плане становится „душа” (это видно и в „декадентской” пьесе с ее Мировой душой), то в последнем действии это понятие заменяется образом шкелета – эмблемой телесной гибели.

В “Дяде Ване” в большей мере повторяются семантические связи, присутствующие в „Лешем”. Смысловой доминантой пьесы оказывается старость и ее деформации. Старик Серебряков болеет, но намного трагичной оказывается „старость души” у Сони, Елены Андреевны, Войницкого, Астрова. Их утомленность миром находит свое материальное соответствие в картограмме, в которой через колористику представлено „старение” природы и мира. Деформируется не только человек – подагрой, безответной любовью, неудачным браком - деформируются и „флора и фауна” бытия необратимым движением к опустошению.

3. Деформация: вещь

В драме “Три сестры” признаки деформации все глубже проникают в мир вещей. Кульминационный момент в этом процессе – третье действие. В нем происходят важные события, связанные с семантикой предметной деформации: пожар и ломка часов Чебутыкиным. Оба события располагаются почти рядом в сюжетном плане и этот факт подчеркивает связь между ними. По мнению М. Б. Бычковой ““пожар выступает как уничтожающе-очищающая сила, обеспечивающая последующее возрождение” (Бычкова 2003: 140). На самом деле сгорает только один квартал торода, а вроде бы „горит весь город”. Пожар является семантическим компонентом, нарушившим изначальную пространственную схему изображенного мира. Он изменяет эту схему, превращая дом Прозоровых в островок тревоги и страдания, в ненадеждное убежище, к которому стремятся жертвы бедствия - Федотик, Вершинины, Колотилины. Последствия пожара останутся за стенами дома, но этот дом станет домом неблагополучия, а ночь пожара окажется ночью горьких откровений для самых близких членов семьи. Несчастья следуют одно за другим. С началом пожара совпадает запой Чебутыкина, который уже “два года не пил”. Ломка фарфоровых часов, принадлежащих „умершей маме” происходит в один и тот же момент с репликой Вершинина об отъезде бригады:

“Вершинин - … Вчера я мельком слышал, что нашу бригаду хотят перевести куда-то далеко. Одни говорят, в царство Польское, другие – будто в Читу.

Тузенбах – Я тоже слышал. Что ж? Город тогда совсем опустеет.

Ирина – И мы уедем!

Чебутикин (роняет часы, которые разбиваются). Вдребезги!” (Чехов 1978: 162)

В. Г. Щукин связывает ломку часов с освобождением поэтической струи в действии, с переходом в сознании героев от чисел к “лирической неисчислимости” чувств. (Щукин 2006: 69) На наш взгляд, однако, намного важнее становится связь между действиями доктора и пожара, эксплицирующая нарушение двух основных измерений в жизни героев – пространства и времени. Указанные события ставят начало эрозии в привычно спокойном течении их жизни. До этого момента еще существует надежда. После них, все маски сорваны – Вершина и Маша признаются в любви, роман Протопопова и Наташи становится известным всем, Андрей признает отдачу дома в залог, Ирина принимает решение выйти замуж за Тузенбаха. Темпорально-пространственная модель быта нарушена и таким образом бытовое трансформируется в явление иного, небытового порядка, имеющее мифологическую природу. (Францова 2005: 102)

В “Вишневом саде” деформация предметов превращается в основную знаковую систему для передачи внушений в произведении. Предметы уже приобретают тотальную автономность от человека, превращаются в его двойника, в отдельную реальность, динамически контактирующую с миром людей. На фоне “изощренной семиотической стратегии Чехова”, падающие и исчезающие предметы представляют очень “печальную, в сущности, жизненную ситуацию, лежащую в основе фабулы *комедии*, в контексте книг Ветхого Завета; не только этической мудрости Екклезиаста ("Суета сует, - сказал Екклезиаст, - суета сует, все суета!" [1, 2]), но и поэзии Псалмов: "Мы теряем лета наши, как звук" [89, 9] (Лощилов 2002: 397) .

Особое место среди процессов деформации в предметном мире Чехова занимают порванные письма, телеграммы, рукописи. Они становятся проекцией отказа от коммуникации, знаком поэтики бунта „новой европейской драмы”, невозможности понимания и отклика на Другого человека. Этот кризис восприятия слова в “Вишневом саде” Чехова, по мнению И.Е. Лощилова, восходит к семиотической стратегии Маяковского, к полному отказу от языковых средств, к тотальной критике современного языкового сознания. (Лощилов 2002: 4)

Литература

А. Книги

Зингерман Б.И. (1979) **„ Очерки истории драмы XX века”,** М., Наука.

Пушкин А. С. (1959) **Собрание сочинений А. С. Пушкина в 10 томах**, т.2 “Стихотворения 1823-1836”, М., Государственное издательство Художественной Литературы.

Степанов А. Д. (2005) **“Проблемы коммуникации у Чехова”,** М., Языки славянской культуры.

Сухих И.Н.(1987) **Проблемы поэтики А.П. Чехова.** Л., Изд. ЛГУ.

Фрейденберг О. М. (1997) **“Поэтика сюжета и жанра”,** М., Лабиринт.

Чехов А.П. (1978) **“Полное собрание сочинений и писем в 30-томах”**, т. 12-13, М., Наука.

Б. Статьи, опубликованные в периодике

Борисова И. (2004) ““Аптекарь Чехов”, **University of Toronto · Academic Electronic Journal in Slavic Studies**, Fall, №10. www.utoronto.ca/tsq/10/borisova_aptek10.shtml

Карасев Л. В.(1998) “Пьесы Чехова”, **Вопросы философии,** №9.

В. Статьи, опубликованные в сборниках

Бычкова М. Б. (2003) “Семантика внесценического компонента в пьесах Чехова и Вампилова”, in **“Чеховиана. “Три сестры – 100 лет”**, М., Наука.

Звиняцковский В. Я. “Вера, надежда, любовь (Символы и реалии в “Трех сестрах”), in **“Чеховские чтения в Ялте: Чехов сегодня”**, М., Наука.

Ивлева Т. Г. (2001) “Доктор в драматургии Чехова”, in **Драма и театр** II, Тверь, Лилия принт.

Лощилов И.Е.(2002) “Вишневый сад : Почта”, in **Studia Litteraria Polono- Slavica**, 7, , Slawistyczny Osrodek Wydawniczy , Warszawa 2002.

Лощилов И. Е. (2002) “О “звуке лопнувшей струны” в свете эстетики “Vanitas”, in **Studia Litteraria Polono-Slavica** 7: Portret - Akt - Martva natura. Polska Akademia Nauk. Institut Slawistyki, Slawistyczny Osrodek Wydawniczy, Warszawa.

Францова Н. В. (2005) “Три сестры в Тридевятом царстве”, in **Драма и театр** V, Тверь, Лилия принт.

Щукин В. Г. “Об исчислимости и неисчислимости в “Трех сестрах А. П. Чехова”, in **Чеховские чтения в Оттаве**, Оттава – Тверь, Лилия принт.

UDK 821.161.1.09-31

Neda Andrić

FILOZOFSKI KONTEKSTI TRILOGIJE *HRISTOS I ANTIHRIST* D. S. MEREŠKOVSKOG

Apstrakt: *U radu analiziramo filozofski kontekst trilogije „Hristos i Antihrist" D .S. Mereškovskog. Posebnu pažnju posvetili smo uticaju Platonovih, Jamblikovih i Ničeovih filozofskih ideja na strukturu i koncepciju naslovnih junaka trilogije.*

Ključne riječi: *filozofija, Platon, Niče, religija, Hristos, Antihrist, Mereškovski*

1. Uvod

Religiozno-filozofska koncepcija Dmitrija Sergejeviča Mereškovskog (1865–1941) zauzima značajno mjesto u svakom njegovom djelu, bilo da je riječ o književno-kritičkim člancima, studijama ili romanima. Mereškovski je pisao uvijek o suštinski istom: „To su sve karike jednog lanca, djelovi jedne cjeline. Nije u pitanju niz knjiga, već jedna jedina koju mi je podesnije da objavljujem u nekoliko djelova. Jedna knjiga posvećena jednom pitanju: kakvu ulogu igra hrišćanstvo u životu savremenog čovjeka. Upravo odgovor na ovo pitanje predstavlja skrivenu vezu između djelova."[384] O samoj trilogiji „Hristos i Antihrist" Mereškovski piše: „Tema ove trilogije jeste istorijsko otelovljenje ideje vaseljenskog hrišćanstva koje objedinjava sve narode i kulture (ili, preciznije, religije Svete Trojice, zato što je hrišćanstvo samo jedna faza ove religije)."[385]

Dakle, uloga hrišćanstva za savremenog čovjeka jeste upravo nit koja prožima cjelokupno stvaralaštvo Dmitrija Mereškovskog. Shodno principima umjetničkog promišljanja simbolista, ta uloga se, prvenstveno, ogleda na kulturološkom planu. Mereškovskog ne interesuje hrišćanstvo posmatrano kao religiozno osjećanje života i svijeta, već on ispituje sve moguće veze i slojeve nataložene u svijesti hrišćanina koji

[384] «Это – звенья одной цепи, части одного целого. Не ряд книг, а одна издаваемая только для удобства в нескольких частях. Одна об одном. Что такое христианство для современного человека? Ответ на этот вопрос – вот скрытая связь между частями целого». Мережковский Д.С. Введение к полному собранию сочинений. Изд. Товарищества И.Д. Сытина В 24-х тт., М., 1914. Т.1. С. V. // Мережковский Д. С. Полное энциклопедическое собрание сочинений. Электронная библиотека. ИДДК-0870. ИДДК ГРУПП, Россия, 2004.

[385] «Тема этой трилогии – отражение в истории, – **вселенской**, то есть все века, все народы и культуры объединяющей, – идеи христианства (или, вернее, религии Святой Троицы, потому что христианство – только фазис этой религии)». Мережковский Д.С. Св. София. // Мережковский Д.С. Полное энциклопедическое собрание сочинений. Электронная библиотека.

pripada kulturi XX vijeka, to jest, on posmatra hrišćanstvo kao istorijsku i kulturnu pojavu. Ideja Solovjova o sintezi duhovnog i materijalnog načela kod Mereškovskog se pretvara u ideju da predsimbolistička umjetnost predstavlja nespoznatu simbolističku umjetnost. Zbog toga on smatra da se uloga kulture u simbolizmu sastoji u sintezi vrijednosti ranijih kultura, u svjesnom ispoljavanju njihove simbolističke prirode. Stoga Mereškovski u svojoj trilogiji promišlja o hrišćanskom čovjeku na različitim etapama razvoja – u času učvršćivanja hrišćanstva (IV vijek), periodu Renesanse, kao i u XVIII vijeku, interesuje ga, zapravo, uloga hrišćanstva u svakodnevnom životu ljudi ovog vremena. Na taj način Mereškovski uspijeva da osvijetli hrišćanstvo kao kulturološki problem, što mu pomaže da bolje razumije pojave svog vremena i da, u skladu s težnjama simbolista, stvori novi idealni tip kulture koji bi omogućio preporod postojeće stvarnosti. Način na koji je želio da ostvari ovaj idealni tip kulture sastojao se od rehabilitacije mitološkog načina mišljenja, što je imalo za rezultat mitologizaciju same kulture. Mit je za simboliste predstavljao univerzalni metaistorijski kod pomoću koga se može postići preporođena stvarnost, on je bio živi izvor sižea i arhetipova, mit je otvarao mogućnost prevladavanja socijalno-istorijskog i prostorno-vremenskog okvira[386]. Zato i ne čudi interesovanje Mereškovskog za filozofska učenja Šelinga i Ničea.

2. Uticaj Ničeove misli na trilogiju Mereškovskog

Koliko je bila značajna Ničeova filozofska koncepcija za simbolizam uopšte, ilustruje izjava Andreja Belog: „Umjetnički simbolizam je metoda izražavanja proživljenog u likovima. Niče koristi istu metodu: prema tome, on je umjetnik, ali pomoću likova on propovijeda racionalni izbor proživljenog: njegovi likovi su povezani, kao niz sredstava koji vodi ka cilju, koji je, pak, određen njegovim životnim instinktom – eto zašto Ničeova metoda ima oblik *teleološkog simbolizma*."[387] I upravo nerazumijevanje simbolizma kao metode kojom se pomoću likova izražavaju preživljavanja, bio je uzrok oštrih napada na stvaralaštvo Mereškovskog. Zanimljivo je da su upravo religiozni mislioci zamjerali Mereškovskom na metodi koju je koristio i Niče[388].

---

[386] Vezu između mita i simbola najočiglednije definiše Vjačeslav Ivanov: «В каждой точке пересечения символа, как луча нисходящего, со сферою сознания он является знамением, смысл которого образно и полно раскрывается в соответствующем мифе». Иванов Вяч. Две стихии в современном символизме // Иванов Вяч. Родное и вселенское. М., 1994. С. 143.

[387] «Художественный символизм есть метод выражения переживаний в образах. Ницше пользуется этим методом: следовательно, он – художник; но посредством образов проповедует он целесообразный отбор переживаний: образы его связаны, как ряд средств, ведущих к цели, продиктованной его жизненным инстинктом: вот почему метод изложения Ницше имеет форму телеологического символизма». Белый А. Фридрих Ницше // Фридрих Ницше и русская религиозная философия. В 2 т. Минск, 1996. Т. 1. С. 65.

[388] Ilustracije radi, navešćemo mišljenje Ivana Iljina jer najjasnije izražava glavnu zamjerku većine religioznih mislilaca: «Так слагается его художественное творчество: он вкладывает в историю свои выдумки, и тасует и колдует в ее материале, заботясь о своих построениях, а совсем не об исторической правде» zbog čega istorijski značajne ličnosti čiji život opisuje Mereškovski u

Međutim, Dmitrij Mereškovski ne ubacuje nasilno u istorijske događaje svoje „izmišljotine“, kako ga je optuživao Iljin, već istorijsku građu struktuira poštujući logiku umjetničkog djela. Pisac se uvijek ne pridržava istorijskih činjenica, već, kada mu je to potrebno, daje svoju interpretaciju događaja, prije toga motivišući postupke junaka. Spoj filozofskog i umjetničkog, racionalnog i ekstatičkog jeste upravo ono što je interesovalo Mereškovskog zato što je u tome vidio mogućnost ovaploćenja ideja. Mada naslovni junaci trilogije imaju maksimalnu filozofsku zasićenost, to ne znači da postoji njihova ideologizacija. Junaci posjeduju individualna obilježja, psihički život im je bogat i u filozofskom smislu imaju slobodu izbora. Po tome su oni ličnosti, a njihov dualizam je uslovljen autorovim poimanjem suštine ljudske prirode. Pod uticajem Ničeove filozofske koncepcije izražene u djelima „Tako je govorio Zaratustra“ i „Rođenje tragedije iz duha muzike“ Mereškovski gradi svoje naslovne junake (Julijana Otpadnika, Leonarda da Vinčija, Petra Velikog) kao natčovjeka: „Čovek, uzdižući se do titanskih visina, borbom sam stiče svoju kulturu i primorava bogove da se s njim udruže, jer u sopstvenoj mudrosti drži njihovo postojanje i granice tog postojanja, u svojoj ruci.“[389]

Ničeovu misao takođe prepoznajemo i u razvoju događaja u prvom dijelu trilogije, romanu *Smrt bogova. Julijan Otpadnik*, naime, da postoji „nužnost prestupa koja se nameće titanski ustremljenoj jedinci“, kao i da postoji granica koju nameće apolonijski princip. Zbog narušavanja te granice čovjek mora da ispašta. Julijanova karakterna crta – agonističnost, preovladava i u helenskom narodnom biću i ona, kako smatra Niče, ako nije omeđena granicama apolonijskog načela, neminovno rađa *hibris* koji prouzrokuje teške posledice – u Julijanovom slučaju on dovodi junaka do proglašavanja čovjekove volje za najviši princip: „Prijatelji moji, ima li u čitavoj prirodi nešto što je božanstvenije od čovjekove volje? Ima li i u jednoj Sivilinoj knjizi nešto što je snažnije od ove tri riječi: ja tako hoću?“, čime je u potpunosti motivisan njegov čin pobune: „Odričem se vas, kao što ste se i vi mene odrekli, napuštam vas, kao što ste i vi mene napustili, blaženi, slabi! Ja sam jedan protiv vas, prizraci sa Olimpa!“[390] U tom trenutku, Julijan je najsličniji Luciferu, čiju mudrost i prihvata tokom posvećivanja u Misterije kada se odriče Hrista. Međutim, da junak nije ostvario ideal Zaratustrin i postao natčovjek ukazuje činjenica da ne može spoznati tajnu augura: “da bogova nema i da je sam“ [1: 222, 271].

---

romanu «оказываются [...] вешалками, чучелами или манекенами, которыми он пользуется для иллюстрации своих психологически-диалектических открытий». Ильин И. Мережковский – художник // Мережковский. Pro et contra. РХГИ. СПб., 2001. С. 375.

389 Fridrih Niče, Rođenje tragedije, Dereta, Beograd, 2001, str. 104.

390 «Друзья мои, во всей природе есть ли что-нибудь божественнее воли человеческой? Во всех книгах сивилловых есть ли что-нибудь сильнее этих трех слов: я так хочу?»; «Я отрекаюсь от вас, как вы от меня отреклись, покидаю вас, как вы меня покинули, блаженные, бессильные! Я один против вас, олимпийские призраки!..» Д. С. Мережковский. Собрание сочинений. В 4-х тт., Правда, М., 1990. Т. 1. С. 271. Dalje u uglastoj zagradi tom i broj stranice u samom tekstu.

3. Odbljesci antičke filozofije

Mereškovski u prvom dijelu trilogije ostvaruje vezu između Julijana Otpadnika i Platonovog Sokrata iz dijaloga „Protagora“ na nivou ideje da je vrlina znanje, a da se zlo javlja kao posledica neznanja. Zbog toga tokom čitavog romana Julijan traga za spoznajom koja mu izmiče. On smatra da njegovi učitelji uvijek ostaju nedorečeni i po svaku cijenu želi da spozna poslednju tajnu. Njega ne zadovoljava besjeda božanstvenog Jamblika o besmrtnosti i tjelesnoj preegzistenciji duše koja ima korijene u Platonovom[391] i Plotinovom učenju, njemu nije dovoljna spoznaja da Bog jeste, potrebno mu je čudo da bi povjerovao. Ali ono mu je potrebno u pojavnom svijetu i zato mu se Jamblik obraća riječima: "Ono čudo koje se može tvoriti u tvojoj duši zar nije veće od svih čudesa koje ja mogu da stvorim?" [1: 69]. Tip mišljenja karakterističan za sofiste, pa i Jamblika je da religiju posmatraju kao antropološku činjenicu, kao tvorevinu i izraz karakteristične prirode čovjeka. Ali, za Julijana teologija[392] predstavlja krajnji cilj i svrhu cjelokupnog filozofskog bavljenja bićem, zato ga Jamblikova najveća tajna nije zadovoljila.

Julijana ne zadovoljava učenje sofista zasnovano na Protagorinoj tezi da je čovjek mjera svih stvari – postojećih da jesu, a nepostojećih da nisu, što ima za posledicu relativizam podignut na nivo opšteg principa, čime autor motiviše junakov odlazak od učitelja. Ono što je karakteristično za Julijana jeste neraskidiva povezanost religiozno-filozofskih traganja. Relativizam sofista, učenje božanstvenog Jamblika da je ravnoznačno „kada kažeš: Njega nema, ti ga nimalo manje ne slaviš nego kada kažeš: On jeste“ [1: 68] junaka ne zadovoljava, jer učenje ne predstavlja cjelovit filozofski sistem i svodi se uglavnom na retoriku, a Jamblikov postupak na tržnici kada učestvuje u spaljivanju Kibele, majke svih bogova, kod njega izaziva nedoumicu: „Božanstveni uze cjepanicu iz ruku jednog hrišćanina i baci je u vatru. Julijan ne vjerovaše očima.“ [1: 73]

Pisac je lik Jamblika izgradio imajući u vidu Platonov odnos prema sofistima. Jamblikov govor o prirodi boga, njegove teze i zaključci u potpunosti su u skladu sa osnovnim karakteristikama sofiste prikazanog u Platonovim dijalozima posvećenim sofistima – „Protagora“ i „Sofist“. Jamblikova teza, karakteristična za način promišljanja sofista da je u isto vrijeme bog «ничто» и «все» [1: 66], da je Jedan i mnoštvo[393], da ga ima i nema u isto vrijeme [1: 68], kojim Julijanu objašnjava prorodu boga, Platon opovrgava dijalektičkim načinom razmišljanja Stranca iz Eleje[394]. Tipična pogreška koju Jamblik čini prilikom traganja za istinom jeste u tome što spaja nesrodne pojmove.

---

[391] Platon, Dela. Fedon, Dereta, Beograd, 2002, str. 191-204. Sličnu ideju srećemo i kod Filona Aleksandrijskog: Гностики или о «лжеименном знании». УЦИММ-Пресс. Киев. 1997. С. 33.

[392] θεολογια–grč. teologija. Istraživači se slažu da je Platon prvi upotrebio ovaj termin i bio tvorac ideje teologije. U „Državi“ (II, 379 a) Platon izlaže „obrise teologije“ i kaže da je ona nastala iz sukoba mitske tradicije i prirodnog pristupa problemu Boga. U tom smislu se njegova filozofija, u najvišem obliku, pojavljuje kao teologija. U istom smislu Julijan traga za tom filozofijom u najčistijem vidu, ali ne uspijeva da je nađe.

[393] «Мы должны вернутся к Нему, и тогда все будут богом, и бог будет во всех» [1: 67].

[394] Platon, Kratil. Teetet. Sofist. Državnik, Beograd, Plato, 2000.

Njegov način razmišljanja nije dijalektički, on ne uspijeva da shvati i razriješi protivrječnosti jer ne zasniva svoje mišljenje na tezi, antitezi i sintezi, već u njegovom mišljenju postoje samo teza i antiteza. Zato je njegov zaključak da je bog «отрицание мысли» logično izveden, ali je u osnovi lažan, jer u slučaju da ne postoji misao, ne bi se moglo ni promišljati o bogu.

Takođe, Jamblikova teza da je bog sve, značilo bi poistovjećivanje boga sa tvorevinom, što znači da onda ne bi bila moguća njegova sledeća misao o povratku duše iz materijalnog svijeta (tvorevine) bogu. Ili, na primjer, pomenuta tvrdnja da je bog *ništa*, nasuprot onome *sve* koje podrazumijeva da je bog biće, značila bi da je bog u isto vrijeme i biće i nebiće i kako bi u tom slučaju bog mogao da stvori pojavni svijet? Primjer kako se ne mogu spajati pojmovi koje spaja Jamblik jer tada cjelokupno mišljenje postaje samo sebi protivrječno, nalazimo u izlaganju Stranca iz Eleje kod Platona. On tvrdi da se razlike ne smiju isključivati, zato što se nešto može označiti po nečemu *različitom*, ali koje ima dodirnih tačaka sa prvim pojmom. Znači da se uvijek mora upotrijebiti termin *bitak* kada se nešto želi iskazati. Dakle, nešto postojeće može se spajati, ali ne sa svime čega se sjetimo. I tu navodi primjer spajanja kretanja i mirovanja: ako ih spojimo, onda će kretanje biti mirovanje, a mirovanje kretanje, što znači da bi kretanje mirovalo, a mirovanje se kretalo[395].

U drugom dijelu trilogije, romanu *Vaskrsli Bogovi. Leonardo da Vinči* Mereškovski kao Leonardovu dominantu ističe želju za letom. Junak ne samo da stvara slike ljudskih krila (*Blagovesti*, *Bogorodica u pećini*), već radi na mašini koja će osloboditi čovjeka njegove privezanosti za zemlju i približiti ga nebeskim visinama. Autor postiže da za Leonarda let predstavlja onirični doživljaj[396], a junakovo uspinjanje na planinu pred kraj života – zamjenu za let. Sa osvajanjem vrha kod Leonarda pojavljuje se osjećanje oslobođenosti od zemnog života. Međutim, sa osvajanjem cilja, Leonardo postaje svjestan neprirodnosti čovjekovog beskrilnog stanja: „Leonardo se nagnu, pogleda u bezdan i iznenada, ponovo, ali sa takvom snagom koju nikada do sada ne bijaše osjetio, poznato još od djetinjstva osjećanje prirodne potrebe – neizbježnosti leta, potpuno ga savlada." [2: 76]. Lakoću letenja koju autor daje kao junakovu psihološku realnost možemo definisati na sledeći način: to je lakoća letenja karakteristična za onirično stanje. Međutim, u snu nam krila nisu potrebna. Mi pretpostavljamo da imamo krila zato što letimo.

Takav slučaj je sa drugim junakom, Zoroastrom: „I svi viču: pogledajte, pogledajte – poletio je! Ja direktno kroz prozor, i sve više i više, pod samo nebo – samo vjetar u ušima zviždi i radostan sam i smijem se: zbog čega, razmišljam, ranije nisam umio da letim. Zaboravio, šta li? Pa to je tako jednostavno! I nikakva mašina nije potrebna!" [1: 347]. Međutim, krila koja želi da konstruiše Leonardo ne možemo nazvati oniričnim. Sam on ta krila doživljava na esteskom planu kao ružna i zbog toga je siguran

[395] Platon, Sofist, 252 d.
[396] O vrstama oniričnog leta vidi u: Gaston Bašlar, Vazduh i snovi, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci i Novi Sad, 2001, str. 27–79.

da ne mogu ponijeti na sebi čovjeka. Krila ne podsjećaju na idealni tip krila – lastavičija krila, već na nešto što nisu krila, već opna koja služi letenju – krila slijepog miša. Iako je u romanu za Leonarda-umjetnika ključan romantični doživljaj leta, da bi čovjeku podario mehanička krila, Leonardo-naučnik je prinuđen da se kreće u okvirima zakona mehanike. Zbog toga on ne stvara estetski lijepa krila koja mogu da lete, već iz bezbrojnih proračuna nastaje samo čista animalnost. Za umjetnikovu imaginaciju let predstavlja transcendenciju veličine jer let je prva ljepota, bezgrešno stanje čovjeka[397]. Na Leonardovu misao je očigledan uticaj Platona. U "Fedru" je iskazana transcendentnost krila: "Krilo ima prirodnu snagu da diže u visine ono što je teško i vodi onamo gde stanuje rod bogova; zato ono od svega što se na telu nalazi najviše ima srodnosti sa onim što je božansko. A božansko je lepo, mudro, dobro i sve što je ovakvo. Ovim se perje duše najviše hrani i raste, a ružnim i zlim i onim što je onome protivno gine i propada."[398] Statičnost kao osnovna karakteristika konstrukcije Leonardovih krila dolazi do izražaja u njihovom izgledu. U ovim krilima ne preovladava dinamičko načelo, već statična plot životinja koje pripadaju elementu zemlje, zbog čega ona i ne mogu da lete.

4. Motiv natčovjeka u završnom dijelu trilogije

Petar Veliki kao naslovni junak trećeg dijela trilogije, romana *Antihrist. Petar i Aleksej* koncipiran je u skladu sa naslovnim junacima prva dva dijela trilogije. On se u romanu ostvaruje kao vladar, dakle, kao stvaralac novog života. To stvaralaštvo je utemeljeno na dva nivoa: prostornom i vremenskom. Petar Veliki zasniva novi prostor tako što osniva grad, a osnivajući grad, stvara novu epohu koja se karakteriše okretanjem ruskog naroda ka zapadnim vrijednostima. Prilikom izgradnje Peterburga, car nailazi na značajne prepreke. Prije svega, on je prinuđen da savladava htonske sile prirode – vodu i vatru. U svijesti religioznog čovjeka prostor nije homogen, već postoje različiti djelovi prostora[399].

Osnivanje Svijeta podrazumijeva njegovo ontološko zasnivanje, zbog čega jednom osnovan grad ne pretpostavlja i završen proces zasnivanja Svijeta. Petar Veliki i stanovnici grada neprekidno se bore sa silama haosa koje prijete da unište novostvoreni

---

[397] Ovdje je na Leonardovu misao mogao imati uticaja Platon. U "Fedru" je iskazana transcendentnost krila: "Krilo ima prirodnu snagu da diže u visine ono što je teško i vodi onamo gde stanuje rod bogova; zato ono od svega što se na telu nalazi najviše ima srodnosti sa onim što je božansko. A božansko je lepo, mudro, dobro i sve što je ovakvo. Ovim se perje duše najviše hrani i raste, a ružnim i zlim i onim što je onome protivno gine i propada." Platon, Fedar, XXVI, 246e.

[398] Platon, Fedar, XXVI, 246e.

[399] Mirča Elijade o nehomogenosti prostora i o zasnivanju novog prostora piše sledeće: „Religiozno iskustvo nehomogenosti prostora predstavlja prvobitno iskustvo, slično iskustvu o 'osnivanju Sveta'. Pritom nije reč o teorijskoj spekulaciji, već o primarnom religioznom iskustvu, koje prethodi svakoj refleksiji o Svetu." Mirča Elijade, Sveto i profano, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Novi Sad, 2003, str. 75.

Svijet: „Peterburg je nestajao između dvije stihije – u isto vrijeme je i goreo i tonuo. Ostvarivalo se proročanstvo: Peterburg će opustjeti!“[400] [2: 472]. Stihija vode u romanu je povezana sa noćnim, lunarnim, ženskim načelom. Simboličko-hermetička interpretacija dozvoljava nam da tumačimo ovu stihiju na mitološkom planu u korelaciji sa Majkom-Prirodom, ali ne kao zaštitnicom, već onom koja donosi smrt ljudima jer su se usudili da naruše prirodni poredak. Nasuprot anarhičnoj slobodi vode kao ženskog načela (Neva) nalazi se muško, djelatno načelo oličeno u Petru Velikom koji izgrađuje grad (Sankt-Peterburg) na toj vodi, čime je oblikuje i uobličava, ograničavajući joj prostor[401]. Stihija vode koja prijeti da potopi Peterburg ne odlikuje se životvornošću, to nije živa voda – ona prije liči na starozavjetne vode Potopa: «Озеро [...] волновалось – как будто не только на поверхности, но до самого дна кипело, бурлило, и клокотало, как вода в котле над сильным огнем. Это озеро была Нева – пестрая, как шкура на брюхе змеи, желтая, бурая, черная, с белыми барашками, усталая, но все еще буйная, страшная под страшным, серым как земля и низким небом» [2: 472]. Potop i izgled vode koja klokoće nagovještava da je riječ o vodi kao kazni za počinjene grijehe[402]. To je voda koja donosi smrt, koja odvaja duh od materije.

---

[400] Sam Mereškovski piše o tom „zlom“ proročanstvu da je ostalo i dalje aktuelno među stanovnicima Peterburga, iako se Petar Veliki borio protiv zabluda svim sredstvima: «это пророчество, то самое, за которое в 1703 году, при основании города, били кнутом, ссылали на галеры, рвали ноздри и резали языки: „Петербургу быть пусту“» [Мережковский Д.С. «Петербургу быть пусту»// Москва – Петербург: pro et contra. РХГИ. СПб., 2000. С. 325]. U prilog tvrdnji da legenda o nestanku Peterburga i dalje postoji, Mereškovski navodi podatke P. Pekarskog objavljene u “Savremeniku” za 1860. godinu: «Три старых рыбака, живших до основания Петербурга в местах, где возник город, рассказывали в 1721 году, что за тридцать лет перед тем было такое наводнение, что вся страна до Ниеншанца была потоплена, и что подобные бедствия повторяются почти каждые пять лет. Поэтому первобытные жители невского прибрежья никогда не строили там прочных жилищ, но Небольшие рыбачьи хижины. Как только, по приметам, ожидалась большая буря, крестьяне ломали свои хижины, а бревна и Доски складывали как плоты и привязывали к деревьям; сами же, в ожидании убыли воды, спасались на Дудареву гору («Петербургская старина», академ. П. Пекарского)». [Мережковский Д.С. «Петербургу быть пусту». С. 325]. Ovaj motiv Mereškovski koristi i u svojoj drugoj trilogiji Carstvo zvijeri, obogaćujući ga pojedinostima: «Старики сказывают, – на Петербургской стороне, у Троицы, ольха росла высокая, и такая тут вода была, лет за десять до построения города, что ольху с верхушкою залило, и было тогда прорицание: как вторая-де вода такая же будет, то Санкт-Петербургу конец, и месту сему быть пусту. А государь император Петр Алексеевич, как сведали о том, ольху срубить велели, а людей прорицающих казнить без милости. Но только слово то истинно, по Писанию: не увидеша, до́ндеже прииде вода и взят вся...» [3: 336].

[401] Na koncepciju junaka kao djelatne ličnosti koja potčinjava sebi sile prirode prepoznaju se uticaji Kantove misli o pozitivnoj slobodi koja označava zakonitost praktičnog uma da potčinjava sebi zakonitost prirode, to jeste, kauzalnu zakonitost.

[402] Uporedi sa Knjigom Postanja: «Я буду изливать дождь на землю сорок дней и сорок ночей; и истреблю все существующее, что Я создал, с лица земли» (1 Moj. 7: 4).

Na simboličkom planu nije slučajno što poplava prijeti gradu svakih *pet* godina [2: 459]. Broj pet simboliše razdvajanje, raspolućivanje, razdor – sve ono što je teško, tamno i smrtno[403], što prouzrokuje odvajanje duha od materije. Istu simboličko-hermetičku funkciju u romanu ima i vatra[404]. U trenutku potopa Peterburg počinje da gori [2: 472]. Međutim, treba naglasiti da shodno složenosti Petrove ličnosti koja je sposobna da objedini suprotnosti, vatra i voda su njegovi elementi. On uživa u vodi, pa narator ističe da za razliku od svojih predaka, Petar toliko voli vodu, da većinu života provodi na njoj, zbog čega se u romanu poredi sa ribom [2: 413].

Međutim, Petru je svojstven i element vatre i on kao salamandar uživa u njoj: „Strast prema pucnjavi topova, prema svakojakim eksperimentima sa vatrom, prema vatromentu. Uvijek ih sam pali i uvlači se u vatru; jednom prilikom sam prisustvovao kada je sam sebi spalio kosu. Kaže da svoje podanike obučava ognju borbe. Ali to je samo povod: on jednostavno obožava vatru." [2: 413]. Po ovim osobinama Petar je ostvaren u romanu kao natčovjek. On gospodari praelementima, oni podliježu njegovoj volji. U skladu sa Ničeovom idejom natčovjeka, Petar je iznad dobra i zla. Zaratustra propovijeda: „Postoji jedna stara zabluda, a zove se dobro i zlo."[405], dok Petar ne propovijeda, već djeluje. On svoju volju ostvaruje bez obzira na posledice. Tako je na kraju romana ovaj junak sposoban da postane i sinoubica, čime ustaje protiv Boga Oca uzimajući život koji nije dao.

5. Zaključak

Razvijajući Ničeovu ideju o natčovjeku, Mereškovski u svojoj trilogiji ispituje moguće puteve razvoja junaka. U trenutku kada se naslovni junaci (Julijan Otpadnik i Petar Veliki) stave iznad dobra i zla, oni nužno stupaju na stranu zla jer se u njima rađa pobuna protiv bogova sa Olimpa (Julijan) ili protiv Troipostasnog Boga (Petar). Jedini izuzetak je Leonardo da Vinči koji ne ustaje protiv volje Božje. Na ovaj način, Mereškovski implicitno ukazuje da jedini mogući put razvoja čovjeka jeste kroz umjetnost, stvaralaštvo u oblasti kulture. Na taj način dolazi do izražaja piščeva ideja o razvoju čovječanstva kroz idealni tip kulture koji bi jedini omogućio preporod postojeće stvarnosti.

---

[403] O simbolici brojeva podrobnije u: Bela Hamvaš, Scientia sacra I: duhovna baština drevnog čovečanstva 2. Dereta, Beograd, 1999. str. 168–173.

[404] „Baza vode je vatra, baza vatre je gasovita materija, baza gasovite materije je svetlost. Na ovim bazama počiva voda, prva stvarna, opipljiva materija." [Bela Hamvaš, Scientia sacra I: duhovna baština drevnog čovečanstva 2, str. 183]. Simboličko-hermetičko poistovjećivanje vode i vatre u romanu je najočiglednije prikazano u navedenom opisu izgleda nabujale Neve – donje vode iz mitskog bezdana koja kipi i klokoće kao da se nalazi iznad jakog plamena. Uporedi sliku potopa i svjetskog požara kod Ovidija u Metamorfozama (I, 260–400; II 1–400).

[405] Fridrih Niče, Tako je govorio Zaratustra, Oktoih, Podgorica, 1999, str. 257.

Literatura

Bašlar, G. (2001) **Vazduh i snovi**, Sremski Karlovci i Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića

Elijade, M. (2003) **Sveto i profano**, Sremski Karlovci i Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića

Hamvaš, B. (1999) **Scientia sacra I: duhovna baština drevnog čovečanstva 2.** Beograd: Dereta

Белый, А. (1996) „Фридрих Ницше“, in: **Фридрих Ницше и русская религиозная философия**, Минск, pp. 32-68

Иванов, Вяч. (1994) **Родное и вселенское**, Москва

Ильин, И. (2001) „Мережковский – художник“, in: **Мережковский. Pro et contra**, СПб.: РХГИ, pp. 374-388

Мережковский, Д. С. (1914) **Введение к полному собранию сочинений**. Москва: Изд. Товарищества И.Д. Сытина В 24-х тт.

Мережковский, Д. С. (1990) **Собрание сочинений**, В 4-х тт., Москва: Правда

Мережковский, Д. С. (2000) „Петербургу быть пусту“, in: **Москва – Петербург: pro et contra**, СПб.: РХГИ, pp. 325

Мережковский, Д. С. (2004) **Полное энциклопедическое собрание сочинений**, Москва: Электронная библиотека. ИДДК-0870. ИДДК ГРУПП

Niče, F. (1999) **Tako je govorio Zaratustra**, Podgorica: Oktoih

Niče, F. (2001) **Rođenje tragedije**, Beograd: Dereta

Platon (2000) **Kratil. Teetet. Sofist. Državnik**, Beograd: Plato

Platon (2002) **Dela**, Beograd: Dereta

UDK 821.133.1.09Prust M.
UDK 821.163.4.09

Olivera Terzić

PRUST IZ UGLA SRETENA MARIĆA

Apstrakt: *Ovaj rad ima za cilj da na tragu analize eseja Sretena Marića (jednog od najvećih poznavalaca zapadne a naročito francuske književnosti, umjetnosti i filozofije), o epohalnom djelu Marsela Prusta* U traganju za izgubljenim vremenom *istakne neka pitanja na koja navodi uporedna analiza autentične Prustove misli i Marićevog tumačenja te misli. Pregled i uporedno osvjetljavanje kako Prustove tako i Marićeve misli omogućili bi bolji uvid kako u tumačenje Prusta tako i u shvatanje Marićeve vlastite misli, vidljive ispod njegovog kritičarskog pera.*

Ključne riječi: filozofija vremena, afektivna memorija, bezvremenost, sadašnjost, svjesnost, pisanje, suština stvari, svjedočenje

1. Uvod

Teško da je danas moguće reći nešto novo na temu Prustovog djela kada se ima u vidu obimna literatura posvećena njegovom proučavanju tokom skoro stotinak godina proteklih od objavljivanja njegovog prvog djela. Ipak mi je bilo neminovno i izazovno da se dotaknem Prusta na indirektan način, kroz šire bavljenje opusom Sretena Marića, odnosno njegovim osvrtom na pisce moderne francuske književnosti. U okviru esejističkog opusa Sretena Marića, jednog od najvećih jugoslovenskih esejista dvadesetog vijeka, kritičara i poznavaoca zapadne umjetnosti, književnosti i filozofije, Prust je zauzeo značajno mjesto, ne samo obimom eseja posvećenog njemu, već i zahvaljujući vječitoj aktuelnosti i intrigantnosti njegove raznovrsne tematike.

Mi ćemo se u ovom radu pozabaviti dubljom analizom Prustove filozofije vremena tako što ćemo naći uporište za naša razmatranja upravo kod Sretena Marića.

2. Od Marsela – junaka romana do Marsela - pripovjedaca

Marića je na razmatranje problema Prustovih filozofskih shvatanja navela prije svega činjenica da Prust dosta često u svojim pismima kao i u samom *Traganju za izgubljenim vremenom* insistira na filozofskom značaju svoga poduhvata, i to do najsitnijih dijelova. Tako, na primjer, kada ga jedan kritičar napadne da nadugačko opisuje tako beznačajne stvari kao što je buđenje djeteta iz sna, on odgovara da ovaj nije ništa razumio, da je tu u pitanju mnogo značajniji problem, problem buđenja ljudske svijesti. Na jednom mjestu u romanu on kaže da je „tražio da pronađe siže u koji će moći da stavi beskrajno filozofsko značenje"[406].

Prust eksplicitno govori o tome zašto se opredijelio za pisanje kao vid saopštavanja sebe drugima. „Jedini pravi život, život najzad otkriven i razjašnjen, pa, prema tome, jedini zaista življen, jeste literatura; taj život koji, u izvesnom smislu, prebiva svakog trenutka u svim ljudima, isto kao i u umetniku... Jedina (umjetnost) ona iskazuje za druge i dozvoljava nam da u sebi vidimo vlastiti život, taj život čiji prividi... traže da budu prevedeni, često i čitani natraške, mučno dešifrovani... To je put u suprotnom smeru, vraćanje dubinama gde ono što je stvarno postojalo leži od nas nespoznato"[407]. A to „vraćanje u dubine" pravog života može se ostvariti samo kroz umjetnički čin osvješćenja. Dakle, za Prusta su buđenje svijesti i pisanje isto.

S druge strane, „Čovek je biće koje ne može izići iz sebe, koji druge poznaje u sebi, i koji, ako veli suprotno, laže", veli Prust. ...Kao zaista spoznatljivi predmet, jedina sigurna istina ostajem samo *ja*, ostaje *moje* viđenje, *moja* vizija sveta. ....otud je delo ipak roman kao i svaki drugi, ali roman bez iluzije apsolutne objektivnosti, roman koji ne kazuje svet, već njegov odraz u izvesnom subjektu"[408].

Ali da takav subjekat bude, da od pozitivnog, svakodnevnog *ja* postane izvjesno transcendentno *ja*, koje stiče pravo i mogućnost da o svijetu, i o sebi u svijetu, autoritativno kazuje izvjesnu istinu, sa njim se, po Mariću, moralo desiti nešto što ga je iz osnove izmijenilo, što ga je učinilo podobnim da pertinentno odgovara na pitanja koja mu je njegov svijet impresija postavio, da prozre do u dubinu iskustva koje je doživjelo. Bilo je potrebno da se u poročnom, razmaženom slabiću Marselu imperativno oglasi izvjestan poziv, izvjesna „vokacija", poziv koji će Marsela iz osnova preobraziti, poziv da umjesto da banalno živi prazan život, kazuje i otkriva sve bogatstvo koje se iza te banalnosti skrivalo. „Kakvo sve bogatstvo, kakve raznolikosti krije, bez našeg znanja, ta velika noć naše duše, nepohođena, obeshrabrujuća, koju mi tretiramo kao prazninu, kao ništavilo"[409], veli Prust, kada se od slabića Marsela preobrazio u Marsela-pripovjedača.

Marsel-junak romana i Marsel-pripovjedač su tako, po Mariću, dva suprotna bića[410]. Pripovjedač je otkrio suštinu Marselovog života i mogućnost da mu podari pravu vrijednost, nešto što je Marsel junak romana s vremena na vrijeme tek naslućivao, ali nije shvatao. Otud je Marsel junak romana „šopenhauerovski dešperator", dok će Marsel pripovjedač, sve potvrđujući taj pesimizam, transcendirati takav život u himnu

[406] Ibid, str. 687
[407] Ibid, str. 721
[408] Ibid, str. 712
[409] Ibid, str. 712
[410] Ivan Dimić povodom realnog i idealnog, postojećeg i nepostojećeg u Prustovom romanu konstatuje da, u izvjesnom smislu, pripovjedač zauzima jednovremeno dva različita mjesta ili, još bolje, jedno isto mjesto koje ima dvije različite ravni odašiljanja te se tako proizvodi utisak da je *sve proživljeno, a sve tek treba proživeti.* Vidjeti studiju *Najdublja promena: Prustovo pripovedanje* u knjizi Od *Stendala do Beketa, ogledi o francuskom romanu*, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Novi Sad, 1991.

radosti, u onim dugim prustovskim rečenicama, koje su zato bez kraja jer je, preobraženo očima pripovjedača, toliko lijepo i prebogato što mu se u vidokrug pruža. Ovdje se zapravo radi o pisanju kao svjedočenju, pisanju kao pripovjedačevom ogledanju, kao posmatranju Marsela koji je bio nekada od strane onog Marsela koji jeste.

Utisci iz života Marselova, blijedi, nikad do kraja jasni i osmišljeni, kolebljivi i bez dublje stvarnosti, dobiće svoj veliki smisao kada ih se pripovjedač prisjeti i uobliči ih u koherentnu spiritualizovanu viziju svijeta umjetničkog djela. Kroz cijelo djelo, i kroz cio svoj život, kao što se to nazire iz njegove korespondencije, Prust će doživljavati najave tog osmišljenja, u trenucima kada ga je obuzimala radosna želja da stvari i ljude posmatra ne u životnoj praksi svakidašnjice, već kao materijal umjetničkog djela.

Kako se taj preokret zbio, o tome Prust u romanu govori naširoko. O toj čuvenoj „mémoire affective", tom osjećajnom sjećanju, koje nije pusto, apstraktno rememoriranje prošlosti, nije pamćenje činjenica koje nam kažu: „eto, takav si bio", ne dozvoljavajući nam da to ponovo postanemo. Afektivno pamćenje je, po Prustu, nešto sasvim drugo, dragocjeno: izvjesni osjeti, osjećaji, kolač magdalenica umočen u čaj, nejednake ploče u dvorištu palate de Germant, kruto uštirkani salvet, iznenadno, bez učešća volje, spontano, ponovo oživljavaju nekad doživljeno, i oživljavajući ga pune nas blaženstvom i miljem.

Kako Marić kaže, svima nama se dešava da nam bane u svijest u svoj svojoj jedinstvenoj konkretnosti neko sjećanje življe, insistentnije no sadašnjost, prizor iz prošlosti sa svojim štimungom, glas ili pogled davno nestalog, ugao usana sa sjenkom osmijeha, da osjetimo živu nelagodnost zbog nekog davno učinjenog, beznačajnog nedjela. Ne tako intenzivno možda kao Prust, ali živo i prisutno, prisutnije no sadašnjost.

Kod Prusta je taj susret sadašnjeg osjećaja i reminiscencije prošlosti, koju on izaziva, i „iznosi mu pred oči integralno jedan trenutak prošlosti" izvor „neizmerne radosti", svojevrsne ekstaze, „stanje", kako on veli, „koje nije donosilo nikakav logički dokaz, već samo očiglednost svog blaženstva"[411]. A to sjećanje, insistira Prust, nije nikakvo uljepšavanje ni idealizovanje, nikakav bijeg u romantično sanjarenje, već naprotiv, viđenje po prvi put stvari kakve one jesu u svojoj suštini, jer je upravo sadašnjost laž, jer čovjek upravo u sadašnjosti ne uspijeva da zaista vidi ono što jeste. To je stoga što sadašnjost nije svjesna sebe u trenutku kad se zbiva, pa i samom Prustu polazi za rukom tek kasnije da je postane svjestan. Između njega i realnosti uvijek je postojala razdaljina koju stvara njegova svijest i koja kvari neposrednost doživljaja.

Kako to primjećuje Jelena Novaković kod Marsela „misao uništava doživljaj, sprečavajući ga da do kraja bude prisutan u onome što čini, u svakom zadovoljstvu on uživa tek naknadno, u sjećanju, to jest u njegovom odrazu u ogledalu svoga duha i svoje memorije"[412].

---

[411] Ibid, str. 715

[412] Novaković, Jelena, *U traganju za jedinstvom*, *ogledi iz novije francuske i srpske književnosti*, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci, Novi Sad, 1995. str. 22

3. Izgubljena-nadjena svijest

Prustu je moguće da govori o svom životu kao njegov posmatrač, nepristrasno i ne identifikujući sebe sa junakom, tek onda kad piše roman, dakle *post festum* življenog. Ali mu sada to vraćanje životu omogućava da zaista po prvi put i proživi doživljeno tako što će ga po prvi put biti svjestan. Svjesno življenje – to je ono što Prust ostvaruje svojim pisanjem iako u trenutku kada je, potpuno zatvoren i izolovan među četiri zida, takoreći prestao da aktivno živi. Sav njegov život, i prošli i sadašnji odvija se u njegovoj svijesti dok piše. Tako dolazimo do fenomena dvostrukog življenja jedne te iste osobe, koji je okupirao i Stendala nekada. Samo što kod Prusta, nekada življeni život gotovo kao da i nije bio pravi, stvaran, jer ga pisac postaje svjestan tek znatno kasnije, kada se budi iz dugogodišnjeg sna. On je sada detaširan, nije uvučen u vrtlog strasti, dosade i bezizlaza koji su ga morili za vrijeme „aktivnog“ života, a opet, on tek sada autentično prihvata i proživljava doživljeno. Shvata da je on, njegova ličnost, zapravo bila uvijek ova i ovakva kakva je sada, na izmaku bitisanja u fizičkom obliku – da mu je, zapravo, moguće i tako je se dobro i podrobno prisjećati upravo zato što je u njenoj pozadini nekada, kao i sada, uvijek bila ista svijest. Tada on nije znao da je ima, da ona postoji i da je uvijek ista, nepromjenljiva, samo ju je u rijetkim trenucima naslućivao.

„Zašto su me slike Kambrea i Venecije (u afektivnom pamćenju) u izvesnim trenucima obradovale, tako pouzdano i dovoljno, bez daljih dokaza da su me učinile ravnodušnim prema smrti?“ pita se Prust, dodajući malo dalje da je tome uzrok ekstratemporalnost tog doživljaja. „Tražio sam uzrok tog blaženstva... Slutio sam šta je taj uzrok upoređujući te razne blažene utiske, kojima je bilo zajedničko da sam ih doživljavao u isti mah u sadašnjem trenutku i u jednom udaljenom trenutku, tako da se prošlost poklapala sa sadašnjicom... U stvari, biće koje je tada uživalo u tom utisku... u onom što je u njemu ekstratemporalno, bilo je biće koje se pojavljivalo samo onda kada se, sa te identičnosti sadašnjosti i prošlosti, ono moglo naći u sredini u kojoj je moglo da živi i da uživa u *suštini stvari*, to jest *van vremena.* To i objašnjava činjenicu što su moje strave pred smrću prestale u trenutku kada sam nesvesno prepoznao ukus magdalenice, pošto je tog trenutka biće koje sam ja bio bilo jedno ekstratemporalno biće, koje prema tome ne haje za nevolje budućnosti“[413].

Ovakva vrsta podsticaja pojaviće se dvadesetak godina kasnije, pred junakom jednog drugog romana XX vijeka, ali u negativnom vidu: bjelutak nađen na plaži Sartrovog Rokantena će suočiti sa „naletom egzistencije“ koji će u njemu izazvati neku vrstu „mučnine“.

Prustovo traganje za izlazom i osmišljenjem ljudske propadljive tvari na kraju je ipak dovelo do nalaženja onoga što je izgledalo da je iščezlo, a što je, kako to ovaj roman otkriva, pronađeno ispod površine, vječno prisutno. Ono nikada nije iščezavalo jer je bezvremeno, ekstratemporalno a opet sadržano u trenutku. Fenomen vremena se tako gubi. Vječnost i trenutak postaju jedno jer vječnost jeste samo vječita sadašnjost.

[413] Marić, S. *Ogledi*, str. 720

Vrijeme i njegovo proticanje je ljudski, izmišljeni pojam koji u svijesti, kada se Prust sjeća, gubi svaki smisao. Prust pokazuje da je taj nekadašnji trenutak u trenutku prisjećanja postao sadašnji trenutak te se tako prošlost potire u svijesti koja uvijek može da od prošlosti napravi sadašnjost kao što potire i budućnost koja će uvijek biti samo sadašnjost viđena iz perspektive prošlosti. A ako prošlost jeste sada onda to jeste i budućnost. Eto epohalnog Prustovog otkrića, epohalnog za njega samog ali i za cijelo čovječanstvo koje u rijetkim slučajevima doseže do nivoa svjesnosti koji mu omogućava takav uvid.

Marić napominje da kod Prusta ni sama stvarnost nije kontinuirana, a on je, u sjećanju, doživljava u fragmentima, bez sveobuhvatne strukture, i ti fragmenti su raznoliki, zajednička suština im je sam pripovjedač. No pitanje je, za Marića, da li kod Prusta uopšte ima smisla govoriti o vremenu. Ako išta proizilazi iz *Traganja*, to je prije svega činjenica da nikad nismo neposredno svjesni vremena.

Mariću se čini da drugačije nije moglo ni da bude, uzev u obzir Prustov odnos prema prošlosti, koji je jedini siže djela. To što Prust slika stvarnost ne kao kontinuiranu strukturu već kao „suštinu raznolikih mikrokozama“[414], što slika ne akciju već – slike, to je zato što je njegova „afektivna memorija“, kako sam Prust priznaje, ekstatično memorisanje trenutaka prošlosti, a trenuci su, i opet kako sam Prust kazuje, van vremena, atemporalni, u njima ne može ni biti vremenskih zbivanja ma koje vrste, ni evolucija ni akcija. Zar je onda čudo da, usredsrediv sve oko njih, Prustovo djelo zapostavlja vrijeme, pita se Marić. On to djelo i ne piše – uprkos naslovima i ostalom – da se vrati u vrijeme, već da iz njega izađe, a ono što je na kraju knjige „ponovo nađeno“, to, kako sam Prust kaže, i nije vrijeme već *„suština stvari izvan vremena*“. „Jedan minut oslobođen poretka vremena stvara u nama čoveka oslobođena poretka vremena“[415], veli on. Kod mistika se taj doživljaj oslobođenja od poretka vremena zvao doživljaj vječnosti (ne besmrtnosti, već vječnosti), što je drugi izraz za ekstratemporalnost, stanje u kome se izlazi iz vremena, iz onoga u čemu je smrt. Mistici su o tom stanju govorili, a i neki pjesnici.

Neki su stoga, povodom tih ekstatičnih trenutaka, govorili o Prustovom misticizmu, o njegovom doživljaju „afektivne memorije“ kao o tipično mističkom doživljaju. No, veli Marić, govorilo se isto tako o mističnim ekstazama Remboa, Nervala, Kolridža i mnogih drugih. Po Mariću, riječ mistično, posebno u Prustovom slučaju, valja da kazuje: „ekstazu određenog sadržaja, rezultata cijelog jednog života usredsređenog napora i discipline“[416].

---

414 Ibid, str. 716
415 Ibid, str. 717
416 Ibid, str. 717

4. Umjetnost kao Stvarnost i Istina

Filozofi su isto tako govorili o tom stanju. Bar od Platona nadalje. Tu smo kod posljednje po Mariću bitne Prustove poruke: „Smrt je svakodnevnica našeg života, čovek ne umire samo na njegovom kraju, on umire svakog dana, živeći životom koji ne vredi". Ali spas postoji, „jer pravi život je drugde, van svega toga", veli Prust, „ne u samom životu, niti posle života, već van njega, ako izraz koji potiče od prostora ima nekog smisla u svetu koji se prostora oslobodio".[417]

Prust posvećuje stranice i stranice svog djela onim parcijalnim smrtima u čovjeku, onim „intermittences du coeur", ravnodušnosti koja nastupa poslije silovitih strasti. To je stanje oslobođenosti od ega, od svoje lažne ličnosti koja nam zadaje patnju. Ta patnja dok traje jeste stvarna ali nas konačno, kada je se zasitimo, svojom oštrinom i mučenjem primora da je se odreknemo kao i onog lažnog *ja* koje je proizvodi. U tom trenutku, kada nam je svejedno, kada nastupi otupjelost na bol i zavlada mir u nama, uviđamo da je patnja dovela do ogoljenja naše svijesti. Shvatamo da je trenutna svijest jedino što stvarno postoji i što smo mi, i da se ključ za patnju kao i za spokojstvo nalazi nigdje drugo do u nama.

„Valja misliti na smrt"[418], veli Prust, a poslednje dvije knjige posvećene su većim dijelom mišljenju o tim parcijalnim umiranjima, o smrti voljenih, o smrti vlastitoj, sa voljom da se sve te strave prevaziđu, da se i smrtima i smrti nađe neko osmišljenje u životu, da i one budu njegovo obogaćenje. Roman se ipak završava trijumfom života, gdje sreća nije shvaćena kao kontinuirano uživanje, već kao životna punoća i osmišljenost, pa makar i kroz patnju.

Ali, ako čovjek zađe duboko u se, on najzad shvata da „i naše najveće strave kao najveća naša nadanja ne prevazilaze naše snage i da, na kraju krajeva, mi možemo uspeti da jedne nadvladamo a druge ostvarimo". Prust kao da je u tome i uspio: „Već odavno mi je uspomena na moju ljubav pomogla da se ne plašim smrti: Razumeo sam da umreti nije za mene nešto novo, da sam već od svog detinjstva često umirao... Te sukcesivne smrti... učinile su da sam shvatio... koliko bi malo mudro bilo strašiti se smrti". „Otud, isto tako kao što čovjek shvata da je patnja ono najbolje što čovjek može susresti u životu, on misli bez užasavanja, skoro kao na kakvo oslobođenje, na smrt"[419].

Ne samo što su svi svjedoci posljednjih Prustovih dana složni da je on umro maksimalno moguće ravnodušan prema smrti, već i cijelo njegovo djelo govori o postepenom prevazilaženju te strave. Marić zaključuje : "Mi verujemo misticima. Zašto Prust, koji sve to ubedljivije zna da kaže, ne bi bio ubedljiv"[420].

Intelektualizovati stvarnosti, znači produbiti ih, razjasniti, jer „nisu ljudska bića ono što stvarno postoji, i što je, prema tome, podobno da bude izraženo, već su to

[417] Ibid, str. 718
[418] Ibid, str. 719
[419] Ibid, str. 719
[420] Ibid, str. 720

ideje“[421], a onaj kome to uspije, uzdiže se do svoje najviše mogućnosti, do kontemplacije, do umjetničkog izraza, jer samo je umjetničko stvaralaštvo lijek „od neizlečive nesavršenosti sadašnjice“[422], samo ono omogućava da se čovjek oslobodi od vremena, „da se sastane sa samim sobom“, tim izvorom sve istine. A sve što se ranije zbilo, patnje, jadi, neuspjesi i taštine, sve što je Marsel doživio i promašio, sve postaje za pisca dragocjeno blago, jer je život snop utisaka, i mi možemo izvući nekakvu istinu samo iz njih. Ne ide se od umjetnosti u život, već iz života u umjetnost, kako kaže Marić[423].

I tako, prešav od običnog posmatranja svijeta, koje je uvijek površno, u dubine opažanja njegove suštine, pisac najzad nalazi životu smisao i vrijednost, saznaje „istine koje pripadaju nečem stvarnijem od sveta u kome sam živeo, istine koje, jednom stečene, ne mogu mi više biti oduzete“[424]. Stvarnost tako stiče dimenziju koja prevazilazi besmislenost svakidašnjice, a ličnost junaka, koja postaje sve dublja i šira upravo kroz takve interpretacije, uvijek otvorena, pretvara se postepeno od senzibilnog nervčika u mudraca i stvaraoca. Iskustvo života je hranilo djelo; a djelo je bilo sredstvo, instrument sve produhovljenijeg doživljaja. Otud je pisac na kraju života, u neprekidnoj borbi sa smrću, i mogao da poistovjeti časove života sa stranicama knjige koju je pisao. Knjiga mu je postala život, bitnost životne stvarnosti, apsolutno spiritualizovane.

Pisac koji je kroz cijelo djelo insistirao da čovjek valja da „siđe u sebe da bi našao istinu“, da je čovjek „biće koje ne može da iziđe iz sebe“, da on ništa ne spoznaje van vlastitih impresija koje se neprestano mijenjaju, koje čine da od trenutka do trenutka vidimo svijet drugim očima, smatrao je sebe čistim realistom. „Veličina prave umetnosti... sastoji se u tome da se ponovo nađe i shvati... ta stvarnost od koje živimo vrlo udaljeni, od koje se sve više odvajamo ukoliko postaje sve deblje i neprobojnije konvencionalno znanje koje mi stavljamo na njeno mesto, ta stvarnost koja je takva da vrlo lako možemo da umremo a da je ne upoznamo, a koja je, jednostavno rečeno, naš život, život najzad pronađen i osvetljen, život koji smo stvarno i živeli, koji, u izvesnom smislu, obitava svakog trenutka kod svih ljudi, isto kao i kod umetnika. Ali oni ga ne vide, jer ne pokušavaju da ga rasvetle, pa je njihova prošlost prenatrpana bezbrojnim klišeima, koji ostaju beskorisni jer ih inteligencija nije razvila“[425].

To znači da biće može da opstane samo ako pusti korijen duboko ispod površine trenutka, u jednu skriveniju oblast svoga *ja*, koja ima u sebi nečeg stalnog, nečeg što izmiče prolaznosti, nečeg vanvremenskog. „Da bi otkrio suštinu realnosti, čovek treba da se okrene unutrašnjem svetu, svetu svoga duha, i prodre u dubinu sopstvenog bića, u prošlost svoje duše, koja je, po rečima Gastona Bašlara, „jedna

[421] Ibid, str. 722
[422] Ibid, str. 722
[423] Ibid, str. 722
[424] Ibid, str. 723
[425] Ibid, str. 724

duboka voda“, a ne da ostane na njenoj površini izloženoj neprekidnim promenama“, kako zapaža Jelena Novaković[426].

„Oni ga ne vide...“ kaže Prust za život. Osim da se ne desi čudo, a ono se dešava, osim da se ne pojavi umjetnik koji život rasvjetljava, koji zna da nas „nauči da razumemo te zaboravljene mrtvace“, da nam otvori oči da najzad vidimo. On to čini tako što sve te „zaboravljene suštine prevodi na univerzalni jezik umetnosti, jezik postojan, trajan, koji će od onih što više ne postoje učiniti, u njihovoj najistinskijoj suštini, večno dobro za sve duše“[427].

Jer je umjetnost jedina u stanju da probije zid koji svakog od nas odvaja od ostalog svijeta, da prevlada nemogućnost istinskog opštenja, komunikacije između ljudi, koja je Marsela toliko mučila i u ljubavi i u prijateljstvu. Prust zna da kazujući „opšte zakone koji podastiru vlastiti mu život, on kazuje dublju istinu svih života, pomaže nam da „osvetlimo“ vlastitu“[428].

Na to Marić uzvikuje: “Ko bi pametan i pomislio da opovrgava ove njegove možda ne sasvim nove, ali tako originalno u pripovedanje užljebljene ideje. ...Dodajmo samo, za skeptike, da ovde Prust ne pledira za *l'art pour l'art*, već za *l'art pour la vie*.“[429]

3. Zaključak

Svaki čovjek, pa i svaki pisac, ima svoj način dolaženja do svijesti o sebi, do samospoznaje. I svako ima potrebu da o tome posvjedoči na svoj način, nezavisno od svih drugih, i kao da je taj jedinstveni doživljaj i uviđanje samo njegovo. Zato što ono to i jeste. Da nije tako, sve bi bilo rečeno još sa starim Grcima, i svako novo ljudsko iskustvo bi zapravo bilo već negdje zapisano. Tako je Prust do svog spoznanja došao preko „afektivne memorije“, koja se javlja kao uzrok i posljedica te spoznaje. Trenutak u kome se javlja poslužio je samo kao okidač svijesti, njen prvi pokretač. I zato ona ostaje samo Prustova spoznaja, kao što je ekspanzija Paskalova, ili pribiranje Rusoova.

Ako smo u stanju da sagledavamo sopstvene misli, osjećaje i postupke to znači da jesmo svijest koja ih nepristrasno posmatra. Pisanjem, ta svijest sebe zapravo artikuliše na najbolji način, ona postaje ta koja mjesto glumca na sceni ustupa sebi nekadašnjem da bi predstavu posmatrala iza kulisa, kao njen režiser i najbolji poznavalac. Prust više nije marioneta, on je onaj koji povlači konce. Njegova sreća je potpuna zato što ona više ničim ne može biti ugrožena i stoga želi da se izlije i na druge i da se od toga još više širi.

Prust i u smrt odlazi sasvim svjesno, otvorenih očiju, kao Hadrijan*. Zato što je uvjeren da ta svijest koja piše i posmatra ne mre, samo mijenja oblik postojanja. Jer je suština besmrtna kao i život, kao energija, kao svemir.
*Hadrijan – rimski vladar, glavni lik romana Margerit Jursenar „Hadrijanovi memoari"

[426] Novaković, Jelena, *U traganju za jedinstvom*, str. 28
[427] Ibid, str. 724
[428] Ibid, str. 725
[429] Ibid, str. 725

Literatura

Marić, S. (1998) **Ogledi I o književnosti**, Sremski Karlovci, Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića

Marić, S. (1968) **Glasnici apokalipse – Zapisi i eseji**, Nolit: Beograd

Novaković, J. (1995) **U traganju za jedinstvom**, Ogledi iz novije francuske i srpske književnosti, Sremski Karlovci, Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića

Novaković, J. (1996) **Na rubu halucinacija**, Poetika srpskog i francuskog nadrealizma, Beograd: Filološki fakultet

Dimić, I. (1991) **Od Stendala do Beketa**, Ogledi o francuskom romanu, Sremski Karlovci, Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića

Prust, M. (2007) **U traganju za minulim vremenom**, Paideia: Beograd

UDK 821.163.4.09-31

Saša Đorđević

SLUČAJ RIGE VELESTINCA U ROMANU PERE TODOROVIĆA *BEOGRADSKE TAJNE*

Apstrakt: *Rad se bavi interpretacijom modusa kojim je realizovan lik Rige Velestinca u romanu Pere Todorovića* Beogradske tajne*. Pri tom se razmatraju mehanizmi implementacije ovog pripovednog dela u ideološke okvire koji su formirani tokom poslednje dve decenije devetnaestog veka, a vezuju se za lik i delo grčkog patriote. Rad predstavlja pokušaj povezivanja ovog popularnog romana sa generalnim intenziviranjem zainteresovanosti za Rigu Velestinca kao i uopšte za grčku književnost kroz prevode u srpskim književnim časopisima i ostalim serijskim publikacijama.*

Ključne reči: *Riga Velestinac, pseudoistorijski roman, trivijalna književnost, roman u nastavcima, ideologija, recepcija grčke književnosti.*

1. Uvod

Riga se u srpskoj književnosti pojavljuje u nekoliko navrata. Dvaput u kratkoj formi, kod Ive Andrića u namenski sastavljenom eseju „Predaja“ i kod Svetlane Velmar-Janković u pripovetki „Ulica Rige od Fere“ iz zbirke *Dorćol*. Do ovog trenutka, na Rigu u srpskoj poeziji nailazimo samo kod Vojislava Ilića u pesmi „Glasnik slobode“, koja je napisana za vreme njegove „ne-antičke“ faze tokom kratkotrajnog boravka u Solunu. Lik Rige je u ovim delima formiran po modelu koji je dat u (popularno) istorijskim svedočanstvima tog vremena. Bilo da je reč o studiji Dušana Pantelića ili o predavanju Svetomira Nikolajevića o Rigi, da navedemo samo karakteristične primere, Riga se prikazuje verodostojno, kao prosvetitelj i revolucionar.[430] U grčkoj književnosti, a i na Balkanu uopšte, formiranje literarnog lika ovoga Grka ne odstupa od modela martira i sudbinom zacrtanog puta ka stradanju pod beogradskim bedemima. U romanu Pere Todorovića *Beogradske tajne* Rigin lik se pojavljuje u drugačijem svetlu.

2. Riga u Beogradu

Roman *Beogradske tajne* počinje da se objavljuje u nastavcima u tzv. Podlistku *Malih novina*, od 15. marta 1889. godine. Vlasnik i glavni urednik ovog beogradskog dnevnog lista bio je već u tom trenutku P. Todorović, poznat srpskoj javnosti kao

[430] D. Pantelić, “Pogibija Rige od Fere”, *Bratstvo* 25, 1931, 130-174; S. Nikolajević, „Riga od Fere: pesnik i patriota grčki“, *Otadžbina* 1889. O tekstu S. Nikolajevića vidi: E. Dajč, S. Dragović, „Prva naučna studija o Rigi kod Srba“, *Riga od Fere 200 godina*, Beograd 1998, 113-130.

političar, istaknuti novinar, a potom i književnik.[431] Iako se od prvog nastavka čuva anonimnost autora samog dela, osnovano se pretpostavlja da se iza inicijala „K“ koji se pojavljuje u zasebnom izdanju romana iz 1892., krije niko drugi do sâm urednik lista.[432] Izdavački trikovi kojima se Todorović vešto služio kako bi privukao pažnju čitalačke publike takodje su poznati, kao i njegovi pseudonimi, uglavnom italijanskog porekla, kakvim se čine – npr. Kario Amureli i Kardučio Zandareli. Neretko, pletući čitavu mikrobiografiju fiktivnog autora u koju unosi autobiografske elemente, Todorović se distancira od pripovesti koju prezentuje i u isti mah privlači pažnju čitalaca.

Roman *Beogradske tajne* nikada nije dovršen. Todorovićeva početna ideja bila je da napiše delo epskih razmera, istorijski roman u deset knjiga sa prologom, ali od tog ambicioznog pokušaja sačuvana je prva knjiga sa istim naslovom, kao i deo druge knjige pod naslovom *Kočina krajina*. Primoran na improvizaciju, jer je uglavnom sâm pisao sve nastavke, Todorović u beleškama koje su sačuvane otvoreno izražava nezadovoljstvo zbog nedostatka vremena za pisanje romana na način koji je zapravo hteo. Poznavanje i upoznavanje prevashodno sa radom francuskih književnika kao što su Ežen Si i Zola[433], a potom i Balzak i Skot, bilo je korisno Todoroviću za orijentisanje i definisanje sopstvenog stila, u nastojanju da piše za publiku iz svih društvenih slojeva, željnu avanture, ljubavnih i političkih intriga, misterije i ubistava, smeštene u lako prepoznatljiv (pseudo) istorijski okvir. U tim beleškama nalazimo navode i o Ponsonu de Teraju (*Rokambol*), Ksavijeru de Montepenu (*Lov na milione*) i Eženu Siju.[434]

Teme za svoje romane uglavnom je crpeo iz srpske istorije osamnaestog i devetnaestog veka, te se u istorijama književnosti i stručnim monografijama navodi kao pisac istorijskih romana, nezavisno od toga da li ovi romani ispunjavaju kriterijume pravog istorijskog romana ili romana iz bliske prošlosti, koje su sami pisci kao Volter Skot propisali, a kritička misao (Đ. Lukač, H. Baterfild, A. Flajšman) potom sistematizovala.[435] Junaci su uglavnom značajne ličnosti iz srpske istorije, a geografski prostor u kome se naracija odvija jeste obično Beograd i okolina. Već iz naslova prvog prevedenog romana u *Malim novinama*, *Kraljica noći ili lovac na mrtvace u Veneciji: roman iz istorije mletačke republike*, naslućuje se kakva je dela Todorović nameravao da prezentuje svojoj publici. Tako i *Beogradske tajne* nesumnjivo ukazuju na *Pariske tajne* Ežena Sija. Stiče se utisak da socijalno angažovana književnost jeste ono što je Todorović, kao i u mladosti, priželjkivao u svom podlistku pod maskom senzacionalnosti.[436]

---

[431] Za osnovne informacije o Peri Todoroviću i njegovom delu, vidi: V. Ninčić, *Pera Todorović*, Beograd 1956; L. Perović, *Pera Todorović*, Beograd 1981.
[432] *Pera Todorović – Zbornik radova*, Beograd 1999, 405.
[433] Todorović je objavljivao kritike i prevode Zolinih dela u nastavcima: *Čovek zver*, *Male novine*, 1.5.1890.
[434] P. Todorović, *Dnevnik*, Beograd 1990, 64.
[435] J. Deretić, *Srpski roman: 1800-1950*, Beograd 1981, 106-107; Tatjana Jovićević, *Srpski istorijski roman devetnaestog veka*, Beograd 2007, 146-162.
[436] O Eženu Siju i njegovim delima kod Todorovića vidi: V. Ninčić, *Pera Todorović*, 64,92.

U želji da svojoj publici pruži što raznovrsniju ponudu originalnih i prevedenih književnih dela, Todorović je često objavljivao u nastavcima i više romana istovremeno. To je u nekoliko navrata prouzrokovalo nezadovoljstvo čitalaca koji će tražiti da se uredništvo odluči za objavljivanje samo jednog dela u kontinuitetu do završetka. Tako je prednost u odnosu na *Beogradske tajne* dobio roman *Silazak sa prestola*, a odsustvo izdavačkog plana će dovesti do toga da bude objavljeno samo trideset i četiri nastavka romana *Beogradske tajne* tj. početak romana koji se u bitnoj meri razlikuje po pripovednom sledu događaja od zasebnog izdanja.[437] To, međutim, ne znači da ovo delo nije privuklo pažnju čitalaca, što potvrđuje i drugo izdanje prve knjige. Svakako, treba pomenuti odsustvo lika Rige Velestinca u izdanju iz *Malih Novina*, dok se u zasebnoj verziji pojavljuje već na pedesetoj strani. Takođe, u posebnom izdanju je stil ujednačeniji bez brojnih kulminacionih tačaka kojim se odlikuje roman u nastavcima. Iako u svom dnevniku Todorović priznaje da osim jedne jedine početne ideje nije ništa drugo imao na umu pri pisanju *Beogradskih tajni*, ovo delo će nastaviti da okupira njegovu pažnju i dalje.[438] Da roman još uvek nije bio dovršen godinu dana kasnije, svedoči i oglas u *Malim novinama* iz marta 1890. godine o objavljivanju Todorovićevih sabranih dela u kojem se *Beogradske tajne* ne navode. Konačno, *Beogradske tajne: roman iz beogradske prošlosti* (knjiga prva, u celosti) objavljen je 1892. godine u ediciji „Zabavnika Malih Novina“ iz Todorovićeve štamparije „Smiljevo“.

Način na koji su formirani Rigin karakter i ideologija u ovom romanu predstavlja drugačiju koncepciju u odnosu na ostala književna dela koja se bave njegovim životom i delom, pa čak i u odnosu na grčka dela. Prvi grčki roman o Rigi je objavljen samo deset godina pre zasebnog izdanja *Beogradskih tajni*, 1882. godine. Reč je o romanu pod naslovom *Rigini roditelji ili o nacionalnoj naobrazbi*, autora Vlasisa Skordilisa, u kome se opisuje Rigino detinjstvo. Savremena grčka književnost pre svega obiluje pozorišnim interpretacijama i reinterpretacijama. Međutim, nijedna od njih ne pravi značajnu digresiju u odnosu na činjenice koje se navode u istorijski pouzdanim i manje pouzdanim izvorima.[439]

Na početku romana Beogradske tajne kroz „istorijat“ misteriozne Kanli kule na Kalemegdanu, pripovedač spominje i mesto Rigine pogibije:

> *U celom nizu bila je samo još jedna kula, koja bi se po jačini donekle mogla meriti sa ovom, i to je kula Nebojša. Ali i po visini, i po obimu, i po lepoti izrade, Nebojša je kud i kamo zaostajala iza ove kule.*[440]

---

437 Upoređujući poglavlja, primećujemo odstupanja u naslovima, ali i premeštanje određenih epizoda uz Rigino odsustvo iz feljtonskog izdanja.

438 P. Todorović, *Dnevnik*, 169.

439 U prvoj savemenoj monografiji o Rigi, Leandros Vranusis karakteriše izvore starijeg datuma o Rigi “više kao avaturistički romane, nego autentični istorijski document”. Vidi: Λ. Βρανούσης, *Ρήγας Βελεστινλής*, 1957, 63).

440 P. Todorović, *Beogradske tajne*: *knjiga prva*, Beograd 1892, 2.

Ukazivanje i komparacija Nebojšine kule sa misterioznom kulom na Kalemegdanskoj tvrđavi teško da se može smatrati slučajnošću, već bi ovu pojavu trebalo tretirati kao pripremu čitaoca za uvodjenje određene ličnosti u pripovest. Iako bi se moglo reći da Riga ima epizodnu ulogu u romanu (ako uzmemo u obzir ambiciozni Todorovićev plan za deset knjiga), njegova pojava u prvoj knjizi *Beogradskih tajni* je više nego značajna za dalji tok pripovedanja.

Na ideološkom planu, Todorovićeve ideje iz mladosti, kada je intenzivno razmišljao o balkanskom savezu, prevashodno oduševljen ruskom revolucionarnom mišlju, u izvesnoj meri podsećaju na revolucionarni program Rige Velestinca o balkanskoj federaciji. Todorovićev „program“ je u svojoj početnoj fazi pretpostavljao ujedinjenje Grka, Rumuna i Bugara i osnivanje panslovenskog saveza. Izneveren od strane partijskih saboraca, Todorović umalo nije skončao na sličan način kao i Riga. Upravo u podzemnim hodnicima beogradske tvrđave je Todorović čekao izvršenje smrtne presude pre nego što je došlo pomilovanje.

Nostalgičan ton kojim se želi zadovoljiti potreba, očigledno samog autora, da umakne iz mračne sadašnjosti u egzotičnu i pitoresknu prošlost, utire put diskursu koji je blizak romantičarskoj estetici. Međutim, pripovedač odlučno pravi ekskurs iz vremena u kome se naracija odvija i drži čitaoca vezanog za sadašnjost, kako bi kritikovao prilike koje vladaju tog trenutka u društvu:

> *Da li ste kad god hodili po okolini beogradskoj? Da li ste kad god dohodili onom izbrešku kraj Dunava što danas stoji pust, razgolićen i oburvan, i što nosi mračno i nemilo ime Karaburma, a nekada je bio pun zelenila, hladovine i mirisa, pokriven krasnim gustim šumarkom, koji se pružao gore kosom i spajao sa zelenim lugovima, što su sa sviju strana kitili ove sadašnje gole visove oko Beograda [...]*
>
> *Jes tako je nekad izgledalo ovo isto tužno i jadno mesto, ovaj isti izbrežak sa Dunava, koji danas stoji samotan i napušten, i služi kao tačka, na kojoj naše društvo svodi poslednje račune sa svojim odmetnicima: mesto koje danas samim imenom svojim izaziva jezu i mučno osećanje, jer napominje mnoge strašne prizore iz mnogobrojnih streljanja, koja su na njemu izvršena. Ali mi se nećemo doticati žalosne sadašnjosti naše Karaburme, no ćemo se vratiti vremenima kada ona nije bila prokleto mesto za streljanje, već divan, mirisni teferič turske gospoštine.*[441]

Riga se zajedno sa Petrom Mavrogenisom pojavljuje u Beogradu (poglavlje „Misteriozni poslanici“) prerušen u svetogorskog monaha, samo sa jednim ciljem: dogovor sa uticajnim predstavnicima grčke zajednice u Beogradu oko usklađivanja akcija za veliku grčku stvar tj. vaskrsnuće vizantijske carevine iz doba Paleologa. Interesantno je da glavnu reč vodi sâm Mavrogenis, dok je Riga samo nemi posmatrač. Treba primetiti i ulogu srpskog naroda isključivo kao oruđa u materijalizaciji velike grčke ideje, i oštru

---

[441] *Beogradske tajne*, 31-32.

osudu pokušaja Srba za stvaranje sopstvene države. Imajući u vidu da je sam Todorović bio veliki prijatelj (i kum) Svetomira Nikolajevića, koji je u vreme objavljivanja *Beogradskih tajni* održao predavanje o Rigi koje je ubrzo i publikovano u „Malim novinama“[442], nije isključeno da se Todorović upravo pod njegovim uticajem ili pod utiskom izvora i podataka koje mu je Nikolajević pružio na uvid, odlučio na potez da u svom romanu ustupi mesto Grku koji je za Beograd vezan pre svega svojom pogibijom. Sve ukazuje upravo na tu mogućnost. Fizički prikaz grčkog patriote takođe odstupa od istorijski posvedočenog Rige koji se obično poistovećuje sa onim ovaplоćenim u drugim književnim delima. Kod Todorovića, Riga je krhke telesne konstitucije, melanholik sa istaknutom crtom melodramatičnog, reklo bi se zastarelo i prevaziđeno melodramatičnog za vreme u kome je roman napisan. Ipak, sveznajući pripovedač otvoreno iskazuje divljenje prema mladom Grku:

> *„Pametna osoba“, bilo bi prvo što bi neko primetio dok bi posmatrao ovo malo, mršavo lice mladog kaluđera, sa rumenim usnama i čudnovato živahnim očima [...] A ja se bednik još nadam, još živim u carstvu slatkih snova iz prošlosti, još u mrkloj noći ili na jasnoj mesečini priviđam njenu divnu sliku, a u gluho doba noći dopiru do mene zvuci njenog slatkog, anđeoskog glasa, i sve mi se čini da je čujem kako me ona viče, zove me po imenu, traži pomoć od mene, a ja bednik, tako sam nemoćan, tako nemoćan!*[443]

Drugim rečima, Todorović otvara jednu potpuno novu perspektivu u viđenju grčkog nacionalnog heroja koga inače ništa nije moglo ometi u njegovoj životnoj misiji. Sklapa polihromni mozaik u konstruisanju Riginog fikcionalnog životnog puta i delatnosti, inkorporirajući fragmente iz života Riginih saradnika i prijatelja, kao i iz istorijskih (ili pseudoistorijskih kao što je dokazano kasnije) dokumenata. Kao što konstatuje T. Jovićević za neke od Todorovićevih romana, Riga se i u ovom kreće u sferama „istorijski mogućeg“ i „fikcionalno verovatnog“, to jest, u okviru onoga što je „moglo biti“ i što je „istinito po verovanju i pričanju ljudi“.[444] Da navedemo samo neke primere: Rigin boravak na Svetoj Gori koji se u romanu koristi samo kao motiv za prerušavanje Rige i njegovog saputnika da bi im bio odobren ulazak u Beograd – određeni grčki izvori smeštaju Rigu na Svetu Goru pre odlaska u Carigrad; Rigin boravak u Parizu - kao što je poznato Riga nikada nije boravio u Parizu, ali je boravio Jovan Mavrogenis, rođak Petra Mavrogenisa tokom svoje kampanje za podršku evropskih naroda Grčkoj u podizanju ustanka; Rigin boravak na Krfu - na Krf je umakao Hristofor Perevos, Rigin saradnik i saputnik iz Beča. Njegovu monografiju o Rigi punu izmišljenih podataka je koristio i

[442] Takodje, u istom periodu je objavljena u *Malim novinama* Rigina bio-ergografija u nastavcima, a pomno je ispraćen u listu i rad komisije formirane za prikupljanje donacija za podizanje spomenika u čast Rigi. Prvi sastanak ove komisije je održan upravo u Todorovićevoj kući.
[443] *Beogradske tajne*, 57, 98.
[444] T. Jovićević, „Ka modernosti istorijskog romana: istorija i paraistorija, ideologija i fikcija, priča i pripovedač u prozi Pere Todorovića“ u *Srpski istorijski roman XIX veka*, Beograd 2007, str. 153.

Svetomir Nikolajević u svojoj studiji. To su samo neki od elemenata koje, čini se, Todorović koristi, u svojim „literarnim prisećanjima“, kako ih je sam nazivao, da bi „popunio“ i „nadogradio“ praznine u tada dostupnim istorijskim izvorima.

Ideološki, Riga ne eksplicira svoje „prave“ misli u ovom romanu. To rade likovi koji su u njegovoj blizini, kako smo primetili ranije, dok on sâm zapada u nevolje drugačije (sentimentalne) prirode, kojima se u ostalim književnim interpretacijama hladnokrvno odupire, posvećen izvršenju svete dužnosti. Na prvom mestu, Petros Mavrogenis, a odmah potom i Rigin smrtni neprijatelj u romanu na profesionalnom (revolucionarno-agitatorskom) i na privatnom planu, Serd. Ova fiktivna ličnost preuzima od Rige ulogu idejnog vođe svebalkanskog pokreta i tajnog udruženja „Noćna braća“ po uzoru na „Društvo prijatelja“ (Filiki heterija) koje radi na ujedinjenju balkanskih naroda protiv Turaka.[445] Na privatnom planu, ljubomora prema Serdu zbog mlade Marijole će umalo koštati Rigu života, a i družinu koju je prvobitno nameravao da spase iz kalemegdanskih laguma, uključujući i samog Serda. Moralna, samim tim i ideološka degradacija inicirana zavišću prema Serdu kao superiornijoj ličnosti, vizionaru i spasitelju Balkana, dovešće Grka u stanje psihičkog rastrojstva i umalo prouzrokovati smrt svih prisutnih.

U kreiranju psihološkog profila mladog Grka, koje će rezultirati kulminacijom negativnih osećanja i destruktivnih intencija, Todorović odstupa od tipiziranih likova karakterističnih za trivijalne romane. Iako ogoljen od svojih glavnih osobina kao istorijske ličnosti odaje utisak da bi se na njegovom mestu mogla naći bilo koja druga osoba, Riga kao literarni karakter nije lišen svoje psihološke dimenzije i dubine. Tome u prilog ide i scena koju će Riga projektovati oboren groznicom i aktivirati seriju kratkih i dinamičnih retrospektivnih epizoda, kroz čije smenjivanje se Serd pojavljuje istovremeno kao njegov spasitelj i krvnik. Riga, zatočen između jave i sna, sedi na obali i posmatra more:

> *Na jedared, na sred one glatke i sjajne površine poče voda nemirno vriti i ključati i penušiti se, kao da je odozdo negde na mah podložena najjača vatra [...] Dok je on, tako začuđen, nagađao, na jedared ona usključala voda poče se dimiti i sve više ključati i dizati se, dok najzad ne naraste u visinu za čitava dva tri hvata. Tada se ceo taj paroviti i magloviti stub na jedared krete i neobičnom brzinom polete pravo obali, prema njemu Rigi, a u isti mah začu se i neko neobično šuštanje. Riga sad s nemim užasom primeti da se u tom zapenušenom stubu kovitla i neko živo žensko stvorenje. Raspletene kose, naga tela, dugih u vis podignutih ruku, to je čudno stvorenje ličilo pola na furiju, pola na morsku nimfu koja se iz pene rađa...*[446]

[445] Tajno udruženje „Noćna braća“ u romanu hronološki prethodi formiranju „Filiki Heterije“, a u velikoj meri podseća na tektonske organizacije iz devetnaestog veka. Jednoj takvoj organizaciji pripadao je i Svetomir Nikolajević, dok je P. Todorović odbio članstvo. I Riga je, kako se navodi u nekim izvorima, bio vođa jedne takve organizacije. Vidi: Γ. Κορδάτος, «Η μυστική εταιρεία και το τραγικό τέλος του Ρήγα» u *Ιστορία της νεότερης Ελλάδας*, τ. 9, Αθήνα 1957, 338-368.

[446] *Beogradske tajne*, 372-373.

Ova slika oniričkog karaktera, obojena mitološkim prikazom Furije – otelovljene Marijole u plamenom stubu „nasilne vode“[447] predstavlja prelomni trenutak za Riginu psihu i odvlači ga u kratkotrajno ludilo, a ostale aktere dovodi u životnu opasnost.[448] U bunilu, nošen osećajem krivice i nesposoban da u datom trenutku razdvoji dobro od zla, on će dići u vazduh glavni podzemni hodnik i jedini put ka spasenju kako bi ih sahranio žive u kalemegdanskom podzemlju. S druge strane, brzopleto iskonstruisan svršetak prve knjige, u kome i Riga i Serd bivaju izbavljeni i pušteni na slobodu u zamenu za nesebično žrtvovanje Marijole, samog objekta njihove požude, još jednom potvrđuje improvizaciju kojoj je Todorović izgleda bio primoran pribeći, a koja bi možda našla opravdanje u ostalim tomovima romana *Beogradske tajne* koji nikada nisu napisani.

3. Zaključak

Riga se pojavljuje u romanu *Beogradske tajne* u trenutku kada su njegove ideje aktuelne, ali politički trivijalizovane.[449] Na, za Todorovića, karakterističan način, reklo bi se da je reč o romanesknom prikazu „zloupotrebljavanja“ jednog ideološkog modela kroz lik i delo grčkog revolucionara. Uspon panslavističkog pokreta i negativan, ili tačnije neutralan stav grčke države prema sukobu Srbije i Turske usled jačanja panslavizma, dovešće i do isprazne političke retorike u odnosima dveju država. Kako je primetio grčki istoričar Vasilis Gunaris, „tragičnost grčko-srpskih odnosa u tom periodu se krije upravo u činjenici da konkretni diplomatski potezi nisu išli dalje od prijateljskih zdravica i pozivanja na nesrećno nastradalog Rigu“.[450]

Todorovićeva literarna interpretacija Riginog lika je verovatno u ovom trenutku jedina poznata koja u tolikoj meri zauzima mesto u jednom romanu iz devetnaestog (a i dvadesetog) veka u književnostima balkanskih naroda, makar bila reč i o trivijalnom žanru. Bila to slučajnost ili ne, Rigin lik se savršeno uklapa u period intenziviranja zainteresovanosti za grčku književnost, što potvrđuju i mnogobrojni prevodi iz grčke književnosti u poslednjoj deceniji devetnaestog veka. Istovremeno, postavlja se zahtev za preispitivanje određenih konstatacija koje se tiču recepcije grčke književnosti u Srbiji.[451]

---

[447] Γ. Μπασελάρ, *Η ποιητική του νερού*, Αθήνα, 57.

[448] O fantazmagoričnim vizijama i značaju snovne fantastike u romanima P. Todorovića, vidi: T. Jovićević, nav. tekst, 149,151-152.

[449] Najkarakterističniji grčki primer ove trivijalizacije u istom periodu predstavlja „reinkarnirani Riga“, grčki revolucionar Leonida Vulgaris. Vidi: E. Skopetea, „Grčka i saradnja na Balkanu (1875-1878)“, *Istorijski časopis* 28 (1981), 89-104., i Ζ. Ν. Τσιρπανλής, «Οι Έλληνες και η επανάσταση του 1875 στη Βοσνία και στην Ερζεγοβίνη, [izlaganje na Međunarodnoj konferenciji povodom stogodišnjice od izbijanja ustanka u Bosni 1875-1878], Sarajevo, 1975.

[450] Β. Κ. Γούναρης, *Τα Βαλκάνια των Ελλήνων*, Αθήνα 2007, 327.

[451] Preovladava mišljenje da su odlučujuću ulogu u prevodjenju grčkih dela u Srbiji odigrale diplomate svojim „rđavim“ izborom (S. Slapšak, *Svi Grci nazad*, 6-7), te da su srpskoj javnosti ostala nepoznata mnoga značajna prozna, a naročito dramska dela iz devetnaestog veka (K. M. Gađanski, *Neutaživa žeđ sećanja*, Beograd 2009, str. 55. Na osnovu kratkog istraživanja po srpskim bibliotekama došli smo do skoro potpuno oprečnih rezultata. Neke od najznačajnijih drama iz

Literatura

Γούναρης, Β. (2007) **Τα Βαλκάνια των Ελλήνων**, Αθήνα.

Βουρνάς, Τ. (1956) **Ο πολίτης Ρήγας Βελεστινλής : μια βιογραφία του γραμμένη σα μυθιστόρημα, αφιερωμένη στα διακόσια χρόνια από τη γέννηση του (1757-1957)**, Αθήνα

Deretić, J. (1981) **Srpski roman: 1800-1950**, Beograd: Nolit

Đorđević, V. (1923) **Srbija i Grčka: 1891-1893**, Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija nauka i umetnosti

Jovićević, T. (2007) **Srpski istorijski roman XIX veka**, Beograd: Društvo za srpski jezik i književnost Srbije

Καλαποθάκης, Δ. Ο. (1886) **Ρήγας Φερραίος : Δράμα εις πράξεις πέντε**, Αθήνα

Λάππας, Τ. (1998) **Ρήγας Βελεστινλής**, Αθήνα

Λουκάς, Ι. (1991) **Ιστορία της ελληνικής μασονίας και ελληνική ιστορία**, Αθήνα

Μπασελάρ, Γ. (1985) **Το Νερό και τα Όνειρα: δοκίμια πάνω στη φαντασία της ύλης**, Αθήνα

Μπομπότη Ο. Δ. (2006) **Βελεστινλής ο επαναστάτης: θεατρικό έργο**, Αθήνα

Ninčić, V. (1956) **Pera Todorović**, Beograd: Nolit

Παπαδριανός, Ι. Α. (1996) **Η Ελληνική παλιγγενεσία του 1821 και η βαλκανική της διάσταση**, Κομοτηνή

Πασαγιάνης, Κ. (1927) **Ο Ρήγας,** *Γενική Στρατιωτική Επιθεώρησις*, Αθήνα

Slapšak, S. (1985) **Svi Grci nazad! Eseji o helenizmu u novijoj srpskoj književnosti**, Novi Beograd: Istraživačko-izdavački centar SSO Srbije

Todorović, M. (1994) **Život i delo Pere Todorovića**, Smederevska Palanka: Đurđevdan

Todorović, P. (1892) **Beogradske tajne: knjiga prva**, Beograd: Smiljevo.

Todorović, P. (1986) **Izabrani spisi**, Beograd: Rad.

Todorović Pera: Zbornik radova (1999), Beograd: Institut za književnost i umetnost

Trivijalna književnost: zbornik radova (1987), Beograd: Studentski izdavački centar,

Χρυσούλης, Τ. (1999) **Ρήγας Βελεστινλής-Φεραίος**, Αθήνα-Γιάννενα

---

perioda grčkog romantizma, kao i (etografske) pripovetke iz poslednje decenije devetnaestog veka su prevedene na srpski u tom istom periodu, preko deset samo u poslednjoj deceniji. Pomenućemo samo neke od naslova, značajnih za istoriju savremene grčke književnosti i razvoj grčkog pozorišta: Spiridon Vasilijadis, *Galateja*, Pančevo 1889; Dimitrije Vernardakis, „Meropa“, *Otadžbina* 31 (1889), 482-528; Andreas Karkavicas, „Nesrećna majka“, *Sveti Sava: narodni kalendar* (1896), 54-64.

UDK 821.111(73).09Šepard S.

Vesna Bratić
Savo Kostić

DISINHERITING, DEPRIVATION, DENIAL AND DECONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY IN SAM SHEPARD: STATE(S) OF SHOCK

Abstract: *Identity is one of the recurring themes when it comes to Sam Shepard's plays, identity which seems to be floating, unstable or as David J. DeRose would put it "unfixed". Namely, Shepard's plays are difficult to categorize, but they certainly do "blend images of the Old West, fascination with pop culture - rock and roll, drugs and television - and bizarre family problems." The one-act play States of Shock subtitled " a vaudeville nightmare" is only partially Shepardesque. Some critics argue that anyone could have written it and some even go so far as to claim that if it had not been for the fact that a Hollywood celebrity wrote it, the play would not have been staged at all. Our intention, here, is to challenge the above mentioned (re)view and offer a different perspective or at least a possibility of one.*

Key words: *identity, America(ness), fatherhood, military, disinheriting*

1. Introduction

As the very title of our paper suggests identity is one of the key issues in Shepard's play. Here are some dictionary entries:

identity (plural identities) –

- *The sameness some individuals share to make up the same kind or universal.*
- *The difference or character that differentiates an individual from the rest of the same kind.*
- *A name or persona—the mask or appearance one presents to the world—by which one is known.*

One of the dictionaries states:

"*you can lose your identity when you join the army*",
(*wordnet.princeton.edu/perl/webwn*)

So, you are in a "Double Jeopardy — Identity Theft and the Military"

The above is the title of an article we found on the website with an eye-catching name www.farmersidentityshield.com. The date is August 2005 and the content explains how to deal with a popular danger of identity theft. This may serve as an interesting illustration of the sort of *identity* we had in mind:

> "*Between the physical dangers and the emotional strains of wartime deployment, American military personnel don't need another reason to worry. Unfortunately, our fighting men and women are at high risk for a sneak attack of another sort: identity theft*."

This can be a proper beginning of any newspaper article which attempts to draw attention with its "dramatic" tone. The words and phrases such as *emotional strains*, *sneak attack* and *identity theft* almost echo a kind of *existential fear*, although admittedly somewhat artificial.

If the key words are identity and military, the phrase "identity theft" appears to be more than adequate to describe a crime committed in the play: a young man is being robbed of his identity and stripped off everything he used to believe in. Name, Hope and Future have been all taken from him in addition to the loss of certain physical attributes he temporarily lost after being wounded in a battle. The shameful robbery has been committed by his own Father.

2. In the Name of the Father(s)

This brings to light another issue, one of Shepard's (unending) concerns - **fatherhood**. The Old Man, the Father, the Patriarch of the family seems always to be wrong somehow. He is always the person with the shortest fuse in the family, pompous and violent but bottom-line weak and ineffective. Shepard does not conceal the fact the father characters in his plays, and the military father of *The States of Shock* among them, were strongly influenced by his own parent's personality. Thanks to him, Shepard is able to say:

> "*I understand the military mentality implicitly. It absolutely believes in violence and exists in order to enforce its will*."

The Colonel personifies this mentality in the play:

> *COLONEL: "I was born in isolation…Aggression is the only answer. A man needs a good hobby. Something to sink his teeth into."*
> *COLONEL: "All those horrible days without the enemy. Longing out the window, staring at the stupid boredom of peacetime. The dullness of it. The idiot deadness in everyone's eyes …Knowing full well that the enemy has the same hunger for me as I for him. Never doubting for a second that he would*

reemerge. He would reemerge because I commanded it." (States of Shock, p. 143)

The "story" begins with (a)…

> *"Bare stage. Cyclorama upstage covering entire wall and into ceiling. Simple café table and two chairs upstage right…The white man and white woman seated in the two chairs facing each other. Spouses. Very expensive outfits, reminiscent of West Palm Beach. The faces and hands white and pallid as cadavers. In the darkness, the sounds of two live percussionists situated behind the cyclorama, extreme right and left, opposite each other…The cyclorama is lit up with tracer fire, rockets, explosions in the night. The white couple sits still as if frozen in time…"* (States of Shock, p. 143)

From stage left enters the Colonel, dressed in a strange ensemble of military uniforms and paraphernalia with no apparent rhyme and reason, the strangest of all a Civil War saber hanging from his waist. He is pushing Stubbs (a very young man) in a wheelchair covered with a small American flag and different kinds of good-luck charms flapping and dangling from the back of the seat and armrests. The young man is dressed in black, a silver whistle hanging around his neck by a red string.

Except for Glory Bee, the waitress, no more characters are introduced in the story and as it unfolds we get to know that Stubbs is a wounded soldier who:

> *"suffered a kind of disruption. Temporary kind of thing, they say. Takes some time to unscramble".* (States of Shock, p. 144)

In short, precise, military style sentences we are informed right at the beginning "what it was":

> *"Short smack through the chest…Took a direct hit from a ninety millimeter. Went straight through him. Killed my son who, unfortunately, was standing right behind him. Killed him dead. Stubbs is the lucky one."* (States of Shock, p. 145)

The Colonel seems to have taken care of the injured soldier, his son's "lucky" comrade and is nursing him in the hospital. The day of their visit to a small family restaurant is the anniversary of the Colonel's son's death and the Colonel is determined to finally reconstruct the unfortunate event. Stubbs, on the other hand, does not seem to have fully recovered and is most of the time unconcerned and detached. He stubbornly refuses to help the eager Colonel reconstruct his son's death and keeps talking about the way he himself was injured. Stubbs is unconcerned about what is going on around him and deeply immersed in the past, but not in the way the Colonel wants him to be.

The Colonel wants a precise account, because he is "trying to figure out…the exact configuration. The positions of each element. He is assured that "a catastrophe has to be examined from every possible angle. It has to be studied coldly, from the outside, without investing a lot of stupid emotion". Still, all he gets is a tragic, poetic account of Stubbs's encounter with death. No configuration, no precision, no cold perspective and a lot of "stupid emotion" invested. As a refrain, the anaphoric time clause stubbornly shifts the emotional emphasis of the scene from the Colonel pompous and empty "we" to Stubbs's "I", from the false collectiveness to the true perspective of the affected individual, from a national invincible identity to an individual, vulnerable self.

3. In the Name of the Son(s)

Shepard makes use of monologues - long ones with a poetic touch to them. Some critics noticed they were written in a fashion reminiscent of Biblical psalms. They usually evoke a powerful image.

"*when I was hit – It went straight through me. Out the other side. Someone was killed. But it wasn't me. I'm not the one. I'm the lucky one."*

- *"When I was hit – I never saw it coming. I never heard a sound. The sky went white.*
- *"When I was hit –The lights went out…It's been dark ever since.*
- *"When I was hit I could no longer get my thing up. It just hangs there now. Like dead meat. Like road kill.*
- *When I was hit…*
- *When I was hit there was no sound.*
- *I was hit in silence.* (States of Shock, pp. 156-158)

Stubbs's monologues reveal resignation and disappointment, but there is no bitterness in his words. When addressing the white couple Stubbs displays his emotional, mental and physical *impotence.* The softball size wound on his chest which he keeps showing to the audience/both onstage and offstage audience/is a physical representation of the spiritual mutilation and a tragic reminder of the role of the American public/ onstage and offstage, again/ in his misfortunes.

"the middle of me is all dead. The core. I am eighty percent mutilated. The part of me that goes on living has no memory of the parts that are all dead. They've been separated for all time. They'll never have a partner. You're lucky to have a partner." (States of Shock, p. 152)

As a matter of fact, no one in the play seems to have a real partner, Stubbs and his father, White Man and White Woman cannot be more separated from each other than they already are, for all the blood and marital ties that bind them together.

The characters in the play are painfully detached from the rest of the world and are in that respect reminiscent of the contemporary American society where different groups are separated as if by a thick invisible wall. There is no wall between Stubbs and Colonel and the white couple, still they ignore each other as long as they can. The image carries a strong, but predictable message. The white couple might be seen as the high-class America concerned only about getting their clam chowder on time, and the disabled soldier is merely an obstacle in their eyes. The clam chowder could potentially be replaced with whatever the rich white America might want at a specific time.

The white couple is upset by Stubbs's physical presence, not out of compassion - to them Stubbs is just a sore spot on the face of Earth – they *refuse* to see him. They refuse to acknowledge the existence of a young, mutilated boy who disturbs the perfect silence of a family restaurant both with the shrill sound of his whistle and the sound of his voice while uttering unpleasant, obscene words:

"MY THING HANGS LIKE DEAD MEAT!"
"WITHOUT THE ENEMY WE'RE NOTHIN"
"THE ENEMY HAS BROUGHT US TOGETHER!"

The couple is concerned only with the apparent peacefulness of their domestic lives mirroring the shabbiness of the American dream:

"We're trying to have a peaceful time here, if you don't mind." (States of Shock, p. 155)

They've been waiting three quarters of an hour for the long overdue clam chowder and it is the only matter of their concern. Isolated, even their words of ultimate detachment are remotely evoking of a sort of hermetic poetry. The symbolic denotation of the sentences can be traced through various landscapes of the American psyche.

"We've been here longer than them, haven't we?"
"We've been here forever." (States of Shock, p. 155)

4. The Enemy has Brought them Together

As the play unfolds the symbols and "targets" seem to become too easy to recognize, which to a certain extent occasionally profanes the gentle poetry of Stubbs's monologues.

Stubbs: *"I was here. Facing the green sea. I was smelling it. Through the smoke. It didn't smell American to me. It smelled like a foreign sea. The birds were not American birds. I wanted to have a feeling for home but nothing called me back. I wanted to have a memory. I prayed for a memory. But nothing came but smoke and the smell of dead fish."*

Stubbs (facing the audience): *"I couldn't remember the faces – the voices – of the ones. I wanted to see them but their faces never came to me. Never came back."*
"America had disappeared." (States of Shock, p. 158)

The simple three word sentence consisting of only a subject and a predicate becomes a trigger of paternal violence, first verbal then physical. Strong-willed, determined and realistic as the Colonel appears to be, he still cannot help revealing deep inner traumas of a broken man under his mocking outfit.

For all he tries, he does not succeed in remaining cold and objective and does not preserve the air of dignity he desperately strives to display. Stubbs's non-cooperation infuriates him to that extent that at one point in the play he severely beats the poor boy. The abuse of the disabled both claims and confirms the Colonel paternal rights over him and reinforces the image of the Fathers' of the Nation's cruel treatment of their sons/people. The ineffectuality and impotence of the American public is reflected through the reaction of the White couple. The white woman is encouraging the Colonel to spank the young man and her spouse is masturbating. This is the reaction of an alienated, self-sufficient individual not in need of a partner of any kind, even for reaching a sexual climax.

Words appear to be weapons almost as powerful as the missile that killed the Colonel's son. The hollow-sounding vocabulary of national superiority is the Colonel's only refuge, war the only justification for his very existence. Without the war the Colonel has to face his own lies, insecurity, guilt, broken family, and mutilated son. The enemy appears to be the only bearable reality because its existence confirms his own existence and the urge to react immediately prevents him from the horrors of contemplation which might awake the numb consciousness.

So, long live the Enemy who defines the American reality.
"THE ENEMY HAS BROUGHT US TOGETHER!"

The hollow phrases of supremacy resound even emptier in the family diner somewhere in America when uttered by an aged father denying his own flesh and blood over a melting banana split and toy soldiers scattered all around:

***Colonel**: "That's a blasphemous thing to say! It's a disgrace to the memory of my son!... the principles are enduring...The effects are international! Universal!"*

***Colonel**: "Good. That's good. As long as we can always come back to our senses. That's the important thing. It's a blessing, Stubbs. It's a gift. An American virtue. As far out on a limb as circumstances might shove us we always have that possibility of returning to our common senses. Our fairness. Even in the midst of the most horrible devastation. Under the most terrible kind of duress. Torture. Barbarism of all sorts. Starvation. Chemical warfare. Public hangings. Mutilation of children. Raping of mothers. Raping of daughters. Raping of brothers and fathers. Execution of entire families. Entire generation of families. Amputation of private organs. Decapitation. Disembowlement. Dismemeberment. Disinturment. Eradiction of wildlife. You name it. We can't forget that we were generated from the bravest stock. The pioneer. The Mountain Man. The plainsman. The Texas ranger. The lone ranger. My son. These have not died in vain. These ones have not left us to wallow in various states of insanity and self-abuse. We have a legacy to continue, Stubbs. It's up to us. No one else is going to do it for us"* (States of Shock, p. 162)

It is not until we almost reach the end of the play that we get the impression that the unnamed war is actually taking place on the American ground. Some time after the Colonel's climatic spanking of Stubbs it dawns on us that there is a war in the American backyard. (It sounded improbable back then in 1991 and that is the reason for some of those unfavorable reviews, but after 9/11 the whole story has been viewed through different lenses.

The improbability of the whole situation echoes through Glory Bee's words:

***Glory Bee**: "The thing I can't get over is, it never occurred to me that "Danny's" could be invaded. I always thought we were invulnerable to attack. The landscaping. The lighting. The parking lot. All the pretty bushes. Who could touch us? Who would dare?"* (States of Shock, p. 178)

The Colonel seems to be waking from a dream and coming back to his senses and reality at the same time. He is neither pompous nor self-confident any more. He is panicking. Looking for Stubbs's pill. His words lead us to a shocking discovery that there is such a thing as a *curfew*. The war is being waged at home.

Stubbs is coming back to his senses, too, and begins to *remember*. But the Colonel is the one suffering a disruption now, the roles have been reversed, he is disoriented, afraid, lost. Stubbs's monologue is poetic again but it finally gives us the full account of what was going on.

***Stubbs**: "It's very clear what happened. We were back to back. Like this. (He moves toys). Exactly like this.*
Caught in a cross fire.
I could feel his spine trembling on my spine. There was nothing we could do about fear. We couldn't bargain with fear. We couldn't talk ourselves out of it. Neither one of us knew how to pray. We had no idea who God was. Who was God?
It was friendly fire that took us out. That's what it was. You could see it heading with us from the mountain, not the sea. It was coming straight at us.
It was friendly fire. It smiled in my face. I could see its teeth when it hit us. I could see its tongue."
Stubbs: *"There was a face on the nose of the missile. They'd painted a face. You could see it coming. A lizard with smiling teeth. A friendly lizard. It was seeking us out. Hunting our warm bodies. It was glad it found us. You could tell. It was happy to receive us. It could care less who we were, but happy we were human. Happy we weren't just a concrete bunker or another stupid building. Overjoyed that we had skin and blood. We opened our arms to it. We couldn't resist its embrace. We were lovers when it hit us. We were in heaven."* (States of Shock, p. 170)

5. The Awakening – Good Morning America

After the "awakening" on both sides, the Colonel slips into madness, again. He gives a short lesson to the waitress on how to carry the tray properly and the two are caught in a strange dance around the stage and only minutes after the Colonel claims he is in love. Stubbs disapproves and the story of rejection and denial repeats itself.

In a nightmarish twist Stubbs is experiencing another rejection. This time he is rejected for his sexual impotence and is being replaced by his father first as Glory Bee's potential lover and future husband and then by their sons. (The colonel is visualizing their future life as Mr and Mrs Domingo Chalupas, living in Mexico, beginning *"to spawn children. All boys! Each of them physically perfect in their own way. Each of them beyond reproach."* (States of Shock, p. 173)

Stubbs keeps questioning the Colonel if he will try to forget him, to wipe him out, to erase him completely:

S:"You'll miss the enemy."

C: "I'll make a new one. I am very adaptable." (States of Shock, p. 174)

Stubbs lists possible reasons for abandoning: first helplessness, then impotence and as the sad little last-ditch attempt he tries to stand and keep balance on his wobbly legs. The colonel still refuses to "adopt" Stubbs and Stubbs joins the game by starting to speak of the Colonel's son in the third person. We witness another violation of Stubbs as he is forced to distance from his very self and watch his own past actions as someone else's in order to draw his abusive and negligent father's attention:

> *"Your son. Your son. I remember him running. Crazy. Running toward the beach. Throwing the rifle in the green sea. Throwing his arms to the sky. Running to the mountain. Back to the beach. Screaming. I remember his eyes.*
>
> *I remember him falling. Picking him up. Dragging him down the beach. Screaming his head off. Carrying him on my back.*
> *He kept speaking your name in my ear. Whispering it. Chanting your name like a prayer. Calling to you as though you might appear out of nowhere.*
> *As though you might suddenly appear and save him. Transport him back across the green sea. Sweep him up in your arms and take him safely back home."* (States of Shock, p. 175)

After what is called "a desperate show of independence" on Stubbs's part by the Colonel, the young man recounts his comrades' and his own image of home i.e. America on which they are taught to concentrate when faced with adversity.

> ***Stubbs**: "Keep thinking of home. That's the way to pull through this. Fix a picture in your mind. A backyard. A treehouse. A better time. Truman, maybe. "Straight-talkin' Harry". Think of station wagons! County fairs! Ferris Wheels! Think of canned goods and cotton candy! Home Economics! Production lines! The Great Northern railroad! Think of what we've achieved! The "Trail of tears"! The Mississippi! Samuel Clemens! Little Richard! The Dust Bowl! The Gold Rush! The Natchez Trace! It's endless! A River of Victory in all directions! Flooding the plains! Hold to an image! Lock onto a picture of glorious, unending expansion! DON'T LET YOURSELF SLIP INTO DOUBT! Don't let it happen! You'll b swallowed whole!*
> *Lock onto an image or you'll be blown to KINGDOM COME!"* (States of Shock, p. 176)

Stubbs seems to have fully recovered his memory only to remember that his father robbed him of his name, his background, his past and thus his very identity. The father is *guilty of identity theft*.

> ***Stubbs**: "I remember the moment you forsook me. The moment you gave me up.*
> *The moment you invented my death. When you threw me away.*
> *When you left me it went straight through me and out the other side. It left a hole I can never fill."* (States of Shock, p. 177)

The reasons for disinheriting on the Father's part are not pardonable but are comprehensible once his “frame of reference” has been established. The nation is victorious, invincible – the sons are either to be sacrificed, dead and heroic or alive and heroic. There is no third option, no “scrambled“, disoriented, mutilated sons to be back home. Everyone is to fit the frames neatly and orderly. Stubbs slips out of the frame, both literally and metaphorically. He slips into doubt as well, and sins against the holy military commandment: DO NOT SLIP INTO DOUBT! He, still, asks for no pardon and instead of “Pardon me, Father, for I have sinned” utters the words of obscenity and horror at the same time: “*My thing hangs like dead meat!”*

Still, instead of questioning his ideals of the perfect State the Colonel questions and re-establishes his son’s submission:

> *“If you could show me some sign of total, absolute, unconditional submission – then I might – I just might consider – adopting you…But only if you swear on a stack of Bibles to submit!”* (States of Shock, p. 180)

The disinherited son claims his right over Truth and Past reconstructing the shattered identity. He remembers and links the Past and the Present, both personal and collective, individual and archetypal. A Freudian story echoes, possibly too blatantly, in Stubbs’s monologue:

> *“Your face of pure guilt. Squirming. Nothing to be done about that. No way of tracing it. Tracking it down. No way of knowing the original moment. Abraham, maybe. Maybe, Abraham. Judas. Eve. Maybe her. No way of knowing for sure. Best way is to kill all the sons. Wipe them of the face of the earth. Bleed them of all their blood. Let it poor down into the soil. Let it fill every river. Every hole in this earth. Let it pour through every valley. Flood every town. Let us drown and drink it. Let us go screaming in the blood of our sons.”* (States of Shock, p. 182)

The play ends with Stubbs on his knees struggling to stand up and the Colonel in Stubbs’s wheelchair. The Colonel’s final monologue consists of short sentences, mostly questions directed to Stubbs asking for approval, help and support in the final encounter with the enemy. The idea of possible adoption and the simultaneous re-construction of the Son’s identity through a heroic, “back to back” resistance to the Enemy is “within the realm of possibility”.

6. Conclusion

A vaudeville is not meant to offer a catharsis, a nightmare even less so. Still there is almost no part of the American psyche missing from the vaudeville nightmare: poignant humour, piercing sarcasm, serious political accusations, family martyrdom, individual and collective guilt, emotional and physical impotence projected onto sexual dysfunction, racism and sexism.

These are all pieces of the jigsaw *American Identity* which proves no less floating and unfixed than the identities of Shepard's individual characters explored in his other, more successful and better known plays. De-construction of the national Identity reveals a hidden danger of a deep void in the very core of it and the Colonel's words: *"The Enemy has brought us together"* resound menacingly both onstage and offstage.

References

Shepard, Sam (1996) "***States of Shock*" in Plays: 3**, London: Methuen Drama

Rosen, Carol (2004) **Sam Shepard: "A Poetic Rodeo**", New York: Palgrave Modern Dramatists, Palgrave Macmillan

Cohn Ruby (1982) **New American Dramatists: 1960-1980,** New York: Growe Press

C. W. E. Bigsby (ed.)(2000) **Modern American Drama, 1945-2000**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

DeRose, David (1992) **Sam Shepard, New York**: Twayne Publishers

David Savran (1998) **Taking It Like a Man – White Masculinity, Masochism, and Contemporary American Culture**, New Yersey: Princeton University Press

Konstantinos Blatanis (2003) **Popular Culture in Contemporary American Drama**, London: Associated University Press

UDK 821.163.4(71).09

Vesna Lopičić

THE BITTERNESS OF THE PROMISED LAND: CULTURAL CONTACTS AS SEEN BY MILOSAVLJEVIĆ

Abstract: *A diaspora of any ethnic origin is that part of the host country population that has first-hand experience of the cultures in contact. Apart from exiles and asylants, immigrants have the freedom to choose the destination country that is expected to meet their private reasons for immigration and expectations regarding the standard of living. In that sense, Canada has been one of the most desirable targets for many people who wanted to leave their homelands in search of better life. Their immigrant experience is usually left unrecorded, but when it takes the written form, it is more often than not bitter-sweet or even entirely bitter which surprisingly goes for Canada as well. The title of the collection of short stories by Nebojša Milosavljević, "Ouch, Canada," is a variation on the title (and the theme) of the Canadian national anthem, Oh, Canada. This intervention is suggestive of the author's own ambivalence concerning his new homeland, shared by many who have to negotiate the relationship between two cultures. This presentation aims at looking into the most painful issues in the life of an immigrant as represented by Milosavljević.*

Key Words: *homeland, culture, diaspora, literature, contacts, language, identity*

1. Introduction

The official site of the Canadian Government offers a presentation "Multicultural Canada" which includes an extensive item on Serbs in Canada. One can find there a brief history of the origin of the Serbian ethnicity, of their arrival, settlement, and economic life in Canada starting with 1850s, a history of the Orthodox Church, and a description of their community life and culture. The facts are compiled by historian Paul Pavlovich who completes the picture of Serbian migration to Canada by referring to the last wave after the civil wars in the Former Yugoslavia:

> *By the end of 1992, most of former Yugoslavia was plunged into a brutal war in which eventually an estimated two million people were forced to leave their homes. Among the displaced and homeless were hundreds of thousands of Serbs from Bosnia and Croatia (especially Krajina), many of whom sought refuge by emigrating abroad. Following the intervention of an American-led international military force, a tentative peace was brought to the region by late 1995. As a result, the Serbian homeland is no longer encompassed by the boundaries of one*

state, but rather three: a substantially reduced Yugoslavia (consisting of only the republics of Serbia and Montenegro), Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia (Pavlovich, 2006).

Besides the political change happening in 2003 which brought about the separation of Montenegro from Serbia and thus finally abolished Yugoslavia, this text raises two issues: one is the reason why so many people left the country during or immediately after the war; the other is the perseverance of the strong national identity despite the break-up of the country. Since Milosavljevic belongs to the group of emigrants who left the country at that time, it is interesting to see how he deals with these issues in his stories, before we tackle his bitter experience of Canada exploring the concepts of food and sex.

2. The Bitterness of the Promised Land

Out of over two million displaced persons, it is estimated that about 7% went to Canada[452]. Drenka Vukovic explains:

In comparison with the situation during the two preceding decades, the number of people from Serbia (and Montenegro) migrating to overseas countries has visibly increased. The structure of migrants has also seen some substantial changes. During the 1990s, there were about 80 000 Yugoslav migrants in the USA (25 000 of them from FR Yugoslavia), 78 000 in Canada (28 400 of them from Serbia and Montenegro) and 48 500 in Australia (20 500 of them from FR Yugoslavia). The enactment of stricter norms regulating the employment of foreigners in European countries directed people overseas instead. So, immigration quotas were expanded during the 1990s, especially for scientific-research personnel and people with university degrees, together with their family members. Also, people aged 21 to 44 with fluency in a foreign language were in a more favourable condition than other categories. In 1993, Canada issued 7000 emigration visas for citizens of FRY, Australia 3000 and the USA 1100, which is twice the number in comparison with previous years (Vukovic, 2005: 141).

[452] In previous decades, refugees and the domicile population migrated to European and overseas countries, but a real number of migrants is difficult to establish. Estimates which take into account statistical data from immigration countries show that the scope of migration from FRY during the 1990s was about 400 000 people. The greatest number of migrants went to Germany (34%), Switzerland (12%) and Italy (6%). Other European countries accepted about 21% of our migrants while other migrants went to Canada (7%), the USA (6%) and Australia (5%) (Vukovic, 140).

Further, highly-skilled migration takes up a large percentage of these numbers. Due to the development of its knowledge-based economy, Canada was the most attractive country for migrants, and, in particular, those with high qualifications:

> *"Namely, in 1993, Canada issued about 7 000 emigration visas, with almost one-quarter of that number relating to the highly-skilled (Grecic, 1996: 33). If one takes into account that schooling costs for an expert amount to $100.000 per person, then the dimensions of the losses due to brain drain become alarming, even if the costs of upbringing, nourishment, health insurance, etc. are disregarded. The reasons for leaving which are usually listed by this category of migrants are predictable: self-improvement, low level of living standards, uncertainty about the future and housing problems.*

Milosavljevic himself belongs to the brain drain generation of migrants just like one of his characters, Veljo. Through Veljo, the author gives a deeper insight into the causes for emigration that are not visible enough when the above mentioned categories are discussed. "Low standard of living" as a statistical reference does not explain the suffering of a parent at the sight of his withering anaemic child who has been fed inadequate food for too long and whose health was critically unbalanced due to that. It does not reflect the intensity of existential uncertainty forcing the parents to uproot the whole family and move to a foreign country where the future is not much safer unless one works day and night. And it does not show the problems arising from the radical changes of the cultural milieu and a new way of life.

The story "It's All Because of Vitamins" depicts a break up of an otherwise functional family once they start living in Canada where economic necessity makes both parents work long hours till they finally drift apart. Veljo, the father, keeps to the conventions of his homeland while his wife quickly exposes herself to all the advantages but also vices of the new homeland. For trying to bring her back to her senses by grabbing her by the arm, Veljo is reported to the police, arrested and charged for assault. Thinking back about what happened to him and his family, he realises that it was all because of the vitamins. If they could have provided their children with basic necessities, they would have never emigrated to Canada and the family would have remained together. His life story is a bitter comment on the real life conditions at that time in his home country. Although the problems people had could be, and often were, much worse Milosavljevic used this very simple example most effectively to illustrate the scope of possible reasons for leaving one's country and moving to the promised land of Canada which, on the other hand, did not live up to its promises.

The second point worth tackling here is a strong sense of national affiliation that many immigrants from Serbia preserve despite the change of environment and culture. Milosavljevic himself, as an author, also belongs to the immigrants who by writing cope with their nostalgia and the pangs of homesickness. The act of recording his emotions aroused by a new environment proves that in the comparison between the two countries, the old one always seems to be superior. His characters most often share his feelings even though they are not literary authors but common guest workers planning on surviving and prospering in Canada. Their strong emotional attachment to the homeland confirms Anderson's thesis of the bonds existing among the members of imagined communities who do not need to live in the same country or know each others in order to share a common ethnic identity and vigorously fight for it.

The story with the most explicit reference to the units of Serbian culture that the narrator longs for is titled *A Short Glossary of Nostalgia*. There are 29 concepts listed there from all spheres of human experience: food, games, relationships, places etc. The narrator tries to define them briefly but his definitions are most subjective and also closely related to the intimate knowledge of Serbian culture. These hermetic definitions would not really enlighten a foreigner and they are not meant to do so. Their purpose is to fight nostalgia on the part of the Serbs in diaspora who are only brought more closely together by recognising and identifying the concepts mostly unfamiliar to other cultures.

Reminding the immigrants of the restaurants they often frequented back home, of the local specialties they savoured in the company of old friends, of precious ties between individuals sanctified by endemic customs, of the national newspapers well known to everybody, of the cultural icons created by long-lasting habits while otherwise absolutely insignificant, homogenises the nation better than any ideology. Each word creates associations fixed in the collective memory of the people. A fence is something you jumped over as a child to steal your neighbour's unripe apricots and spring cherries, not something that is used to mark one's estate. A problem is some kind of trouble that is solved by saying "No problem," which is more a comment on the laid-back mentality of the Serbian people than a definition of the concept. 'Kajmak' is simply something very good and the explanation that it is a sort of cream cheese would not do. It does not convey the exquisite taste of Serbian cream cheese nor the taste of a hot bun it is usually eaten in combination with[453].

Nothing compares to Serbia, the narrator seems to be saying when at the end of the story he defines nostalgia by claiming: I don't know the meaning of it. The implication is that as long as an immigrant keeps the memory of the basic units of his culture fresh in his mind, he will successfully fight the flood of homesickness. The perseverance of a strong national identity is expressed through these 29 culture-bearing units which are only a sample of all the innumerable elements constituting a culture. While it is true that diasporic life gradually leads to integration and assimilation, Serbs are notoriously proud of their home country even though they willingly leave it. Morley explains that even if "such nostalgic feelings are… ultimately directed towards an imaginary past of plenitude and security, their strength is no less pertinent for the fact

[453] TravelSerbia.Info offers this defintion for 'kajmak': "The real Serbian dish, which can not be found on any menu in the world, is kajmak. Kajmak is what you take off the milk to make it low fat, and is considered the best part of the milk. Yes, it is full of milk fat, but it's delicious. This is one of the oldest specialties from this region, the only one that cannot be produced in industrial production without losing its well known look and taste."

that their object is imaginary" (Morley, 2000: 247). The perseverance of patriotic feelings among most Serbs in diaspora as a form of nostalgia is a consequence of physical distance from the homeland which gives sweetness to the memory of the past and bitterness to the present experiences. The reality of things is not a deciding factor here.

Going back to the three basic constituent parts of culture announced at the beginning, of food, sex, and language, as most revealing of the problems arising in cultural contacts, it is necessary to introduce the concept of transculturation. Its relatively recent origin indicates the nature of demographic changes in the modern world, mainly due to the increased mobility, though the origins of the phenomenon date back to the period of colonisation. The shortest definition of the term is given in the English Collins Dictionary: "the introduction of foreign elements into an established culture." In the context of Serbian diaspora in Canada, the established culture stands for the Serbian culture while the foreign elements introduced into it belong to the Canadian culture. A very comprehensive definition of the concept is given by the anthropologist who created the term itself, Fernando Ortiz:

> *I am of the opinion that the word transculturation better expresses the different phases of the process of transition from one culture to another because this does not consist merely in acquiring another culture, which is what the English word acculturation really implies, but the process also necessarily involves the loss or uprooting of a previous culture, which could be defined as a deculturation. In addition it carries the idea of the consequent creation of new cultural phenomena, which could be called neoculturation (Ortiz. 1995: 102).*

All the elements of this definition apply to the transformations of the units of Serbian culture undergone by the immigrants in Canada and elsewhere. Each person goes through the process of transition from his native culture to the culture of his new homeland, and in this process of acculturation he often suffers deculturation leading even to neoculturation which will be illustrated by the language changes recorded by Milosavljevic.

Maybe the first instance in the life of an immigrant when cultures most often get into contact is the consumption of food. The national cuisine is another point of pride with Serbian people though it is not strikingly original. TravelSerbia.Info confirms this:

> *What is the best way to describe the Serbian national cuisine? Well, like Serbia, on the crossroads of civilizations, a specific mixture has arisen, as a result of combined influences from both the East and the West. Serbian cuisine is really international cuisine with unavoidable native elements. Today, the real symbol of Serbian national cuisine, above all, is grilled meat.*

On the other hand, when one consults a similar site, CBC Archives, on the topic of home-grown cuisine in Canada, the answer is strikingly similar:

> *Is there such a thing as Canadian cuisine? The idea of ordering "Canadian" may have some scratching their heads. But Canada has given the world its share of gastronomic delights. From peameal bacon to poutine to pemmican, CBC Archives digs in to some distinctly home-grown fare.*

In conclusion, there is nothing really distinctive about either Serbian or Canadian cuisines, both being mainly international as a result of numerous cultural contacts, a consequence, in the case of Serbia, of its geographical position, and in the case of Canada, of the process of intense immigration. So, the question is why there are so many negative references in almost all the stories collected in *Ouch, Canada* to the food eaten in Canada. Two stories in particular deal with this problem: “Healthy Life” and “The Silence of the Piglets.” The first one is a parody on the topic of deculturation showing Mrs.N., of Serbian origin, entertaining her selected dinner guests. In an endeavour to show off as a person perfectly integrated into Canadian life style, she offers a dinner table arranged to the latest precepts of the doctrine of healthy life: all low-fat, raw, unprocessed, organic, freshly-squeezed etc. The narrator is still very fond of saturated, cholesterol-high, heavily spiced Serbian food and he gets annoyed with the hostess’s pejorative and mocking use of the term ‘our food’ she would not touch, referring exactly to what he himself likes best. Nor is he an extreme example of loyalty to the national specialties. The mushrooming of the Serbian food stores, which a guest calls ‘poison shops,’ proves that a lot of people still try to practice Serbian eating habits despite the Canadian cultural context. The ironical turn to the story is given by the old and hard-of-hearing father of Mrs. N. who joins the conversation about food by saying how his little girl, the hostess, loves roasted piglets more than anything. Everybody is shocked, Mrs. N. naturally more than the rest, the father is immediately sent back to his room, and the narrator given a moral satisfaction for his torture by starving that evening. The moral of the story is the victory of the roasted piglet over all the healthy food so much praised in the course of the dinner. It haunts the table as a ghost of what was left behind, in the old homeland, as an emblem of the good old times, a cultural icon that may be suppressed by the customs of the Canadian culture but never forgotten.

The second story is a real tribute to the phenomenon of the roasted piglet and an illustration of possible resistance to deculturation. The narrator juxtaposes the turkey and the piglet, traditionally served for Christmas dinner in the two cultures, and adamantly expresses his attitude to the turkey: No passaran. Though seemingly irrational, his distaste has a perfectly grounded justification. He sees the turkey as an instrument of the New World Order, transnational capitalism and globalism. The Christmas turkey becomes a symbol of consumerism, conformism, cultural imperialism, which the narrator could deal with in all spheres of life but not in his diet. The sight of a de-gutted, wrapped and frozen turkey sold in big supermarkets is in grave contrast to his childhood memories of warm, living, kicking piglets expertly killed and expertly roasted. However objectionable his attitudes are, they still represent a culture with more intimate relationships not only between people but also in relation to the food eaten by them. The turkey in his view stands shoulder to shoulder with Coca-Cola, McDonald's and Starbucks, leading to an impoverished and low-quality universal diet. In that context, the example of a Canadian of Serbian origin, a man who developed a habit of travelling long miles to an Amish farm every winter for 30 years now only to buy a piglet for Christmas dinner, gains epic proportions. His mission is not motivated only by gastronomic tastes but also by the need to preserve the tradition of his homeland. In the manner of a prehistoric hunter, he goes through all the stages of preparing his dinner instead of shoving a frozen lump into a microwave oven.

These two stories illustrate two opposite attitudes to transculturation: uncritical acceptance and stubborn resistance. The ongoing process of acculturation experienced by a Serbian immigrant will not be prevented by any possible means. Yet, this does not mean that complete deculturation is inevitable. Besides food, another basic necessity is also exposed to changes in a changed cultural environment. "Sex in the Foreign Parts" is a story which humorously deals with the cultural shocks of an immigrant coming to Canada from a relatively conservative country, such as Serbia. Although it is not true that Serbia lags behind in terms of sexual freedoms, there are still limits of what an adventurous visitor may encounter if he is interested in the opposite sex. Same-sex marriages are still not legalised in Serbia, unlike in Canada, but many other conventions now belong to the past: preserving virginity till the first wedding night, female passivity and subordination, absence of promiscuity, etc. Traditional sex-role stereotypes are also vanishing in case of men. They do not have to be tough mucho types, long hair in men is no more unusual while the moustache is, and even being gay is not a crime though it may not be approved of by the general public. Yet, in Serbia a woman is still expected to be of the female sex. The narrator in the story has to learn first-hand that this stereotype expectation does not apply to Canada.

The story is told in the laconic style of Milosavljevic, as a parody of a scientific research. It starts with the premise, 'well-documented' by male bragging and tall tales after a few drinks, that the Serbs are the best lovers in the world. Generously endowed by nature, they are the most potent, virile, insatiable, irresistible lovers of all the nations, except maybe the Montenegrins, but they are like twins anyway. This 'fact' is then confirmed by a few examples of stories told by these lovers themselves, followed by the introduction of a hypothesis that life in Canada seriously impairs Serbian virility. From this ribaldry, the story gradually moves to the serious language of Canadians in restaurants who do not talk of sex, do not flirt or make ambiguous statements but discuss the economic crisis, mortgages, money and business. The idea is that the life style in Canada kills sex drive and damages the confidence of the proverbial Serbian lover. What is illustrated here is another instance of deculturation where one culture is stripped of its pride and reduced to the embarrassing Canadian average. The opposite would have been much better for both cultures, a process of transculuration whereby Canadian women would benefit from the presence and availability of Serbian men, which would mean that the elements of Serbian culture may be introduced into the established culture of Canada. Yet, the ominous idea of sexual harassment, the concern for material values, long working hours and general obsession with (economic and sex) safety destroys libido. The worst experience that Milosavljevic could think of is an encounter with a transvestite. His narrator gives the reader an example of a friend of his who invites a female colleague from work for a drink which ends in her apartment. So close to his goal and another sexual victory, he screams when his hand touches the private parts of his date. The bulging male organ there is the most unexpected thing he would ever experience in his life and a death stroke to his masculinity. Women are not necessarily of the female sex in Canada. The conclusion to this scientific research brings up a criticism of the prevailing attitude to sex in Canada, though Milosavljevic gives it a comic twist by saying that Canadian asexuality represents a grave threat to Serbian proven superiority, to the image being built through centuries of our men as genetically above the rest of the world's males. The confusion about traditional sex-role orientations turns this potentially sweet erotic experience into a bitter episode of shock, disappointment and frustration.

3. Conclusion

Nebojsa Milosavljevic explored some of the most important aspects of culture in his collection *Ouch, Canada*. His stories seem to be an entertaining and light reading material at the first glance but prove to be serious in their criticism of the negative trends characterising Serbian diaspora in Canada. The contexts that deal with more than one culture, like food, sex or language show problems that arise in intercultural communication. The subtitle to the collection, *Stories from the Promised Land* is in contradiction to the expectations of success and prosperity implied by it when juxtaposed to the title *Ouch, Canada* and the content of the stories themselves. Sweet at the beginning, bitter-sweet most of the time, and entirely bitter occasionally, the diasporic experience throws a lot of light both on the host and the home country. Milosavljevic definitely captured all these sentiments in negotiating his relationship with the Canadian culture.

Referenes

Anderson, Benedict (1983) **Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism**, London: Verso

"An Introduction into the Serbian Cuisine " TravelSerbia.info – your travel guide to Serbia, available at: http://www.travelserbia.info/serbian-cuisine.php

"A Taste of Canada: Our Homegrown Cuisine" CBC Digital Archives, available at: http://archives.cbc.ca/lifestyle/food/topics/1371-8375. Web

Dewy, John (1916) **Democracy and Education**, New York: Macmillan

Grecic, V, V. Matejic, Đ. Kutlaca and O. Mikic (1996) **Migracije visokostrucnih kadrova i naucnika iz SR Jugoslavije**, Beograd: Savezno ministarstvo za razvoj, nauku i životnu sredinu, Institut za medjunarodnu politiku i privredu

Milosavljevic, Nebojsa (2005) **Uh, Kanada. Price iz obecane zemlje**, Toronto: PrintMan Inc Toronto

Morley, David (2000) **Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity**, London: Routledge

Ortiz, Fernando (1995), **Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar**, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, Translated by Harriet de Onís

Pavlovich, P., ***SERBS. Multicultural Canada***, available at: http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/ecp/content/serbs.html [10.11.2006]. Web.

Paul, Pavlovich (1988) **The Serbians -The Story of a People**, Toronto: Serbian Heritage Books

"Serglish" Available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Serglish.

Smith, A (1991) **National Identity**, Harmondsworth: Penguin

Tomovic, A. V. (2004) "The Serbian Language in Canada: The Problem of Retention," in Waugh, E. and M. V. Dimic (eds.) **Diaspora Serbs, A Cultural Analysis**, Edmonton: MV Dimic Research Institute, University of Alberta Press

"Transculturation" **English Collins Dictionary - English Definition & Thesaurus**. Available at: http://dictionary.reverso.net/english-definitions/transculturation

Vukovic, D. (2005) "Migrations of the labour force from Serbia", SEER – South-East Europe Review for Labour and Social Affairs , issue: 04 / 2005, pp: 139-150, available at: www.ceeol.com. Web.

UDK 821.134.2.09-31

Владимир Карановић

САВРЕМЕНИ ШПАНСКИ РОМАН
(роман транзиције и демократије)

АПСТРАКТ: *Година смрти Франсиска Франка, 1975. може се сматрати почетком новог периода у шпанској прози. Књижевност мења свој дотадашњи карактер и у највећој мери се прилагођава новонасталим политичким променама. Сваки писац романа ће изабрати свој сопствени пут, који највише одговара његовом карактеру и књижевним претензијама. Разуђеност шпанске прозе постфранкистичког времена је последица слободе стваралаца да пишу о разноврсним темама. Појављују се детективски, историјски, лирски, експериментални и метаромани. Многи критичари сматрају да средином осамдесетих година долази до битног заокрета у шпанском роману. Та драстична промена назива се „постмодерним реализмом“. У њему се поново тежи мимезису или подражавању стварности. Покретач многих дела је унутрашње преиспитивање једног лика или једне истине која у њему лежи. Повратак реализму је начин да се анализира савремена шпанска стварност из нове перспективе.*

КЉУЧНЕ РЕЧИ: *савремени шпански роман, роман транзиције и демократије, постмодерни реализам, шпанска књижевност 20. века*

1. Увод

Година 1975. може се сматрати почетком потпуно новог периода у шпанској прози. После дуготрајног периода угњетавања и неслободе, наступио је период транзиције и почетка демократије. Такво стање није било само друштвени феномен, већ се одражавало на поље књижевности. Књижевност мења свој дотадашњи карактер и у највећој мери се прилагођава новонасталим променама. Сваки писац романа ће изабрати свој сопствени пут који највише одговара његовом карактеру и књижевним претензијама. На пољу романескног стваралаштва, после периода експериментисања формом и структуром и постмодернистичким погледима на роман, следи период интересовања за класично приповедање. Роман поново постаје „књига која има задатак да исприча конкретну причу и да забави читаоца без неких већих уметничких и естетских претензија“.

Јавља се *детективски роман* као одраз новог стања духа, али и тржишта у Шпанији. Оваква дела можемо поделити на две подгрупе: прву групу чине дела која имају образац детективског романа, а другу – романи који користе тајанственост и неизвесност као приповедачко средство, али и заплет и истраживачки поступак као основу приче (Sanz Villanueva, 2000: 257). Значајнији представници ове групе романа су: Едуардо Мендоса, Мануел Васкес Монталбан, Хуан Мадрид, Артуро Перес Реверте, и многи други.

Занимљива је и појава *историјског романа,* као покушаја да се прошлост (углавном национална) схвати и интерпретира на прави начин, без ограничења и цензуре. Постоје разни видови историјског романа у Шпанији тог времена: романи у којима је присутна критичка анализа прошлости, посебно Шпанског грађанског рата. У овој групи романа проналазимо баланс фикционалног и документарног. Основни циљ је да писац продре у време у којем није још ни постојао и које није доживео (Langa Pizarro, 2005: 81). У оквиру историјског романа јавља се и неколико дела у којима се евоцирају давна времена: маварска Шпанија, стварање националне државе, освајање Америке и *Siglo de Oro* (Sanz Villanueva, 1992: 262). Писци који у свом стваралачком опусу имају дела ове врсте су: Гонсало Торенте Баљестер, Хесус Фернандес Сантос, Хуан Еслава Галан, Антонио Муњос Молина, Хулио Љамасарес, и други.

Јавља се и нека врста *метаромана*. Сличан је историјском роману јер су амбијенти увек прошла времена, а уместо да описују свет, ови романи описују процес сопственог настанка. Представници су: Алваро Помбо, Хесус Фереро, Хавијер Маријас, итд.

Присутан је и *лирски роман,* који се бави унутрашњим манифестацијама и осећањима, фрустрацијама и недоступним светом појединца. Представници: Хуан Хосе Миљас, Хулио Љамасарес и други.

2. Одлике савременог шпанског романа

Када је реч о савременом шпанском роману, треба имати на уму да се налазимо пред мноштвом различитих тенденција и да постоји потпуна стваралачка слобода. Приповедач постаје једини аутентични лик књижевности, а сви остали су марионете (Villanueva, 1992: 298). Многи критичари сматрају да савремени шпански роман игнорише све велике и битне теме нашег времена, не говори о проблему незапослености, транзицији, сиромаштву, итд. Године диктатуре и суздржавања створиле су у људима жељу да се не баве собом и својом заједницом. После пада таквог режима слобода је подстакла истраживања на пољу личног и националног идентитета. На питање: *„Ко сам ја*?“ савремени шпански роман одговара: *„Ја сам фикција, прича коју причам самом себи*“. Роман транзиције тежи концизности и затвореној структури. Тачка гледишта је углавном само једна (прво или треће лице једнине, некад и смењивање оба лица).

Афирмацији романа у постфранкистичком периоду допринео је и развој многих издавачких кућа у Шпанији (Planeta, Crítica, Seix Barral, Cátedra и др.) Многобројне књижевне награде допринеле су популарисању књижевности и раду на што бољем представљању књига (Premio Cervantes - El Premio Nacional de Novela y Narrativa, Premio Nadal, Premio Planeta, Premio de la Crítica) (Langa Pizarro, 2005: 27).

Критичари сматрају да средином осамдесетих година долази до битног заокрета у шпанском роману. Та драстична промена назива се **постмодерним реализмом**. У њему се поново тежи *мимезису* или подражавању стварности. Стварност коју представља оваква врста романа лако се може уочити од стране читалаца а покретач многих дела овог типа је унутрашње преиспитивање једног лика или једне истине која лежи у самом лику. Повратак реализму је начин да се анализира савремена шпанска стварност из једне нове перспективе, превазилазећи истовремено уске оквире естетицизма, непрестане захтеве за новим облицима и раздвојеност уметности и живота.

Шпански роман деведесетих година тежи превазилажењу моралистичког и етичког релативизма присутног у претходној деценији. Промовише се потреба за преузимањем одговорности, како на индивидуалном тако и на колективном нивоу (Pereiro, 2002: 14).

3. Модерни класик - Едуардо Мендоса [454]

Неколико месеци пре Франкове смрти 1975. године објављен је роман *Истина о случају Саволта (La verdad sobre el caso Savolta)*[455] Едуарда Мендосе. Роман се у потпуности разликовао од целокупне дотадашње продукције, а представља повратак класичном начину приповедања и афирмацију детективског жанра. Читаоци су у Мендоси препознали нешто што остали аутори нису поседовали: привлачност и љупкост уједињене у изузетном приповедачком умећу. Роман представља читав низ сећања протагонисте, који се повремено прекида актуелним суђењем. Све наративне технике и врсте које се укрштају у овом роману (историја, хроника, новински чланак, аутобиографија, пикарска исповест...) у функцији су богатијег представљања догађаја и помажу аутентичнијем доживљавању радње. „Истина" из наслова романа о случају Саволта служи управо да супротстави све употребљене технике у роману, иако и оне саме једна другу негирају. Једина права истина овде јесте само постојање романа. У тако постављеном делу, какав год став да заузме читалац, увек ће то бити права тачка гледишта. Приповедање се овде претвара у игру, пародију, фалсификат, где свако разликовање онога што је реално и замишљено, свесно и несвесно, прошло и садашње, истинито и лажно, постаје ирелевантно.

---

[454] Eduardo Mendoza (Barcelona, 1943); Романи: *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta* (1975), *El misterio dela cripta embrujada* (1979), *El laberinto de las aceitunas* (1982), *La ciudad de los prodigios* (1986), *La isla inaudita* (1989), *Sin noticias de Gurb* (1991), *El año del diluvio* (1993), *Una comedia ligera* (1996)

[455] Eduardo Mendoza, *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta*, Barcelona, Seix Barral, Biblioteca del bolsillo, 2002. 432 pp.

Период који Мендоса описује у роману је почетак XX века, односно године 1917-1919, које су биле бурне у Каталонији. Барселона је честа тема многих Мендосиних романа, а у овом роману град постаје и главни јунак.

Роман обухвата три паралелне приповедне целине. **Прва** представља приповест Хавијера Миранде у првом лицу. Ту настаје проблем, јер ови документи не припадају процесу суђења. Читалац је овде у повлашћеном положају, јер може да сазна нешто „из прве руке“ од самог протагонисте, о његовом животу, а не само штуре информације са ислеђивања. **Други** приповедни ток представља низ докумената (писама, полицијских извештаја, чланака написаних од стране умешаних у догађаје око убиства, транскрипата о изјавама самог Миранде или комесара који је водио случај). **Трећи** ток обухвата приповедање у трећем лицу са одликама свезнајућег приповедача који говори о догађајима којима није присуствовао Хавијер Миранда, а повезани су с њим. Овај ток доприноси већој објективности при изношењу догађаја. За сваку од три наративне линије постоје главни јунаци: Хавијер Миранда, Немесио Кабра Гомес и Пол-Андре Лепринс, Саволтин убица. На крају, Лепринсова смрт остаје у највећем делу под велом тајне. Он не испашта за свој злочин који је починио, правда не остаје задовољена, а прича која је исричана остаје недовршена, фрагментарна. Из свих тих фрагмената настаће будући романи Едуарда Мендосе (Marco, 1992: 305-308).

4. Алваро Помбо[456] и филозофија отуђења

Алваро Помбо један је од ретких аутора чији романи или приче настају из интензивне потребе (увек интимне и аутобиографске) да се реконструише, на критички и поетски начин, свет детињства и адолесценције. Присутна је и потреба да се разуме веза између детињства и садашњег тренутка, да се проуче људски афекти и сексуалност, да се филозофски размотри људски идентитет, посебно суштина постојања и многобројне тајне људске свести. Да би изразио све наведене потребе, тако захтевном писцу потребно је више приповедачких средстава и гласова. Помбови светови су затвореног типа. Најчешће је једна једина кућа цео свет и све се посматра из перспективе исте те куће и њених укућана. Једна од изванредних Помбових особина јесте способност да створи атрактиван, фасцинантан и поетичан свет, а да истовремено не изгуби критичност и способност да задржи пажњу читаоца (Masoliver Ródenas, 2000: 303).

Роман *Метар иридијумске платине* (*El metro del platino iridiado*)[457] почиње без неког конкретног увода. Протагинисткиња романа, Марија, трпи током највећег дела свог живота сплетке, подметања, омаловажавање најближих људи: свога

---

[456] Álvaro Pombo (Santander, 1939); Романи: *El parecido* (1979), *El héroe de las mansardas de Mansard* (1983), *El metro del platino iridiado* (1990), *El hijo adoptivo* (1984), *Los delitos insignificantes* (1986), *Aparición del eterno femenino contada por S.M. el Rey* (1993), *Telepena de Cecilia Celia Villalobo* (1995), *Donde las mujeres* (1996), *La cuadratura del círculo* (1999).

[457] Álvaro Pombo, *El metro del platino iridiado*, Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 2001. 429 pp.

супруга, брата и најбоље другарице. Роман представља неку врсту психолошке студије људи који живе заједно, а суштински су јако усамљени. Маријин муж, Мартин, професор метафизике, у слободно време се бави писањем. Цео живот има амбицију да напише јако вредно дело које ће се звати *Viaje de novios* и сви напори су усмерени ка том циљу. У једном тренутку, ми као читаоци схватамо да роман који он пише уствари представља роман који имамо пред собом (Aranguren, 1992: 366, 367). После породичне трагедије и губитка сина Марија одлази на једно имање близу Мадрида, али ни ту не може да нађе свој мир. Одлучује да се врати кући и да своје укућане прихвати онакве какви они заиста јесу, са свим манама и врлинама.

Алваро Помбо један је од ретких савремених писаца који има осмишљену поетику. У Помбовој поетици посебно место има осећај кривице, оптерећеност религиозним осећањима, самоубиство, смрт, хомосексуалност (Martínez Cachero, 1997: 649, 650). Оригинални су његови ставови о веродостојности, историји, фикцији, поезији... Он сматра да има неколико врста истине и да се не може говорити о истинитости и веродостојности као једном и јединственом појму. Тај појам увек је у некој врсти односа са другим појмовима. Постоји *научна* и *поетска истина*, *наративна* и *филозофска истина*. У наративним фиктивним делима постоје посебни критеријуми истинитиости-неистинитости као и веродостојности-неверодостојности. Фикција има своју сопствену истину. Термини *истинитист* и *фикција* нису супротстављени. Помбо у више наврата истиче да више воли да пише романе јер је роман свеобухватни жанр који у себи садржи и поезију. Помбова поетика садржана је и у једној његовој изјави: „Igual que el verde verdea, la verdad verdadea.“[458]

5. Метароман Хавијера Маријаса[459]

Хавијер Маријас под термином „роман“ подразумева једну дискурзивну конструкцију, која поред комуникацијске улоге, има и задатак да проникне у живот читаоца, и то тако да подстакне сећање на нешто што се није десило, или на нешто могуће што заузима не-књижевне просторе и претвара их у текст. Дакле, текст заузима простор у реалном свету, а читалац је субјекат-лик. Код Маријаса свет напушта своју историјску, биографску или анегдотску линеарност и умножава се у складу са оним *што је могло бити*. На тај начин, као што текст може да се анализира на много начина, истовремено објашњава свет као конкретизацију једне од његових варијаната.

---

[458] „Као што је зелено увек зелено, тако је и истина увек истинита“. (превод: аутор)

[459] Javier Marías (Madrid, 1951); Романи: *Los dominios del lobo* (1971), *Travesía del horizonte* (1972), *El monarca del tiempo* (1979), *El siglo* (1983), *El hombre sentimental* (1986), *Todas las almas* (1989), *Corazón tan blanco* (1992), *Mañana en la batalla piensa en mí* (1994), *Negra espalda del tiempo* (1998), *Desde que te vi* (1999).

Маријасов роман *Сутра у боју мисли на мене* (*Mañana en la batalla piensa en mí*)[460] представља континуирано путовање, не само ментално већ и физичко. Све се непрестано креће, неке ствари су међусобно повезане, а неке чињенице се не узимају у обзир. Писац се у овом роману бави људима који никад не преузимају одговорност за своје поступке, већ увек налазе неког другог на кога ће свалити кривицу за своја дела и за сопствену неодлучност. Приповедач у првом лицу говори о догађају који је дестабилизовао његов живот: за време вечерњег изласка партнерка му умире на рукама. Приповедач-протагониста, у вртлогу неспособности да прихвати овај догађај, прати и удовољава својој невероватној потреби да се приближи породици преминуле Марте Тељес. Овај роман је много више од представљања процеса психолошке трансформације једног лика. Наративни свет протагонисте-приповедача Виктора Франсеса одражава савремено шпанско друштво, у којем су се људски односи претворили у тривијални свет препун незрелих особа. Патолошка потреба да буде део живота покојнице, коју је једва познавао, води га у дружење и везивање за Мартиног оца, сестру, сина, а на крају и познанство са мужем Едуардом Деаном. Процес Викторове психолошке трансформације одвија се на неколико нивоа: на интрасубјективном или индивидуалном нивоу, на интерсубјективном или друштвеном нивоу, као и на нивоу приповедања. Ови нивои су међусобно повезани и испреплетени. Приповедање догађаја је често прекинуто приповедачевим запажањима. Избегавање одговорности није само Викторов незванични став према животу, то је „исправан“ и „цивилизован“ начин понашања у друштву. Виктор, међутим, врло брзо схвата да је немогуће да настави живот „као да се ништа није десило”. Себе доживљава као лицемерно биће а прати га осећај да је изневерио све жене у свом животу (Pereiro, 2002: 66).

6. Закључак

После периода Франкове владавине наступа нова ера шпанског прозног израза. Реалистичке и социјалне тенденција присутне у шпанској прози средином XX века полако уступају место новим идејама. Писци напуштају експерименталне поступке у композицији романа и окрећу се новим интересовањима.

Година Франкове смрти, 1975. представља и годину еволуције романа на тлу Шпаније. Читав низ издавачких кућа отвара своја врата новим и неафирмисаним младим ауторима, објављује њихова дела и своје маркетиншке снаге усмерава ка промоцији издања.

Опште карактеристике шпанског романа периода транзиције и демократије можемо резимирати на следећи начин:

- Иако се у потпуности не одбацују промене на пољу форме, савремени роман тежи коришћењу традиционалних приповедачких средстава;

[460] Javier Marías, *Mañana en la batalla piensa en mí*, Barcelona: Debolsillo, 2006. 352 pp.

- Основни циљ више није истраживање и експериментисање, већ повратак задовољству приповедања;
- Политичке и друштвене интенције, као и било која врста дидактичности или идеологије, не налазе месту у савременом роману;
- Не постоји узор међу писцима који ће сви пратити, иако постоје јасно видљиви утицаји ранијих шпанских приповедача;
- Преовлађују хумористични и иронични тонови, као и носталгични и лирски елементи, посебно у романима у којима је изражен лични став;
- Нестају велики и познати ликови књижевности и њихово место заузимају маргинални ликови, општи и емотивно незрели.

Романи периода транзиције и демократије крећу се у неколико токова: јавља се роман историјске тематике, који најчешће евоцира или националну прошлост прве половине XX века, или се писци враћају у давну прошлост настанка националне хришћанске државе. Постоји и читав низ детективских романа који, у складу са тенденцијом забављања читалаца, акценат стављају на саму фабулу. Ликови су најчешће везани за непосредну шпанску прошлост и радња показује социјалну неправду према невладајућим слојевима. Постоји и веома изражена уметничка тенденција међу писцима, те се јављају романи које можемо назвати *метароманима*, јер говоре сами о себи а читајући их посматрамо сам процес писања романа. Заједничка карактеристика већине шпанских романа последње три деценије јесте да нема утврђеног система писања, заједничке оквирне поетике, или узора међу писцима. Читаоцима остаје да буду сведоци даљег развоја савременог шпанског романа.

Литература

Aranguren, J. L. *et al.* (1992) “El mundo de Álvaro Pombo”, in: Mena, J.C, y Ripio, J.M. (coordinadores) **Historia y crítica de la literatura española**, vol. 9 (Los nuevos nombres: 1975-1990), al cuidado de Francisco Rico, Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, pp. 361-367.

Langa Pizarro, M. (2005) **Del franquismo a la posmodernidad: la novela española (1975-1999): Análisis y diccionario de autores**, Alicante: Universidad de Alicante

Marco, J. M. *et al.* (1992) “La verdad sobre el caso Mendoza”, in: Mena, J.C, y Ripio, J.M. (coordinadores) **Historia y crítica de la literatura española**, vol. 9 (Los nuevos nombres: 1975-1990), al cuidado de Francisco Rico, Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, pp. 305-315

Marías, J. (2006) **Mañana en la batalla piensa en mí**, Barcelona: De bolsillo.

Martínez Cachero, J. M. (1997) **La novela española entre 1936 y el fin de siglo, Historia de una aventura**, Madrid: Editorial Castalia

Masoliver Ródenas, J. A. (2000) “Álvaro Pombo”, in: Gracia, J. (coordinador) **Historia y crítica de la literatura española**, vol. 9/1 (Los nuevos nombres: 1975-2000), al cuidado de Francisco Rico, Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, pp. 298-309

Mendoza, E. (2002) **La verdad sobre el caso Savolta**, Barcelona: Seix Barral

Pereiro, P. (2002) **La novela española de los noventa: alternativas éticas a la postmodernidad**, Madrid: Editorial Pliegos

Pombo, Á. (2001) **El metro del platino iridiado**, Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama

Sanz Villanueva, S. (1992) “La novela”, in: Mena, J.C, y Ripio, J.M. (coordinadores) **Historia y crítica de la literatura española**, vol. 9 (Los nuevos nombres: 1975-1990), al cuidado de Francisco Rico, Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, pp. 249-284

Sanz Villanueva, S. (2000) “Poética posmoderna y novela”, in: Gracia, J. (coordinador) **Historia y crítica de la literatura española**, vol. 9/1 (Los nuevos nombres: 1975-2000), al cuidado de Francisco Rico, Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, pp. 259-278

Villanueva, D. *et al.* (1992) “La nueva narrativa española”, in: Mena, J.C, y Ripio, J.M. (coordinadores) **Historia y crítica de la literatura española**, vol. 9 (Los nuevos nombres: 1975-1990), al cuidado de Francisco Rico, Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, pp. 285-305

4.
JEZIK STRUKE
LANGUAGE FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES

UDK 811.111'276.6

Darko Kovačević

SOME INTERPRETATION ASPECTS OF NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN TECHNICAL ENGLISH

Abstract: *Nominal compounds are important constituents of the present time technical English, but the way they are built still may lead to ambiguity and confusion in terms of interpretation. This paper gives the definitions and some possible classifications of nominal compounds and tries to present some possible models, techniques and methods for establishing and determining the relations that exist in them. Wherever possible, they are applied to the field of technical English language, with some practical examples analyzed and observed.*

Keywords: *technical english, nominal compounds, interpretation.*

1. Introduction

Nominal compounds are very important part of technical English today. The idea of condensing the information that would normally be expressed in a clause or even in a sentence has found a fertile ground in technical terminology and language, supporting the need for verbal economization that exists there. The continuous process of research and improvement in technical sciences leads to creation of new nominal compounds almost on daily basis, so that their correct interpretation and understanding sometimes become very ambiguous and difficult.

2. Definitions

There are many definitions of nominal compounds in literature. Finin (1980: 310) defines nominal compounds as "sequences of two or more nouns related through modification". Isabelle (1984: 509) gives a closer definition saying that "we define a nominal compound (NC) as a string of two or more nouns having the same distribution as a single noun" but allowing some provisions to be made "in some cases for intervening adjectives". Bartolić (1994: 62-63) goes further calling it "a string of modifiers placed in front of the noun, the headnoun" where "premodifiers can be freely placed before the headnoun and their number is mainly restricted by the information that is to be conveyed and the syntactic rules governing their composition. On the other side, Plag (2002: 169-194) deals with the general notion of compounding, defining it as "the combination of two words to form a new word". He elaborates the definition saying "that that a compound is a word that consists of two elements, the first of which is either a root, a word or a phrase, the second of which is either a root or a word" and concludes that compounds are "words with binary structure, in which roots, words and even phrases (the latter only as left members) are possible elements" and that they "exhibit a regular compound-specific stress pattern (leftward stress) that differs systematically from that of phrases". When talking about premodifying of nouns within a noun phrase, Blaganje and Konte (1979: 132-135) do not use the term "nominal compound" but write about "a singular noun in the common case premodifying another noun" as a "peculiar feature of English". "They also mention that "nouns functioning as premodifiers in nominal phrases may themselves be premodified or postmodified", thus explaining the nominal compounds that consist of more than two words. Finally, Al-Kharabsheh (2005: 161) shortly defines a nominal compound as a "lexicalised noun phrase", a phrase which is converted "into fully lexicalized or terminologised units".

Having all the mentioned definitions in mind, a synthetic one can be created, defining a nominal compound as a noun (head of the compound) which is premodified with at least one noun in common case[461], allowing the possibility of using other words (adjectives, verbs, etc.) in case of a complex compounding within the premodifier. The meaning of such a compound is a specialization of the meaning of its head and it is limited by the premodifier(s).

3. Types of nominal compounds

The English language creates nominal compounds by concatenating words without case markers, and such compounds may be arbitrarily long. According to the various ambiguities and an almost unlimited number of combinations of words and meanings within longer nominal compounds, the classification of nominal compounds in this place will at first be based on short compounds only.

Short compounds may be written in three different ways:[462] The ***solid*** or ***closed*** is the form in which two usually moderately short words appear together as one. Examples are *housewife*, *lawsuit*, *wallpaper*, etc. The ***hyphenated*** form is the form in which two or more words are connected by a hyphen. Compounds that contain affixes, such as *house-build(er)* and *single-mind(ed)(ness)*, as are often hyphenated, same as the compounds that contain particles, such as *mother-of-pearl* and *salt-and-pepper*. The ***open*** or ***spaced*** form consists of newer combinations of usually longer words, such as *distance learning*, *home network*, etc. In addition to this native English compounding, there is the ***classical*** type, which consists of words derived from Latin (*horticulture*) and those of Greek origin (*photography*).

In terms of their "headedness" (relation to the semantic head) short nominal compounds can be divided into a few categories[463]. The forms such as *power generator*

[461] Often called "attributive noun".
[462] According to: http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Nominal-compound
[463] According to Plag 2002: 185 – 194 and http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Nominal-compound

or *information technology* have in common that they are noun-noun compounds and that they have their semantic head inside the compound, so that they are called ***descriptive*** or ***endocentric*** compounds. On the other side, compounds such as *loudmouth* or *greybeard* are not noun-noun compounds but contain either an adjective or a verb as first element. They refer to persons, so that that their semantic head is outside the compound, which is why they are called ***determinative*** or ***exocentric*** compounds. There is also another type of compound, dealing with the sets of words such as *singer-songwriter*, *scientist-explorer* or *poet-translator* which have two semantic heads, so that both members equally contribute to the meaning of the compound, and these compounds have been labeled ***copulative*** compounds. The copulatives fall into two classes, ***appositional*** (*driver-technician*) and ***coordinative*** (*transverse – velocity component*) compounds.

Ljerka Bartoldić (1994: 62-63) classifies nominal compounds on the basis of what they consist of, and defines two general classes: noun compounds (*power source*, *transmission lines*, *cathode-ray oscilloscope*) that consist of nouns only and different-component compounds (*initial horizontal position, angular velocity*, *emf-inducing component*), consisting of a combination of different types of words.

4. Nominal compounds in technical English and their interpretation

The nominal compound class is one of the most predominant classes in English compounding. Novel terminological nominal constructions are coined in most branches and sub-branches of knowledge and become common parlance, such as *notebook computer*, *galvanized steel*, *communications satellite*, *color television camera,* etc. The complexity of these new concepts and the detailed descriptions of new technologies require the use of complex lexical items or compound nominal phrases, which often incorporate multiple modifiers, thus raising the possibility of ambiguity in their interpretation, although their primary purpose was to convey the meaning unambiguously (see Al-Kharabsheh 2005: 164 and Cortes and Verdejo 2006: 513).

4.1. Problems in nominal compounds interpretation

The possibility of ambiguity leads to the fundamental problem in interpreting nominal compounds, even at the level of those made up of just two words which unambiguously refer to known and understood objects. According to Finin (1980: 310) "the problem is to find the underlying relationship that the speaker intends to hold between the two concepts that the nouns denote." There are several aspects of this problem. The first of them is that the relationship is not always evident in the surface form of the compound, but it depends on some general (world) or professional knowledge. The second source of difficulty is the general lack of syntactic clues (such as word order, prepositions that suggest case roles, and morphemic markers) to guide the interpretation process. Finally, the third difficulty lies in the fact that, even when the constituents are unambiguous, the result of their compounding still can be ambiguous.

On the level of more complex nominal compounds, one of the most important factors that can give rise to difficulty is ***technicalization*** (Al-Kharabsheh 2005). Namely, technico-scientific nominal compounds, such as *bead-type thermistor resistor*, or *reinforced plastic mortar pipe*, which are supposedly designed to efficiently permit specialized knowledge transfer encapsulating condensed information in short structures, lead themselves to more complication, being able to exhibit different varying degrees of technicalization through various complexly-packaged structures. Another problem that can especially complicate the process of interpreting arises from the ***recursion*** (or ***productivity***) property of nominal compounding, which provides the chance of allowing a process to feed itself *ad infinitum,* and as a result there is no logical (i.e. linguistic) limit to the length of such compounds. (*software engineer – application software engineer – application software engineer education…*)

4.2. Possibilities of nominal compounds interpretation

All the mentioned imposes an overriding question: if we take into account the semantic density and the wide range of possible syntactic readings, together with the fact that the type of semantic relationships between the constituents of a nominal compound in English is usually unspecified, how can we determine the right intended interpretation of any nominal compound? Probably the best possible way lies in decomposing compound structures to identify the syntactic links (prepositions, relative pronouns…) that connect the components of a nominal compound which in turn would help pinpoint the semantic content. Paraphrasing can be here a practical and useful strategy.

Although it is based only on two-component nominal compounds, a good overview of some meanings that can be expressed by decomposing and further paraphrasing of the relation between the headword and the premodifying noun is given by Blaganje and Konte (1979: 133-134). They define five categories of relations, which may denote:

a) the material of which something is made (*gold ring*, *glass insulator*, *plastic case*);

b) the object of an action, where the headword is usually a noun of verbal origin derived from a transitive verb (*system administrator*, *machine operator, company manager*);

c) the performer of an action, where the headword is usually a noun of verbal origin derived from an intransitive verb (*system administration*, *student strike*, *virus attack*);

d) an adverbial meaning of time and place (*night shift*, *output power*, *summer holiday*);

e) gender, when the headword denotes a person or an animal (*woman teacher*).

Although good, this overview is definitely not finite, even in terms of the simplest two-component compounds, especially those from the field of technical terminology, and here are three categories that should be added to it:

a) of - genitive possessive relation (*power source*, *voltage difference*, *angular velocity*);
b) for - objective purpose relation (*transmission lines*, *modulation terminal*);
c) which, what, that - relative relation (*angular velocity*, *alternating current*).

Somewhat different statement in nominal compounds interpretation by means of paraphrasing is given by Plag (2002: 189-194). Trying to decompound nominal compounds by paraphrasing, he noticed that the "possible semantic categories (e.g. *location*, *cause*, *manner*, *possessor*, *material*, *content*, *source*, *instrument*, *have*, *from*, *about*, *be*), appear somewhat futile", realizing that "compound is in principle ambiguous and can receive very different interpretations depending on, among other things, the context in which it occurs." On the other side, in isolation, without preceding or following discourse, the compound is interpreted chiefly by relating the members of a compound to each other in terms of the typical relationship between the entities referred to by the given modifier(s) and the headnoun. There can be distinguished at least two different classes of nouns, ***sortal***, used for classifying entities (*chair*, *stool*) and ***relational***, which denote relations between a specific entity and a second one (*father*, *parent*). The second, conceptually necessary, entity (e.g. the child in the case of *father*) to which the relational noun relates is called an argument. Coming back to the problem of interpretation, it can be said that if the right-hand member of a compound is a relational noun, the left-hand member of the compound will normally be interpreted as an argument of the relational noun. This process is called ***argument-linking***. Argument linking is also important for compounds whose right-hand member is a noun that is derived from a verb, and whose left-hand member serves as an argument of the verb (*shop clearance*, *machine repairer*, *game-playing*). Such compounds are often referred to as ***synthetic*** compounds and there are two possibilities for their structural analysis. Either the suffix is attached to a compound consisting of the two words (*game-playing*), or the suffix is attached to the right-hand word and the derived word then forms a compound together with the non-head (*system administrator*). Argument linking in compounds sometimes fails, particularly if the first element of the compound is semantically not compatible with its possible status as argument. In such cases an alternative relationship is constructed. Good example for that is the term a *computer surgery*, being not a surgery performed on computers, because computers are usually not treated by surgeons in the way human organs are, but surgery done with the help of a computer, a computer-assisted surgery.

Taking the nominal compounds interpretation as an interactive process that uses both the syntactic and semantic templates of the nominal compound in question, Al-Kharabsheh (2005) adopts a synthetic approach that makes use of Marchand's (1969) two-component nominal compounds taxonomizing theory whose explanatory power arises from the ***determinant/determinatum dichotomy***; Selkirk's (1982) notion of ***headedness***, Katamba's (1993) principle of ***percolation*** and the ***Right-hand Head Rule***

(RHR) put forward by Di Sciullo & Williams (1987). Marchand's theoretical assumption is that every English compound should be analyzed as containing a ***determinant*** and ***determinatum***. Semantically, the former restricts the latter in semantic range, i.e., in a two element compound, the determinatum represents the element whose range of applicability is limited by the determinant. For instance, in *surface friction* the word *friction* is the element that undergoes a semantic restriction or determination and thus has been called the determinatum. Syntactically, the latter determines the word class of the whole combination, i.e., both concepts are defined as grammatical terms where the determinatum is that element of the syntagma which is dominant in the sense it can represent the whole syntagma in all positions. Thus it can be said that every syntagma (including complex lexical items) can be subjected to a binary analysis into two immediate parts.

On the other side, ***headedness*** can be considered one of the most significant notions in the description and characterization of the semantics of compounds. The majority of English compounds are headed and referred to as ***endocentric*** (e.g. *electron emission)*, while those unheaded, usually referred to as ***exocentric***, are very restricted in number (*coder-decoder*). On such grounds, the semantic argument in English two-element endocentric compounds is the second constituent, e.g., *code* in *computer code*. From a semantic standpoint, it follows that an endocentric compound signifies a subgrouping within the class of entities that the head denotes. For example, *interference elimination* is a kind of elimination where the first element acts as a modifier of the head which determines and identifies its meaning in a more precise manner. In this place, a general principle called ***percolation***, by which morpho-syntactic feature specifications are transmitted to an expression from its constituents can be used. In other words, it indicates "the inheritance of the grammatical features from the head" (Plag 2002: 174) within a compound. Proponents of percolation in morphology claim that morpho-syntactic locus in English is the rightmost element in compounding and in fact that is referred to as the ***Right-hand Head Rule*** **(RHR).** According to this rule, the head of a morphologically complex word is defined to be the right-hand member of that word, and the category of each compound is determined by the right-hand member. If the head in a compound assigns its category features to the constituents of which it is the head, the determinant, on the other hand, denotes the criterion for the subdivision of the category. Thus several subcategories or terminological sets can be created by keeping the head element constant and variously determining it as in *slide switch*, *rocker switch*, *rotary switch*, *float switch*, *electronic switch*; or by keeping the non-head element constant and adding different heads as to create subject or operation related sets of terms, as in *color distortion, color synchronization, color television system,* etc.

On the basis of what has been discussed so far, a working interpreting scheme for two-component nominal compounds can be said to work adequately if it rests on Marchand's dichotomy (determinant/determinatum). The principle of headedness and the RHR interact and can be integrated with Marchand's equation when they highlight and mark the second component of an NC as the centre of the whole structure. Percolation, on the other hand, smoothly integrates with Marchand's equation when it puts emphasis on the rightmost element of a nominal compound to be the recipient of all inflections and the holder of the structure's class. Incorporating such an integrated scheme in the analysis of nominal compounds is a pre-step to the paraphrasing process intended to reveal all covert syntactic and semantic relationships, so that paraphrasing should not be carried out before subjecting the nominal compound in question to the mentioned multi-faceted scheme. On the other side, it is limited in terms of being exclusively applicable to two-element nominal compounds, falling short of handling multi-element nominal compounds. According to Al-Kharabsheh (2005: 175) three techniques can be suggested to resolve the problem: ***syntactic recovery***, ***slicing & pairing***, and ***building up or constructing patterns***. ***Syntactic recovery*** involves recovering the underlying structure of a nominal compound above the phrase level and/or the genitive construct level. It concerns itself with providing a full underlying structure that amounts to a sentence or clause level. Accordingly, the following nominal compounds can be syntactically recovered as follows: *finite-difference method* - a method that is exclusively used for finite differences; *thermal shock resistance test* - a test to measure the resistance of thermal shocks. In ***slicing & pairing*** the compound is broken down into pairs. On this basis, any long nominal compound can be viewed as a compound embedding (a) compound(s), as each pair constitutes a compound within the whole nominal compound. For instance, the compound *heat-resisting flat plate glass* can be dissected into pairs: *heat-resisting*, *flat plate* and *glass*. When that is done, each of the pairs can be easily analyzed in terms of modification or by implementing determinant/determinatum equation. Thus, *heat-resisting* can be analyzed as 'resisting heat'; *flat plate* as 'a plate that is flat'; and glass as the *head*. Thus the sub-compound *heat-resisting* is a premodifier for the sub-compound *flat plate* which itself premodifies the head *glass*. The third technique, ***building up or constructing patterns*** is virtually concerned with predicting and specifying the head element on the basis of frequency of occurrence of words in the language. For example, the second component in the nominal compounds *torsion reinforcement*, *solenoid switch*, and *inductance bridge*, can be predicted to be more frequent than those occurring in the initial position and so they are more likely to function as head elements rather than postmodifiers. The first two techniques are very useful tools tool in interpreting nominal compounds through the process of decompounding and paraphrasing, while the third lacks reliability and thus can not be used widely, but only in certain situations.

5. Conclusion

Everything that is presented in this paper indicates that the interpretation of nominal compounds is not something that can be done ad-hoc, but is rather a systematized procedure that consists of series of theoretical assumptions and actions, assimilated to provide convenient, synthetic interpreting approaches and schemes. As can be clearly seen, two main procedures involved in such an interpretation are decompounding (decomposition of a nominal compound to its consisting parts) and paraphrasing (determination of possible semantic and semantic relations between or among the constituents of a nominal compound). All the mentioned methods and techniques use them to achieve their goals, and in that way, together with other methods that have not been included in this paper, they make the interpretation and comprehension of nominal compounds in technical English much more accurate, easier and clearer, although there always might appear ambiguities, misunderstandings and failures caused by two variable and uncontrollable categories: context and knowledge (general and professional).

References

Al-Kharabsheh, A. (2005) "The Interpretation of Terminological Constructions: The Case of Technico-Scientific Nominal Compounds", **Journal of Language and Linguistics,** Vol. 4 No. 2, pp. 161-182.

Bartolić, Lj. (1994) **Technical English in Electronics and Electrical Power Engineering**, Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Blaganje, D. and Konte I. (1979) **Modern English Grammar**, Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije

Cortes, J. A. and Verdejo R. R. (2006) "Teaching how to generate complex nominal phrases used to define New concepts or describe objects", **Proceedings of the 5th International AELFE Conference**, Zaragoza, Spain, pp. 513 – 518.

Di Sciullo A. and Williams E. (1987) **On the Definition of Word**, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press

Finin, T. W. (1980) "The Semantic Interpretation of Nominal Compounds", **Proceedings of the First National Conference on Artificial Intelligence**, pp. 310 – 312

Isabelle, P. (1984) "Another Look at Nominal Compounds", **Proceedings of the 10th International Conference on Computational Linguistics and 22nd annual meeting on Association for Computational Linguistics**, Stanford, California, pp. 509 – 516.

Katamba F. (1993) **Morphology**, London: The MacMillan Press Ltd

Marchand, H. (1969) **The Categories and Types of Present-Day English Word-Formation**, Second edition. Munich: C.H. Becksche Verlagsbuchhandlung

Plag, I. (2002) **Word-formation in English**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Selkirk E. (1982) **The Syntax of Words**, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press

UDK 811.111'271

Ivana Francetić
Ana Ostroški Anić

PLAIN ENGLISH IN PLANE ENGLISH: ANALYSING USER NEEDS

Abstract: *The language standards established by the ICAO Language Proficiency Requirements (LPRs) require that communicative competence in aviation English be tested against the proficiency rating scale and six holistic descriptors. Along with the ability to speak and understand the language for radiotelephony communications, pilots and air traffic controllers must be able to communicate on common and work-related topics. However, the ICAO descriptors fail to explain the lexical contents implied by these requirements. The paper attempts to define the level of general English in the context of aviation English teaching and testing, with special emphasis on lexical domains most useful to learners.*

Key words: *ESP, aviation English, user needs*

1. Introduction – Language Proficiency Requirements

The communicative needs of aviation English users are probably more clearly defined than user needs in any other domain of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) today. Hardly can we imagine any other professional environment in which language plays such a crucial role in ensuring regular and safe day-to-day business. Although English is not officially prescribed as the only language used in the international aviation community, it formally assumed that role with the application of the ICAO Language Proficiency Requirements (LPRs).

After a number of aircraft incidents and accidents where the use of two languages in the same aviation environment or an inadequate level of English led to miscommunication and eventually the accident itself, the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) adopted a set of standards and recommended practices governing the use of language for radiotelephony communication (Mathews, 2004: 17). Thus on March 5, 2003 the ICAO issued Language Proficiency Requirements as an attempt to introduce English to international flights, establish a minimum proficiency level requirement for everyone involved in international radiotelephony communication, standardize the use of the ICAO phraseologies, recommend a testing schedule to demonstrate language proficiency, and to require both plain language and the ICAO phraseologies to be used for safe radiotelephony communications (ICAO, 2004: ix). As a guidance material in reaching the set language standards, the *Manual on the Implementation of ICAO Language Proficiency Requirements* was issued in 2004. The required language proficiency was delineated in the ICAO Rating Scale (ICAO, 2004: A-8), which consists of six levels ranging from Pre-elementary to Expert Level, with the Operational level – Level 4 – being the one all pilots and air traffic controllers must pass in order to keep their licences. Using the descriptors from the rating scale, a rater assesses the pilot's or controller's pronunciation, structure, vocabulary, fluency, comprehension and ability to interact. However, only speaking and listening skills are actually tested, since they are the communicative skills pilots and controllers use most in their working environment.

Despite the obligation to use English in international airspace, the ICAO LPRs still allow the national language of the controllers on the ground to be used by both the pilot and the controller engaged in radiotelephony (RT) communication. The reality, however, is that English is the preferred language for any communication in international airspace. For example, although a French flight crew is allowed to speak French with its Air Traffic Control (ATC) on Charles de Gaulle airport, a German airplane flying in their airspace and using the same frequency might not understand some information relevant for their operation if they do not speak French. That is why many countries prescribe English as the only language to be used in international airspace for all aircraft flying according to Instrument Flight Rules (IFR). Standardization is therefore essential, since pilots and controllers from various parts of the world have to understand each other.

The aim of this paper is to define what lexical and grammatical components of general English or plain English pilots and air traffic controllers need for safe and effective radiotelephony communication in non-routine and emergency situations. We will attempt to answer this question by analyzing the communicative functions listed in the *Manual on the Implementation of ICAO Language Proficiency Requirements* and back our conclusions with examples from actual or simulated pilot-controller communication.

2. Aviation English vs. General English

The area of aviation is so broad that it is a challenging task to even begin to define all the various areas of expertise it encompasses. Aviation English (AE), therefore, is not merely a specialized subset of the English language used in aviation context. It includes both the English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and General English (GE), as well as a standardized set of prescribed phrases and expressions used in all routine aircraft procedures i.e. radiotelophony phraseology. However, each subdomain of AE is neither of the same scope nor relevance for effective communication. The mutual relationship between them may be seen in the aviation English model, as adapted from Mitsutomi (2003: 123).

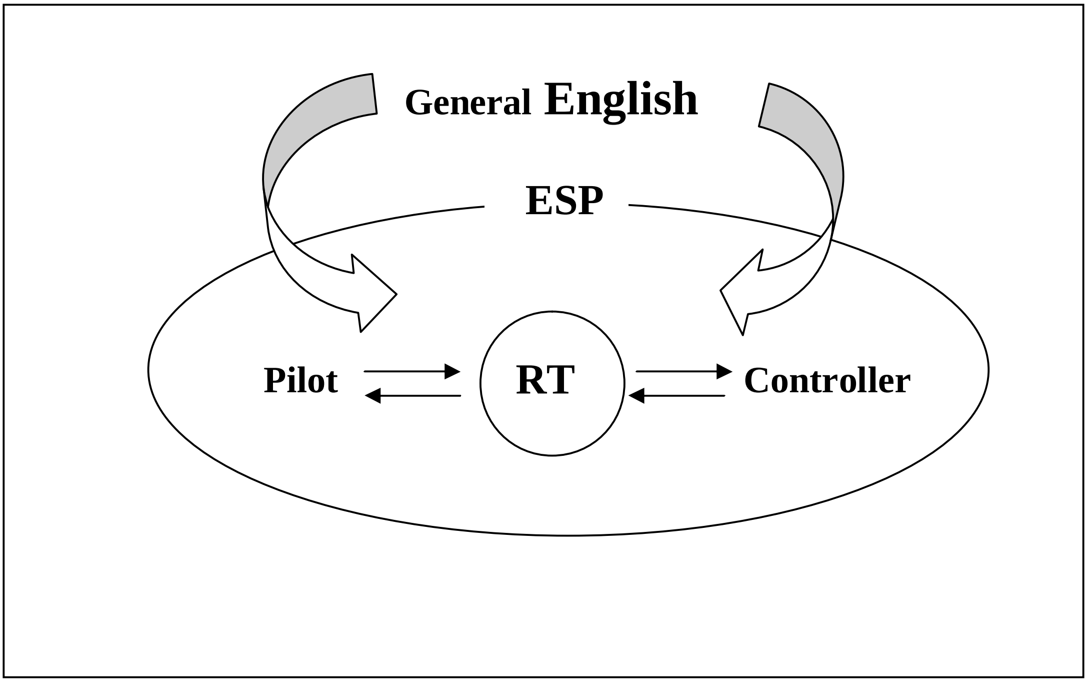


Figure 1. Aviation English model

Within the aviation English as a variety of ESP, there are several fields of aviation that should, at least broadly, be known to pilots and controllers. In this paper we refer only to aviation English for ATC and pilots (or Flight Crew).

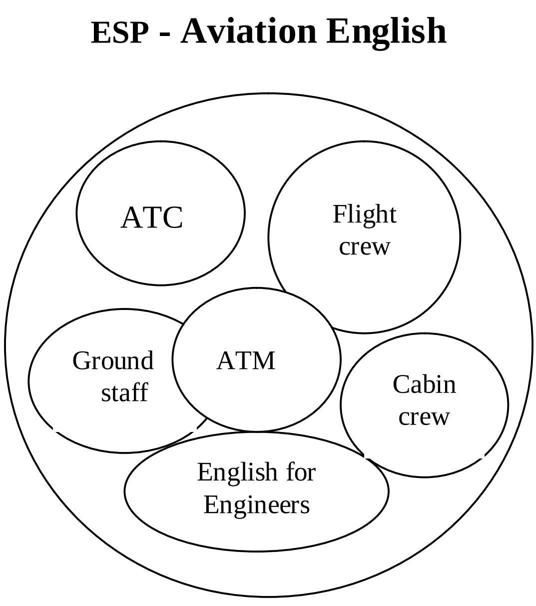


Figure 2. Aviation ESP model

2.1. Aviation English priority lexical domains

Pilots and air traffic controllers communicate by using the radiotelephony phraseology that consists of "standardized words and phrases approved for the radiotelephony communications by ICAO" (ICAO, 2004: 4.8) in all routine aircraft situations. However, the communication is made possible due to the ESP context, i.e. their common and work-related topics, especially because the situations they find themselves in are highly predictable. Even if misunderstandings do occur, they are rather easily dealt with since both parties engaged in the conversation know what replies to expect from each other. Problems arise in non-routine and emergency situations, when pilots and controllers have to resort to plain English because the phraseology lacks the communicative means for effective communication in unpredictable situations such as on board medical emergencies, engine problems, fuel shortage or terrorism.

The Manual on the Implementation of ICAO Language Proficiency Requirements clarifies plain English, i.e. it defines and lists communicative language functions, events, domains and tasks connected with aviation. But, it is not irrelevant that defined language tasks refer only to air traffic controllers, while events and domains refer to air traffic control operations (ICAO, 2004: Appendix B). Pilots' tasks still need to be clarified in more detail.

Below is a list of priority lexical domains of general or plain English for air traffic control, as they are listed in the Manual. They combine various kinds of lexical and grammatical information that needs to be organized more systematically.

• Abbreviations, acronyms • Animals, birds • Aviation, flight • Behaviour, activities • Cargo, merchandise, packaging, materials • Causes, conditions • Geography, topographical features, nationalities • Health, medicine • Language, spoken communications • Modality (obligation, probability, possibility) • Numbers • Perception, senses • Problems, errors, accidents, malfunctions • Rules, enforcement, infringement, protocol • Space, movement, position, distance, dimension • Technology • Time, duration, schedules • Transport, travel, vehicles • Weather, climate, natural disasters

Table 1. Priority lexical domains

3. From communicative functions towards language domains

In order to identify the lexical and grammatical domains of general English or plain English used for RT communication in more detail, we first have to see what it is that pilots and air traffic controllers do, i.e. we have to define the communicative functions of the language they use.

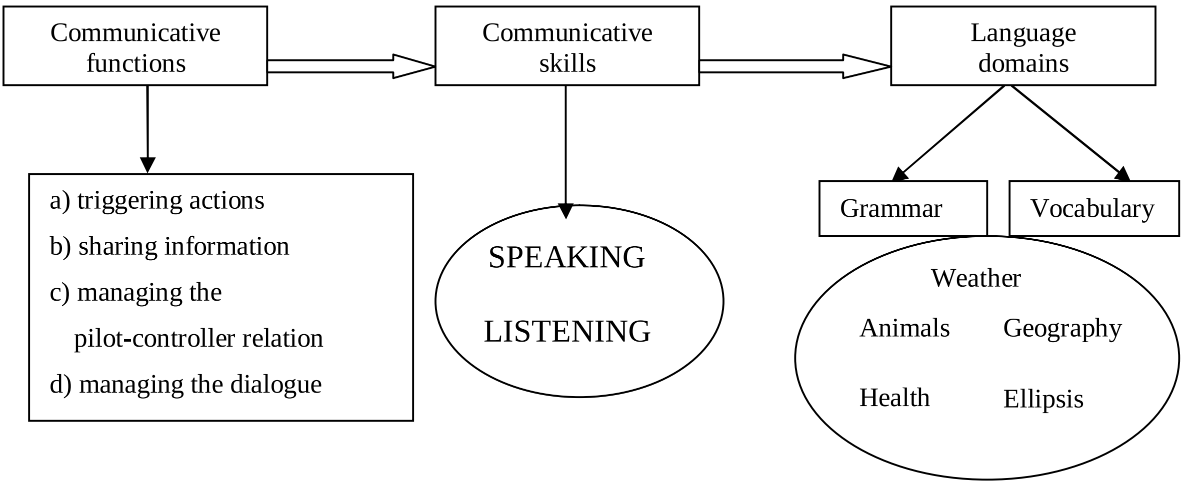


Figure 3. From language functions to language domains

Communicative functions are organized broadly into four groups, each of which is further divided into more concrete functions, such as: giving orders, giving advice, offering to act, asking about intentions, explaining, etc. Generally speaking, the pilot-controller communication can be broken down into pilots requesting the approval to perform a certain action, controllers allowing them or ordering them to do it, and the pilots again acknowledging the receipt of the message by reading it back.

Having identified the language functions, we have to ask ourselves what communication strategies they use to perform their tasks. What vocabulary do they need? What communication skills do we have to teach them? When talking on the frequency their RT communication has to be clear, concise and unambiguous, because there is no visual contact between the parties involved in the communication and thus clarification or acknowledgement of understanding the message by facial expressions or gestures is missing. The utterances are also often distorted by radio equipment. The communication must also be concise because there are often situations in which a single controller has to deal with 20 or more pilots on his or her frequency at the same time. Developing speaking and listening skills is, therefore, of vital importance in the language training of pilots and air traffic controllers.

3.1. Linguistic features

The linguistic features (or priority lexical domains, as the *ICAO Manual* calls them) of plain English used in RT communication would be best suited to meet those needs, once they are categorized more systematically and described in more detail. Here are some examples of the most relevant grammatical and lexical features of the phraseology that could be applied to plain English when it is used in radiotelephony communication:

1. lack of greetings (*hello*, *good morning*, *goodbye*)
2. constant use of aircraft call sign in every utterance as an identification tool to be clear which pilot is addressing the controller and which pilot is addressed by the controller
3. absence of polite words and phrases (*please*, *would you be so kind*)
4. absence of all modals and auxiliary verbs (*to be*, *can*, *could* etc.; instead of *I would like to – Request*)
5. omission of prepositions (*turn left*, *fly present heading*)
6. limited use of tenses (clipped present continuous, passive)
   – past participle (*Cleared IFR flight to London*...)
   – present participle to express present actions (*Leaving FL 130, climbing FL 190*)
   – infinitive to express future actions (*When airborne to turn right to proceed to E point*)
7. absence of determiners like *here*, *there*, *then*, and articles (*Vacate runway via TWY D*)
8. certain words acquire specific, unambiguous meanings – they become terms (*right* means *not left*, *correct* means *that is right*; *verify* – check and confirm with the originator, *approved* – permission for proposed action granted, *affirm* means *yes*, *go ahead* means proceed with your message, not movement)
9. use of imperatives (*Climb FL 130*, not *You will have to climb to*, *Could you climb*...)
10. elliptical sentences – sentences without the subject; absence of pronouns (*we*, *I*, etc.) (*Starting up*, *Information C received*)

When analyzing the incident/accident transcripts in which phraseology was one of the contributing factors, it can be seen that the participants often switched from using radiotelephony to plain English. Native and good speakers of English often tend not to use standard phraseology when needed due to their good knowledge of English, but too much plain English confuses non-native speakers. An incident that happened in June 2007 at Heathrow Airport is a good example of this.[464] A Polish crew had problems

[464] For more details refer to http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1025911/Polish-pilots-poor-English-led-mid-air-collision-Heathrow.html.

with their navigation equipment when arriving to the airport and due to their insufficient knowledge of English they were confused by the controller's utterances: *You appear to be tracking to the west now* and *What heading do you think you are flying at the moment?* If the controller had used *Confirm flying west* and *Report present heading*, the crew would probably have had less difficulties understanding him in an already stressful situation. This example clearly emphasizes the need for all air traffic participants to reach at least Level 4 of LPRs, but it also shows that native speakers have to learn how to adapt their language to non-native speakers.

3.2. Examples of good use

The next few dialogues show how plain English, when used in non-routine situations, should be effectively adjusted to radiotelephony communication and its restrictions:[465]

> P: Pacific 183, err, we are getting a gradual ice build up as a result of suspected deicing equipment failure. We require descent to below the freezing level and will advise shortly if the problem can be rectified.
>
> C: Pacific 183 roger descend to 9000 QNH, 1014.
> P: Pacific 183, 9000 thanks.
> C: Pacific 183 let me know if you require lower, do emergency conditions exist?
> P: Pacific 183, that should be sufficiently low enough and negative, emergency conditions do not exist.
>
> P: Pacific 183, we have a further problem with our leading edge flap extension and believe this is due to the prior icing issue; perhaps just a micro-switch malfunction, however we'll be conducting a flapless landing and will require Runway 26 Left or Right.
> C: Pacific 183 roger, change of Runway 26 Left, turn right heading 080 for downwind, now with 24 track miles to run, amend descent, maintain 4000.
>
> P: BAW 123 Request airport ground service assistance, we've just swung off the runway 05 due (to) burst tire. The passengers are going to stay on board until you send round the rescue vehicles.
> C: BAW 123 roger, burst tire on landing. Alerting the ground services.
>
> P: We've got to turn around due to bird strike, engine nO 3 is overheating.
> C: Roger, bird strike. Report level.

---

[465] Dialogues are taken from RELTA Practice Test materials. All names and situations are fictional, but based on pilots' and controllers' experience.

P: Passing 1500 ft.
C: Stop climb at 2500 ft then turn left heading 200 (details)
P: Stopping at 2500 ft then to turn left heading 200 ...

P: We're coming back due to burst tire during gear retraction. We were lucky it didn't burst in the well but starboard flaps seem to have been damaged.

P: We have to come back - we nearly stalled during the climb-out. Cargo probably shifted in the rear hold (must have been tied down improperly).

4. Conclusion

Radiotelephony and aviation English are neatly interwoven and cannot be separated. The correct knowledge of RT is essential to the controllers and pilots since it can be seen as a tool their work is based on. In the majority of the aviation teaching organizations all over the world, the teaching or RT and aviation English is separated. Radiotelephony is taught by subject matter experts while aviation English is taught by language experts. However, these two are so interrelated that in order to achieve the best results in teaching AE, there should be a tight cooperation between a subject matter expert and an AE teacher, or else AE teachers should try to acquire some operational knowledge.

The specific-purpose language training has an advantage over general language in that learners share a common interest and motivation for learning the language (ICAO, 2004: 7-4). They know why they learn the language and in which situations they will use it, not to mention that their work and work-related topics create the basis for the vocabulary they need to acquire. But, in aviation ESP is just not enough, especially when pilots and controllers find themselves in unusual or unknown situations and lack the vocabulary and communicative strategies to cope with the difficulties. A good knowledge of general or plain English will then serve as a basis on which operational knowledge is successfully added. One must go with the other if we want to have safer skies.

References

ICAO (2004) **Manual on the Implementation of ICAO Language Proficiency Requirements**, Montreal: International Civil Aviation Organization

Mathews, E. (2004) “Language Proficiency Requirements of the International Civil Aviation Organization”, reprinted in Emery-Roberts, **Train the Trainers: Teaching Aviation English Pre-course task**, Oxford: Oxford Aviation Academy, pp. 16 – 19

Mitsutomi, M. (2003) “The Critical Components of Aviation English”, **International Journal of Applied Aviation Studies**, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 117 – 129

RMIT English Worldwide, **RELTA Test for Pilots: Practice Test Materials**, Melbourne: RMIT

http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1025911/Polish-pilots-poor-English-led-mid-air-collision-Heathrow.html (last accessed 10 January 2010)

UDK 81'276:378(497.11)

Milica Mirić
Danijela Đorović

JEZIK STRUKE NA UNIVERZITETU: STAVOVI NASTAVNIKA STRUČNIH PREDMETA

Apstrakt: *Prilikom izrade planova i programa jezika struke, institucija na kojoj se izvodi ovakav predmet trebalo bi da jasno identifikuje i precizno formuliše očekivane ciljeve nastave. Stavovi nastavnika stručnih predmeta o potrebi učenja stranog jezika struke na studijama i o značaju ovog predmeta za budući profesionalni život mogu doprineti boljem uvidu u realne potrebe studenata, a samim tim i uspešnijem programiranju nastave. Pošto u praksi ovi elementi često nedostaju, u ovom radu pokušali smo da, kroz ispitivanje stavova nastavnika i saradnika nefiloloških fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, rasvetlimo neke aspekte ovog važnog segmenta planiranja nastave jezika struke.*

Ključne reči: *jezik struke, programiranje nastave, stavovi nastavnika stručnih predmeta*

1. Uvod

Ukoliko pod jezikom struke podrazumevamo posebni vid upotrebe jezika koji na pojmovnom i terminološkom planu pomaže konstituisanju jedne radne ili naučne oblasti i komuniciranju unutar te struke (Bugarski, 1997:201), onda je jasno da u planiranju, programiranju i izvođenju nastave jezika struke neminovno moraju učestvovati ne samo nastavnici i metodičari stranog jezika, već i stručnjaci iz odgovarajuće naučne oblasti koji su na neki način tvorci i korisnici ovog specifičnog funkcionalnog jezičkog varijeteta u okviru jednog jezika. Taj posebni, u manjoj ili većoj meri formalizovani, kodifikovani jezik, koji se uči uporedo sa sticanjem osnovnih saznanja određene naučne oblasti, predstavlja medijum inicijacije budućeg stručnjaka u odgovarajuću diskursnu zajednicu (Swales, 1990:24), u kognitivni model date nauke, u norme i konvencije pisanog i usmenog izraza jedne posebne društvene grupe.

2. Nastavnici stručnih predmeta i jezik struke

Vidovi učešća stručnjaka određenih disciplina u nastavi i učenju stranog jezika struke mogu biti veoma raznovrsni. To pokazuju protekle decenije ispunjene pokušajima da se pronađe najpodesniji model saradnje nastavnika stranog jezika struke i nastavnika stručnih predmeta kako bi nastava jezika bila svrsishodna, relevantna u pogledu sadržaja koji se izučavaju i komplementarna nastavi stručnih predmeta[466]. Metodologija kooperativne nastave (*co-operative teaching*), čiji prvi pokušaji sežu u XIX vek (Barron, 1991: 2), nije vezana isključivo za domen jezika struke, ali se, naročito po objavljivanju poznate Selinkerove studije[467] (Selinker, 1979), broj modela kooperativne nastave samo povećavao[468]. Bez obzira na stepen saradnje nastavnika stručnih predmeta i stranog jezika struke, osnovna svrha angažovanja stručnjaka različitih profila na zajedničkom obrazovnom zadatku jeste integrisani razvoj akademskih i lingvističkih kompetencija učenika, tj. istovremeno usavršavanje na kognitivnom i komunikativnom planu. Poznato je, naime, da je za studenta epistemološko-metodološki aparat nauke koju izučava neodvojiv od jezika kojom se ta disciplina služi (Ballard/Clanchy, 1988: 17). Da bi u okviru studija budući stručnjak stekao osnove tog specifičnog jezičkog podsistema, pred planerima kurseva jezika struke stoji izuzetno težak i odgovoran zadatak selekcije najreprezentativnijeg jezičkog materijala koji verno i pouzdano predstavlja najtipičnije morfosintaksičke, tekstualne i retoričke odlike jezika date struke. Stručnjaci lingvističkog i metodičkog usmerenja u tom smislu nužno su upućeni na stručnjake datih disciplinarnih područja kao izvor informacija o autentičnoj jezičkoj realnosti oličenoj u profesionalnoj komunikaciji unutar te naučne/stručne zajednice.

Iako se u literaturi prirodna spona između stručnjaka za strani jezik određene nauke i stručnjaka iz te oblasti ističe kao jedan od preduslova planiranja, programiranja i izvođenja savremene nastave jezika struke, u praksi ovaj vid saradnje, bar kada je o našoj sredini reč, ostaje deklarativan, neinstitucionalizovan, neformalan i sporadičan. Nastava jezika struke često nije koordinisana, ni sadržinski ni metodološki, sa nastavom stručnih predmeta, već se izvodi kao sasvim izolovan nastavni segment koji nema uočljivu vezu sa ostatkom studijskog programa, niti jasan status, ciljeve i ishode u okviru tog studijskog programa.

Nepovoljan utisak o trenutnom položaju predmeta *Strani jezik* na Univerzitetu u Beogradu ne ostavlja mnogo mesta optimističkoj viziji njegove perspektive u budućnosti. Broj jezika koji se izučavaju, mesto ovog predmeta u studijskim programima, kao i njegov fond časova mogu nas samo utvrditi u stavu da se između postavljanja zahteva univerzitetske ustanove za ovakvim vidom nastave i uključivanja stranih jezika u

---

[466] Budući da nastavu jezika struke obično koncipiraju jezički planeri, a ne stručnjaci iz datih naučnih oblasti, ovo je dobar vid „kontrole” adekvatnosti stručnih sadržaja, ciljeva i ishoda kursa u široj perspektivi obrazovanja stručnjaka jednog profila (Barron, 1991: 3).

[467] Selinker opisuje jedan mogući metod saradnje stručnjaka određene oblasti i jezičkih eksperata u definisanju sadržaja, tekstualne organizacije i retoričkih funkcija tekstove te struke.

[468] Najpoznatiji su: **konsultativni metod** (nastavnik stručnog predmeta u određenim fazama nastave pomaže svojim savetima i sugestijama nastavniku jezika struke i planerima kursa oko izbora stručnih sadržaja i autentičnih materijala koje nastavnik zatim didaktizuje; može držati i konsultacije i pomagati u vrednovanju rada studenata); **metod saradnje u nastavi** (nastavnik stranog jezika struke i nastavnici stručnih predmeta sarađuju u svim etapama koncipiranja i izvođenja nastave, ali ne dele učionicu) i **metod timske nastave** (nastavnik stranog jezika struke i nastavnici stručnih predmeta sarađuju u potpunosti – zajedno predaju u istoj učionici).

studijski program pogrešno stavlja znak jednakosti. Ako pođemo od tvrdnje da je osnovni cilj nastave stranih jezika na univerzitetskom nivou „da studentima pruži znanja i veštine koje su im neophodne za profesionalnu i stručnu kompetenciju, a kroz savladavanje opštenaučnog diskursa i terminoloških sistema karakterističnih za njihov obrazovni profil“ (Ignjačević/Brdarski, 2006:155), ne možemo se oteti utisku da se on u datim uslovima ne može postići u potpunosti. Jezik struke izučava se na početnim godinama studija kada studenti još uvek ne vladaju svojom profesijom, fond časova na velikom broju fakulteta veoma je mali, a predmet *Strani jezik* svrstava se u grupu opšteobrazovnih predmeta, što on nije i nikako ne bi smeo da bude.

Proizvoljnosti uočene u statusu stranih jezika posledica su više faktora. Može da se pretpostavi da su se nastavnici stručnih predmeta tokom reforme nastave usredsredili na problematiku kojom se profesionalno bave, zanemarujući značaj učenja stranih jezika. Poznato je takođe da se u nefilološkim krugovima o jeziku struke malo govori i malo zna, što može da izazove negativan ili indiferentan stav nastavnika stručnih predmeta prema stranom jeziku na studijama. Ne čudi onda da nastavnici stručnih predmeta mogu samo intuitivno da pretpostave da je jezik struke neodvojivi segment učenja i bavljenja profesijom i da bi njihova aktivna saradnja sa nastavnicima stranih jezika mogla da pruži značajan doprinos ostvarivanju ciljeva nastave jezika struke.

U želji da se makar delom razreše dileme oko trenutnog položaja stranih jezika na Univezitetu u Beogradu, sprovedeno je istraživanje stavova nastavnika stručnih predmeta o potrebi učenja stranog jezika struke na studijama i o značaju ovog predmeta za budući profesionalni život studenata.

3. Problem istraživanja

Kreiranje plana i programa ozbiljan je zadatak, koji uključuje planiranje i implementaciju niza procedura od analize potreba datog profila učenika, analize ciljne situacije, određivanja ciljeva i ishoda nastave, preko analiza konteksta u kojem će se nastava izvoditi, organizacije kursa, pripreme adekvatnog nastavnog materijala, do obezbeđivanja efikasnog sistema evaluacije (Richards, 2001:ix). Prilikom izrade planova i programa jezika struke, institucija na kojoj se izvodi ovakav predmet trebalo bi da jasno identifikuje i precizno formuliše očekivane ciljeve nastave (Parpette, 2001).

4. Ciljevi i zadaci istraživanja

Ciljevi istraživanja bili su da utvrdimo kakav odnos nastavnici stručnih predmeta imaju prema učenju i nastavi stranog jezika za potrebe struke i nauke. Zadaci koje smo postavili odnose se na:
- svrhu postojanja predmeta *Strani jezik* na studijama
- poziciju i sadržaj predmeta *Strani jezik* u okviru studijskog programa
- značaj poznavanja stranog jezika za savladavanje stručnih predmeta.

Na osnovu navedenih zadataka postavili smo sledeće hipoteze:

- Većina nastavnika potrebu učenja stranih jezika sagledava iz perspektive akademskih potreba (a ne profesionalnih, van okvira univerziteta).
- Predmet *Strani jezik* pozicionira se na početku studija kao opšteobrazovni predmet viđen najčešće kao tečaj opšteg jezika sa elementima jezika struke.
- Značaj poznavanja stranog jezika za stručne predmete u velikoj meri zavisi od grupacije kojoj fakultet pripada, odnosno od prirode studijskog programa.

5. Metodologija istraživanja: uzorak i instrument

Ispitivanje je obavljeno u januaru 2009. godine na Univerzitetu u Beogradu. Bilo je predviđeno anketiranje svih nastavnika i saradnika fakulteta svih grupacija Univerziteta u Beogradu. Ipak, uzorak je na kraju činilo 189 nastavnika i saradnika[469] (oko 20% nastavnog osoblja) spremnih da učestvuju u ovom istraživanju. Otuda se rezultati ovog istraživanja ne mogu generalizovati. Kao instrument istraživanja korišćen je upitnik sastavljen od jednog pitanja otvorenog, jednog pitanja kombinovanog i tri pitanja zatvorenog tipa.

6. Rezultati istraživanja i tumačenje dobijenih rezultata

U ispitivanju stavova nastavnika stručnih predmeta pošli smo od pitanja **svrhe postojanja predmeta *Strani jezik*** na univerzitetu. Kao što smo i očekivali, većina ispitanika smatra da strani jezik treba da studente osposobi za primenu jezika u akademskom miljeu i to za korišćenje literature (85,7%); za napredovanje na akademskoj lestvici (83,1%); za učešće na naučnim/stručnim skupovima (48,7%); za pisanje na stranom jeziku (41,3%). Nastavnici stručnih predmeta ne zanemaruju ni značaj korišćenja stranog jezika struke za profesionalne potrebe izvan akademskog miljea (48,7%). Relativno mali broj ispitanika smatra da je učenje stranog jezika na studijama prilika da se usavrši jezik koji se ranije učio (20,6%) ili da se nauči još jedan strani jezik (16,4%) što nam pokazuje da su ispitanici svesni da se svrhe učenja jezika na fakultetu i učenja jezika izvan univerzitetske sredine razlikuju.

Iako je naša hipoteza bila da će se većina ispitanika opredeliti za **pozicioniranje predmeta *Strani jezik*** na početne godine studija, dobijeni rezultati pokazali su da 71,4% nastavnika smatra da bi jezik trebalo izučavati tokom čitavih studija. Ovakvo mišljenje nastavnika stručnih predmeta treba uzeti sa rezervom budući da su na naš upitnik verovatno odgovorili oni koji prema učenju stranih jezika imaju pozitivan stav. Kad je reč o učenju stranih jezika na završnim godinama studija, kod različitih grupa ispitanika uočeno je raslojavanje u odgovorima. Dok, na primer, svega 2,8% vanrednih profesora smatra poželjnim da se jezik pozicionira na završne godine studija, 16,8% asistenata

[469] Učestvovalo je 33 redovna profesora, 35 vanrednih profesora, 44 docenta i 77 asistenata i asistenata pripravnika.

smatra da bi ga upravo tada trebalo izučavati.

Kada je reč o **sadržaju kursa *Strani jezik*** na studijama izrazito veliki procenat ispitanika (81,5%) opredelio se za kombinovan tečaj opšteg jezika i jezika struke, za specijalizovani tečaj jezika struke opredelilo se 15,3%, a za tečaj opšteg jezika svega 3,2% ispitanika. Ovi podaci govore da nastavnici stručnih predmeta uviđaju da cilj učenja stranog jezika na studijama ne podrazumeva isključivo savladavanje opšteg jezika, već obavezno uključuje upoznavanje sa elementima jezika struke. Jasnija opredeljenost ispitanika za kombinovan tip tečaja verovatno je posledica nedovoljnog poznavanja koncepta nastave stranog jezika za posebne namene. Čini se, naime, da većina stručnjaka nefiloloških disciplina specijalizovani tečaj izjednačava sa savladavanjem stručne terminologije, prenebregavajući ostale, morfosintaksičke, tekstualne i pragmatičke nivoe izučavanja ovog jezičkog varijeteta.

Najveći broj ispitanika (67%) smatra da je neophodno **poznavanje stranog jezika** (mahom engleskog, retko nekog drugog) **za praćenje stručnih predmeta**. Većina ovih ispitanika očekuje da studenti vladaju jezikom na „srednjem" nivou, za potrebe korišćenja stručne literature (pisanje seminarskih i diplomskih radova, priprema ispita), ređe na „osnovnom" ili „visokom" nivou[470]. Iz odgovora možemo zaključiti da veliki broj nastavnika znanje jezika struke i dalje poistovećuje sa poznavanjem stručne terminologije. Veoma mali broj njih pominje usmeno izražavanje i pisanje na stranom jeziku. Izvestan broj nastavnika tvrdi da bi od studenata zahtevali da više koriste strani jezik tokom studija, ali da iskustvo pokazuje da mnogi za to nisu osposobljeni. Čak i nastavnici za čije predmete nije neophodno znanje stranog jezika smatraju da bi ono bilo poželjno i da će biti sve potrebnije u budućnosti. Zanimljivo je da neki nastavnici tokom izvođenja nastave na svom predmetu studentima zadaju prevode stručnih tekstova koje sami, bez saradnje sa nastavnicima stranih jezika, vrednuju sa ciljem da utvrde koliko studenti poznaju stručnu terminologiju.

Na kraju upitnika nastavnicima je bila ostavljena mogućnost da iznesu svoje napomene ili sugestije o ovoj problematici. Zahvaljujući dragocenim komentarima, dobijen je još bolji uvid u odnos nastavnika stručnih predmeta prema učenju, nastavi i ulozi stranog jezika struke na Univerzitetu u Beogradu.

Ohrabruje činjenica da su neki nastavnici pokazali spremnost i otvorenost ka saradnji sa nastavnicima stranih jezika u planiranju i programiranju nastave. To se vidi i iz predloga da studenti ponekad izrađuju radove na stranom jeziku za neki stručni predmet, kao i da povremeno polažu delove ispita na stranom jeziku. Štaviše, na Poljoprivrednom fakultetu, na studijskom programu Agroekonomija, saradnja nastavnika stručnih predmeta i stranih jezika je ostvarena u praksi (zajednički je kreiran program predmeta *Strani jezik*). S druge strane, postoje nastavnici koji, po njihovim rečima, nažalost nisu dovoljno upoznati sa nastavom stranih jezika. Mnogi nastavnici izrazili su zadovoljstvo što se ovakvo istraživanje sprovodi i okarakterisali su ga veoma korisno i važno smatrajući da su neke promene u ovom domenu neophodne.

---

[470] Ove termine koristili su ispitanici.

Kada je reč o statusu jezika u okviru studijskih programa, nastavnici su imali različite komentare. Dok jedni smatraju (a) da strani jezik treba izučavati ne samo tokom osnovnih studija već i na master i doktorskim studijama, (b) da strani jezik ne sme biti izborni predmet, (c) da je postojeći fond časova nedovoljan i da ga treba povećati, (d) da je potrebno uvesti učenje dva strana jezika, (e) da je potrebno učiti druge strane jezike, a ne samo engleski, (f) da je poželjno izvođenje dela nastave na stranom jeziku, čak i paralelno studiranje na stranom jeziku, drugi su mišljenja (a) da je strani jezik trebalo savladati na nižim nivoima obrazovanja, a ne na univerzitetskom nivou, (b) da strani jezik treba da bude izborni predmet zbog opterećenosti studijskih programa, (c) da treba učiti isključivo engleski jezik.

Neki od komentara odnosili su se i na profil nastavnika stranih jezika na univerzitetu. Uočena je potreba za angažovanjem većeg broja nastavnika, ali i za povećanjem njihove stručnosti.

Komentarisano je i koliko nastavnik stranog jezika struke treba da poznaje materiju koja se izučava na fakultetu na kojem predaje. Evo jednog takvog mišljenja:

> „Nastavnik stranog jezika na nematičnom fakultetu mora da poseduje visok stepen poznavanja struke dotičnog fakulteta – ekvivalentan diplomi osnovnih studija na dotičnom fakultetu.“ (Hemijski fakultet, redovni profesor)

Nastavnici su ukazali i na neke probleme u nastavi stranih jezika i na njene nedostatke. Broj studenata u grupi često je preveliki, nastava se izvodi *ex cathedra*, „odrađuje se u prepunom amfiteatru, student čak i ne čuje šta nastavnik govori“ (Građevinski fakultet, docent).

Istraživanje je pokazalo da nastavnici stručnih predmeta razmišljaju o načinima unapređenja nastave stranih jezika. Tako neki rešenje problema brojnosti grupa i kvaliteta nastave vide u testiranju studenata prilikom upisa na fakultet i formiranju grupa po nivoima znanja, a ne po godinama studija.

Nastavnici predlažu kreiranje jedinstvenih udžbenika, objedinjavanje nastave jezika za pojedine grupacije fakulteta, kao i propisivanje minimalnog nivoa poznavanja engleskog ali i drugog stranog jezika po završetku studija. Neki ispitanici očekuju saradnju sa Filološkim fakultetom u vidu organizovanja nastave, predavanja, kratkih kurseva i seminara, kako za studente tako i za nastavno osoblje.

Uviđa se i potreba za povećanjem motivacije studenata kroz učešće na studentskim skupovima, kongresima ili razmenama kao i individualizovanim pristupom u nastavi koji vodi računa o potrebama pojedinca. Zanimljivo je da neki nastavnici prepoznaju potrebu da nastava stranog jezika struke studenta osposobi za autonomiju u učenju, odnosno za kasnije samostalno usavršavanje jezika za profesionalne potrebe.

Značajni i podsticajni predlozi nastavnika koji bi mogli biti predmet daljih istraživanja su: pokretanje inicijative za ozbiljnu i sistematsku studiju o stepenu funkcionalnog korišćenja stranih jezika od strane nastavnog i naučnog kadra; uvođenje nekog oblika nastave stranih jezika za nastavno osoblje; posvećivanje veće pažnje poznavanju srpskog jezika[471].

7. Zaključak

Dobijeni podaci jasno pokazuju da su se neke od naših hipoteza potvrdile, a neke ne. Ispitivanje je pokazalo da nastavnici stručnih predmeta imaju uglavnom pozitivan stav o učenju i nastavi stranog jezika struke na univerzitetu. Šta više, aktivno razmišljaju o različitim aspektima unapređivanja nastave stranog jezika i njenog usklađivanja sa nastavom stručnih predmeta, što nismo mogli da pretpostavimo pre ovog istraživanja. Potvrđena je i hipoteza da strani jezik većina nastavnika stručnih predmeta sagledava iz perspektive akademskih potreba. Ipak, iznenadio nas je podatak da gotovo polovina ispitanika ne svodi jezičke potrebe studenata na različite nivoe studija i bavljenje naukom, već uviđa da će studentima jezik biti od koristi i u drugim profesionalnim sredinama.

Kada je reč o položaju i sadržaju predmeta *Strani jezik*, naša hipoteza je delimično potvrđena: ispitanici predmet vide kao kombinovani tečaj opšteg jezika i jezika struke, ali ne smatraju dovoljnim da se jezik izučava samo na početku studija, već su mišljenja da ga treba učiti tokom čitavih studija.

Na osnovu dobijenih rezultata utvrđeno je da pripadnost ispitanika nekoj naučnoj disciplini nema uticaja na formiranje stava o značaju poznavanja stranog jezika. Mnoge od iscrpnih analiza i brojni dragoceni komentari potekli su, za nas neočekivano, od nastavnika čije naučno opredeljenje nije u bližoj vezi sa izučavanjem jezika.

Bez obzira na ograničenost uzorka, rezultati istraživanja ohrabruju i podstiču na uspostavljanje konkretnijih vidova saradnje nastavnika stranih jezika i stručnih predmeta gde god i kad god je to moguće.

Na kraju izdvajamo nekoliko najupečatljivijih komentara koji najbolje oslikavaju koliki je značaj stranih jezika za neke od naših ispitanika.

> „Akademska diploma u današnjim uslovima bez znanja svetskog jezika njenog nosioca je diploma bez upotrebne vrednosti.“ (Poljoprivredni fakultet, vanredni profesor)
>
> „Quod linguas cales, tot hominem vales.“ (Građevinski fakultet, redovni profesor)

„3.08.1848. godine „Popečateljstvo prosveštenija” upućuje Rektoratu Liceja u Beogradu (koji je do 1841. godine bio u Kragujevcu) „Predpisanije” u kome se u tačci 3 kaže „Popečateljstvo prosveštenija vrlo ozbiljno upozorava na potrebu učenja i dobrog znanja jednog stranog jezika jer će izašavši iz Velike školskog zavedenija našeg, mladići dotle, u praktičeskom životu svom ramati i malo se izučenim u školskim naukama, ma kako se one prostorno odjako prepodavale, polzovati, dokle god ne budu imali sredstvo izviknuti

---

471 „Treba pojačati učenje stranih jezika, ali i srpskog jezika. Mnogi studenti su zapravo nedovoljno pismeni.“ (ETF, redovni profesor)

znanje svoje pomoću sovršeno izučenog jednog stranog i izobraženog jezika i obogaćivat."" (Saobraćajni fakultet, redovni profesor)

Literatura

Ballard B./ J. Chlanchy (1988) "Literacy in the university. An "antrophological" approach." in Taylor, G. (eds.) **Literacy by degrees**, Milton Keynes: Open University Press, pp. 7-23.

Barron, C. (1991) "Material thoughts. ESP and culture", **English for Specific Purposes,** Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 173-187.

Bugarski, R.(1997) **Jezik u kontekstu**, Beograd: Čigoja.

Ignjačević A./ M. Brdarski (2006) „Strani jezik struke i univerzitet", **Primenjena lingvistika**, Vol. 7, pp. 152 – 160.

Parpette Ch. (2001) « Intégration de la formation linguistique professionnelle dans les cursus universitaires : légitimité et limites de la démarche », in **Actes du colloque Les langues de spécialité**, Université de Bohême de l'ouest, 20-22 septembre 2001.

Richards, J.C. (2001) **Curriculum Development in Language Teaching**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Selinker, L. (1979) "On the use of informants in discourse analysis and Language for specialized purposes", **IRAL** Vol. XVII No. 3, pp. 189-215

Swales, J. (1990) **Genre analysis. English in academic and research settings**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

UDK 811.163.41'373.423
UDK 811.161.1'373.423
UDK 811.111'373.423

Надежда Лаиновић Стојановић
Слађана Живковић

ХОМОНИМСКА И ИДЕНТИЧНА ЗНАЧЕЊА ОПШТЕ ЛЕКСИКЕ У ГРАЂЕВИНСКО- АРХИТЕКТОНСКОМ ТЕРМИНОСИСТЕМУ (РУСКО-СРПСКО-ЕНГЛЕСКЕ ПАРАЛЕЛЕ)

Апстракт: *Лексичко-семантичка творба речи-термина као семантичка деривација мотивисана значењем опште лексике и данас је актуелна и продуктивна. Истражујући терминосистеме грађевинско-архитектонске струке на руском, српском и енглеском језику наишли смо на најизразитије примере хомонимског односа опште лексике и лексема у терминолошком значењу. Може се говорити о општој лексици која је метафоризацијом или метонимијом попримила нова значења у терминосистемима, а присутна је и творба термина проширивањем или сужавањем значења општих речи. Како је грађевинарство једна од најстаријих људских делатности, многи ужестручни термини у анализираним језицима имају општа, свима позната значења.*

Кључне речи: *општа лексика, хомонимска значења, грађевинско-архитектонски терминосистем, руско-српско-енглески термини, лексичко-семантичка творба речи*

1. Увод

У овом раду презентујемо резултате добијене продубљивањем истраживања опште лексике у грађевинско-архитектонским терминосистемима на руском, српском и енглеском језику.

Научно-техничка револуција на савременој етапи развитка има све већи утицај на језик. Са појавом и развитком нових привредних грана, појављује се велики број нових термина, целих терминосистема, а долази и до неких промена у већ постојећим терминосистемима. Имамо огроман проток информација у виду различитих публикација, телевизијских и радио емисија, Интернета, о разним стручним и научним темама. Као последица тога знатно се повећава број техничких термина који “напуштајући своја терминолошка поља интензивно попуњавају књижевни језик“ (Нерознак, 1972). Тако, од ограничене сфере функционисања у језику стручњака, у стручним текстовима, термини улазе у наш свакодневни живот и продиру у општи језик и богате га. Поред тога, и стручна терминологија трпи утицај општег језика (Фомина и др., 1983, Лаиновић-Стојановић, 1996).

Лексичко-семантичка творба речи-термина као семантичка деривација мотивисана значењем опште лексике и данас је актуелна и продуктивна. Истражујући терминосистеме у грађевинско-архитектонској струци на руском, српском и енглеском језику, користили смо лексиконе (Leksikon gradjevinarstva, 1962) - Лексикон грађ., двојезичке стручне и опште руско-српске (Лаиновић Стојановић, 2007 и Станковић, 1998) и енглеско-српске (Вукићевић, 1994, Benson, 1991) речнике, вишејезичке (Čampara, 1984), енциклопедијске (Речник српскохрватскога књижевног језика - РСКЈ, 1967, Crystal, 1997), као и оригиналне стручне текстове на руском, српском и енглеском језику, уџбеничку литературу (Лаиновић Стојановић, 1994, Живковић, 2003), као и материјал са Интернета, и наишли смо на најизразитије примере хомонимског односа опште лексике и лексема у терминолошком значењу. Може се говорити о општој лексици која је метафоризацијом, метафоричком креативношћу као делу језичке компетенције (Lyons, 1981: 147), или метонимијом попримила нова значења у терминосистемима (Матијашевић, 1986: 11, Лаиновић Стојановић, 1996: 66, 2007: 152), а присутна је и творба термина сужавањем или проширивањем значења општих речи. Како је грађевинарство једна од најстаријих људских делатности, многи ужестручни термини у анализираним језицима имају општа, свима позната значења. Семантички начин творбе речи и термина игра важну улогу као стални и неизбежни извор попуњавања терминолошке лексике. Термини су кратки и лако се памте (Фомина и др., 1983: 9). Виноградов сматра да је семантичка творба речи веома значајна за појаву хомонимије (Виноградов, 1952: 175).

2. Речи са општим значењем као извор творбе термина грађевинско-архитектонске струке

На основу анализираних термина из шире грађевинско-архитектонске струке: архитектура, дрвене конструкције, грађевински материјали, кућне инсталације, хидротехника, конструкције, машинство, мелиорације, метеорологија, путарство/путеви, тунели, зградарство, железнице, урбанизам, фундирање[472] , можемо издвојити групе термина из руског, српског и енглеског језика са општим значењем који се употребљавају као стручни термини у грађевинско-архитектонској струци у сва три, у два или у једном од анализираних језика. Речи са општим значењем представљају један од извора творбе грађевинских термина, а

[472] Коришћене скраћенице: арх. - архитектура; дрв. - дрвене конструкције; грађ.мат. - грађевински материјали; хт. - хидротехника; конст. - конструкције; инст. - кућне инсталације; мас. - масивне конструкције; маш. - машинство; мел. - мелиорација; метеор. - метеорологија; пут.- путарство; ст. - статика; тун. - тунели; згр. - зградарство; жел. - железнице; фунд. - фундирање; урб. - урбанизам; чел. - челик

најважнија карактеристика грађевинске лексике је баш њена блискост са општим језиком.

У првој групи су речи из опште лексике: називи грађевинских материјала, објеката, конструкција, називи саобраћајница, просторија и сл. које се у сва три језика у свима познатом значењу користе у грађевинско-архитектонској струци као ужестручни термини:
мост (пут.) - мост - bridge стена (згр.) - зид - wall окно (дрв.) - прозор - window балкон (арх.)) - балкон - balcony камин (арх.) - камин - fireplace крыша (згр.) - кров - roof кирпич (згр.) - опека - brick пол (згр.) - под - floor подвал (згр.) - подрум - cellar переплет (згр.) - рам/оквир - frame город (урб.) - град - city уборная / туалет (арх.) - тоалет - toilet площадь (арх.) - трг - square столовая (арх.) - трпезарија - dining room спальня (арх.) - спаваћа соба - bedroom дворец (арх.) - дворац - castle помещение (арх.) - просторија - room патолок (згр.) - плафон - ceiling дверь (згр.) - врата - door здание (згр.) - зграда - building

Многи термини ове групе су најстарији слој у грађевинској лексици, па се може претпоставити да они сведоче о првобитним грађевинским сазнањима (Фомина и др., 1983: 10).

Другу групу чине опште речи које попримају сасвим ново терминолошко значење и представљају најизразитије примере хомонимског односа између лексема у терминолошком значењу и лексема са нетерминолошким значењем. Тако се појављују лексеме - хомоними који имају исти ортографски и фонолошки облик, али различито значење (Lyons, 1979: 174). У српском, а често и у руском и енглеском језику, наилазимо на такве примере из разних области науке и живота: из анатомије - аркада, врат, глава, лице, сочиво, рожњача, теме, зуб, језичак, тело, срце, ребро, ручица, ножица, крило, скелет, костур, пета, шапа; речи које именују зоолошку припадност неке врсте: лабуд, бик, мајмун, гусеница, мачка, јеж; речи које значе одевне предмете: одећу или ређе обућу: кошуља, кошуљица, рукав (реке), подвезица, венчаница, папуча; речи које се односе на кућу и на покућство, кућни намештај, на живот у кући (РСКЈ): орман, кревет, столица, сандук, корито, пегла, виљушка, кашика, лепеза, чаша, лула, јастук, прекривач, тепих, постељица.

Доста велики број термина је образован уз помоћ сужавања, специјализације значења. Овде се поставља питање разграничавања речи општег језика и одговарајућег термина. У сличним случајевима када се лексичко значење речи зближава са појмом одговарајућег термина посебну улогу игра дефиниција термина. Она је једна од најважнијих карактеристика термина. Упоређивање научних дефиниција које су дате у речницима са објашњењима омогућава да се разграничи грађевински термин и одговарајућа реч као јединица стандардног језика од које је та реч образована. Тако се у дефиницијама општих речи истичу спољашње особине означаваног предмета. Дефиниција термина обично указује на функционалне особине, сврстава појам у одређену класу, одређује границе научно-техничког појма. Најчешће се као семантички параметар у дефиницији појављују функција, састав, својства и положај у простору. На тај начин, дефиниција је најсигурнији критеријум разграничавања грађевинских термина од речи општег језика (Фомина и др., 1983.: 10).

Као што је истакао С.В. Гринев „образовање термина путем специјализације значења постојеће речи може да служи као потврда тога да грађевинска терминологија почиње да се издваја из општег језика и да се прихвата као специјални слој лексике“ (Гринев С.В., 1983: 98).

У грађевинској терминологији функционишу термини-речи других грана науке. То је законито пошто се у процесу грађевинарства комплексно решавају социјално-економски, санитарно-хигијенски, техничко-грађевински, саобраћајни и архитектонско-уметнички задаци. Ипак, мало је позајмљеница из других терминологија са измењеним значењем. Оне чине језгро терминологије, и нашироко се користе за образовање нових термина (путем деривације, путем образовања сложених речи и путем образовања синтагми).

Наводимо примере из друге групе са различитим / хомонимским, метафоричким или метонимијским значењем општих речи у сва три језика:

ручка (згр.) - ручица - handle
кровать (арх.) - постеља /кревет - bed
корыто (згр.) - корито - trough
гниль (грађ.мат.) - трулеж - decay of wood
брод, мелкое место. осадка (хл.) - брод - ford (брод, газ)
усталость (чел.) - умор, замор - fatique
оболочка (мас. констр.) - љуска - shell
колесо (водяное) (хт.) - коло (воденично) - wheel

У трећој групи су опште речи које у саставу синтагме добијају ново терминолошко значење. Многе опште речи употребљене у синтагми, уз поједине квалификаторе, или, ако су у питању неки фразеологизми имају преносно, само стручно значење. Структура терминолошке синтагме указује на место појма које му даје име у систему појмова. То илуструјемо следећим примерима исте семантике на три језика:

роза ветров (аер.) - ружа ветрова - wind rose
сендвич-способ (пут.) - сендвич поступак - sandwich method
тяжелый бетон (згр.) - тешки бетон - heavy concrete
башмак сваи (дрв.) - папуча за шип - pile shoe
каркас здания (згр.) - костур зграде - skeleton framework
щебневая (щебеночная) подушка (фунд.) - јастук од шљунка - gravel cushion
усталость горных пород (геол.) - умор стена - fatique of rocks
пилообразная крыша, крыша шед (констр.) - тестерасти кров, шед кров - saw-tooth roof

жесткое тело (мех.) - круто тело - rigid body
ножица насипа (арх.) - подошва насыпи - foot of embankment

У четвртој групи су српски термини из анатомије, а у руском и енглеском су употребљене друге опште речи са или без метафоричког значења:

врх срца (жел.) - остриё крестовины (оштрица скретнице) - point of crossing срце скретнице (жел.) - крестовина стрелки - vee piece вентилациона глава (инструм.) - наконечник вентиляционной трубы - air-pipe outlet
теме свода (арх.) - замок свода, ключ свода - crown of arch

За пету групу карактеристични су термини и терминолошке синтагме у којима су у сва три језика употребљене и опште речи са преносним значењем (различите или исте у појединим примерима):

баба (фунд.) - бик (маљ за побијање шипова) - monkey

У руском *баба* значи: 1) застарела реч - удата сељанка, проста жена, 2) нар. жена, супруга, 3) нар. жена, женска. У српском *бик* значи домаћа животиња, мужјак. У енглеском језику *monkey* значи *мајмун*.

лебединная шея , ползучая арка (згр.) - лабудов врат, пењући лук - rampant arch

У синонимским примерима у руском и српском језику, као и у енглеском еквиваленту, једна од компоненти синтагми је *арка, лук* и *arch.*

замок свода, ключ свода (констр.) - теме свода - crown of arch подушка фундамента (згр.) - темељна стопа - footing лице зграде (арх.) - передний лицевой фасад - facade, front view
кошка (маш.) - мачка - hoist (дизалица), crab (рак)

У шестој групи су само у руском опште речи са метафоричким значењем, на пример:

бык (тун.) - стуб - post ; бык (ст. констр.) - међустуб, средњи стуб, упорњак - abutment

У седмој групи су термини који имају преносно значење само у руском и српском језику:

профиль съёмки (геод.) - профил снимања - cross-section
стропильная нога (згр.) - кровна столица - roof strut

судно, корабль, пароход (арх.) - брод (део цркве) - bay, nave
неф, корабль, пароход, судно (арх.) - лађа - nave

Енглески еквивалент *nave* употребљен је и у руском *неф* као један од синонима.

кошачий глаз (пут.) - мачје око - reflector stud
подушка/подбалка (дрв.) - јастук / седло - bolster
крепежная лапа, костыль-лапа (Поляков, 1972) - костыль в развилку (згр.) - шапица - anchor, lug
козёлки (констр.) - козлићи - trestle scaffold (скела)
венец (фунд.) - венац - walings, timber setting

У области *тунели* српски термин *венац* има руски еквивалент *карниз*, а у енглеском *portal coping.*

У области зградарства и архитектуре српски термин *венац* има свој еквивалент страну реч, у руском *карниз*, и у енглеском *cornice*.

колено трубопровода (хт.) - колено цеви - pipe band
деревянный бык (дрв.) - јарам / свежањ - bridge timber-pier

У осмој групи су примери у којима је само у енглеском језику општа реч употребљена са метафоричким значењем:

ut (орах) (маш.) - навртка - гайка
by-pass road (пут.) - обилазни пут - объездная дорога
crown-bar (згр.) - подужна греда - продольная балка
king pile (фунд.) - шип за правац - маячная свая

У деветој групи су примери у којима се опште речи исте семантике са преносним метафоричким значењем појављују само у српском и енглеском језику:

кровни покривач (згр.) - кровельный материал - roof covering
профил тла (геод.) - разрез, сечение грунта - soil profile
језичак (пут. и жел.) - остряк (духовит човек, досетљивац) - tongue

У десетој групи наведени су интересантни примери са преносним/метафоричким значењем из општег језика само у српском језику:

подвенчаница/назидница (дрв.) - мауэрлат - sill plate (обложити прозорски праг), wall plate

венчаница (згр.) - карнизная балка - wall plate
подвезица (дрв.) - накладка, стяжной анкер, анкерная плита - cover plate
покривач (тун.) - покровная порода - overburden
рожњача (згр.) - средний прогон - purlin
зглоб (констр.) - шарнир - hinge
ножица лука (арх.) - опора арки - springing of arch

Упоређујући неке руске и енглеске еквиваленте, као и дефиниције, могуће је потврдити да је српски термин хомоним у односу на општу реч.

Прилог

У прилогу дајемо објашњења, дефиниције (из општег РСКЈ и стручног речника Лексикон грађ.) најинтересантнијих примера, као потврду и приказ разлике у значењу опште речи и термина. У сва три језика струке имамо идентично или блиско опште и преносно значење:

олош - најгори слој друштва, шљам (РСКЈ)
олош - (хт.) - сброд - scum - 1) грање, лишће и др.; ђубре које приликом поводња плива по површини воде, формирајући јединствену масу; 2) покров који плива у уређајима за пречишћавање канализационих вода (Лексикон грађ.)

острво - копно, комад земље, у мору, језеру или реци, са свих страна опкољен водом. (РСКЈ)
острво - (пут.) - остров - island - издигнута површина, платформа обрађена као плочник, а ограничена издигнутим ивичњаком, која има за задатак да сведе саобраћај на одређене стазе и да пружи обезбеђење пешацима приликом прелаза широких коловоза (Лексикон грађ.)

постеља, кревет - део кућног намештаја који служи за спавање, постеља (РСКЈ)
постеља, кревет (арх.) - кровать - bed - у смислу лежаја, јединица за одређивање капацитета зграда као што су: болнице, хотели, домови и сл. (Лексикон грађ.)

прстен - предмет (најчешће од драгоценог метала) који има облик малог котура, колута, обруча који се носи на прсту као украс или као симбол брака (РСКЈ)
прстен - (тун.) - звено, кольцо - length of tunnel, ring - краћи делови на које се деле неки тунели из конструктивних и статичких разлога као и из разлога методског грађења. Сваки прстен има свој редни број и води се као посебна грађевина (Лексикон грађ.)

тепих - застор за под, простирка, ћилим, саг (РСКЈ)
тепих - (пут.) - асфалтни тепих - ковер - carpet, thin surfacing - лаки асфалтни застор који чини прелаз од појачане површинске обраде ка макадамском начину

макадамска подлога - носећи слој коловоза од водом везаног макадама (савитљиви коловоз израђен од каменог агрегата - туцаника и камене ситнежи и везан спојним материјалом) (Лексикон грађ.)

труп - средишни, централни део човечјег или животињског тела између врата и удова, који обухвата грудни кош, трбух и карлицу (РСКЈ)
труп - (пут., жел.) - землянное полотно - road foundation - ограничен, вештачки изведен правилан облик који се даје земљаној површини да би се по њој провео железнички или обичан пут (Лексикон грађ.)

знојење - знојавост, ознојеност, стање онога који је знојав, знојење (глаголска именица од знојити се, испуштати зној) - (РСКЈ)
*знојењ*е (згр.) - потение - sweating, condensation - хватање кондензоване воде на унутрашњим површинама зидова (Лексикон грађ.)
знојење коловоза (пут.) - потение покрытия - bleeding
У енглеском језику у области путева термин *bleeding* значи испуштање, одвођење, а опште значење је крварење (прим. С.Ж.).

*ками*н - 1) врста отворене пећи, која греје просторију пламеном, а непосредно је повезана с димњаком 2) пукотина у планинској стени (РСКЈ)
камин - камин, fireplace - 1) (арх.) отворено огњиште у виду нише, често је уметнички обликовано у стилу епохе 2) (тун.) минерски назив за већу шупљину изнад тунелског профила. Камин се изазива непажњом у раду и мора се у обзиђивању затворити јачим зидом. Код плитких тунела камин може изићи и на површину терена, **к**ада се назива левак (Лексикон грађ.)

кошуљица - 1) деминутив од кошуља (РСКЈ)
кошуљица (згр.) - застилка - cement-plaster flooring - 1) подни премаз преко чврсте подлоге (Лексикон грађ.)

профил - изглед чега (лица, предмета) са стране (РСКЈ)
профил, вертикални пресек (арх., пут.) - профиль - profile - 1) (арх.) - изглед пресека кроз неки грађевински део у попречном или подужном правцу, 2) (пут.) - гранична линија вертикалног пресека терена или извршеног рада на њему, обично по оси или нормално на осу извршеног рада (Лексикон грађ.)
слободан профил, *габарит* (жел.) - габарит - clearance gauge - простор ограничен у попречном профилу пруге, а предвиђен за безбедан пролаз железничких возила колосеком (Лексикон грађ.)
слободан профил (пут.) - габарит - clearance gauge - попречни пресек оног дела простора изнад пута који мора бити слободан од свих предмета и грађевинских делова, да би возила са својим товаром могла без сметње да пролазе путем (Лексикон грађ.)

тамбур - добош, бубањ (РСКЈ)
тамбур (арх.) - тамбур, барабан - tambour - полигоналан или цилиндричан грађевински део између куполе и доњег коцкастог постоља (Лексикон грађ.)

мачка - домаћа животиња из породице мачака (РСКЈ)
мачка - (маш.) - кошка, крановая тележка - hoist - (дизалица), crab - (рак) - покретни део дизалице који се креће по носећем ужету, по мосту крана или по конзоли торањског крана (Лексикон грађ.)

умор / замор - осећање смањења снаге, способности за рад или активност, сусталост, клонулост, малаксалост услед дугог и напорног рада (РСКЈ)
замор (чел.) - усталость - fatique - стање метала који се налази под многоструким дејством наизменичних или једнозначних промена напрезања. Развија се постепено и може да доведе до рушења конструкције без показивања претходних пластичних деформација. Објашњење термина умор стена (геол.) - усталость горных пород - fatique of rocks - је један од узрока распадања стена (Лексикон грађ.)

вила - 1) кућа обично окружена вртом, грађена ван града или на месту одељеном од осталих кућа, која служи понајвише за летовање, летњиковац, 2) мн.виле, оруђе, 3) (мит.) по народном веровању натприродно женско биће, младо и лепо, с дугачком распуштеном косом, које може и летети (РСКЈ)
У српском реч *вила* има више значења од којих само *вила* у архитектури има исто значење у сва три језика.
вила (арх.) - вилла - villa - слободна стамбена зграда за једну породицу, на један или на два спрата (Лексикон грађ.)

У следећим примерима у руском и енглеском нису употребљене опште речи са значењем као у српском, али су стручна објашњења значења слична:

постељица - деминутив од постеља (РСКЈ)
постељица - (згр.) - подстилка - cement-mortar bed - слој малтера у који се полажу подне плочице, опеке и сл, (пут.) постель дорожной одежды - formation level - природно тло или насип на коме непосредно лежи коловозна конструкција, (мел.) подошва - shallow foundation - плитко ископано и припремљено лежиште у земљишту као темељна јама за објекте које није потребно дубоко фундирати (Лексикон грађ.)

здравица - краћи говор или формула од неколико речи уз чашу која се испија за нечије здравље, у част или за успех нечега; чаша и пиће које се при том испија (РСКЈ)
здравица (геол.) - земља која се налази изнад новог или прокопаваног слоја; здрава земља, целица (РСКЈ)
здравица/живица (фунд.) - подпочва - firm foundation soil - тло са примарном структуром, тј. наталожено или постало на природан начин, без утицаја човека. У грађевинарству чест назив за свако носиво тло (Лексикон грађ.)

Закључак

Резултати истраживања показују да у грађевинско-архитектонској струци у сва три језика постоји велики број речи из општег лексичког фонда које метафоризацијом или метонимијом попримају нова, терминолошка значења. Развијањем и усавршавањем струке долази до постепеног одвајања стручне терминологије од опште лексике, па имамо хомонимске односе у руском, српском и енглеском терминосистему.

Руски и српски термини су ближи по употреби општих лексема које су у струци попримиле ново, метафоричко значење.

На основу анализе примера из корпуса констатујемо да има примера употребе речи са општим значењем у руском и енглеском, а да су малобројни примери са општим значењем само у енглеском, или у паралелним примерима у српском и енглеском језику.

Највише термина од општих лексема има српски терминосистем. У њима су најизраженије асоцијације из општег језика. То се може објаснити тиме што су грађевински радници и мајстори из народа, технички необразовани, без довољне техничке културе. У питању је и неажурност комисија (ако их уопште има) које раде на стварању и стандардизацији термина из грађевинско-архитектонске струке, а можда су и они који стварају српске термине романтичнији.

Литература

Benson, M. (1991) **Српскохрватско-енглески речник**, треће издање, Београд: Просвета

Crystal, D. (1997) **A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics,** Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd.

Čampara, E. (1984) **Medjunarodni rječnik arhitekture, gradjevinarstva i urbanizma** (hrvatski ili srpski - francuski - engleski - njemački - ruski), Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske

Даниленко, В.П. (1997) **Русская терминология**, Москва: Наука

Фомина, М.Д., Сергеева, З.А., Кириленко, Н.П., и др. (1983) "Учет взаимодействия общеразговорного языка и строительной терминологии при обучении русскому языку как иностранному", **Анализ структурно- грамматических особенностей научных терминов - Методические рекомандации**, Москва: Университет дружбы народов, стр. 3-10

Гринев, С.В. (1977) **Проблемы нормализации строительной терминологии**, Москва: Кандидатская диссертация

Лаиновић Стојановић, Н., Живковић, С. (2008) "Руско-српско-енглески термини грађевинско-архитектонске струке", **Језик струке: Теорија и пракса - Зборник радова,** Београд: Универзитет у Београду, стр. 621-632

Лаиновић Стојановић, Н. (1996) "Узајамна веза општеупотребних речи и термина", **Стандардизација терминологије,** Београд: Српска академија наука и уметности, стр.65-68

Лаиновић Стојановић, Н. (1994) **Руски језик за студенте грађевинско-архитектонског факултета (Теме за разговор и стручни текстови),** Ниш: Грађевинско-архитектонски факултет

Лексикон грађевинарства, (1982) Мала енциклопедија грађевинарства, Београд: Грађевинска књига

Lyons, J. (1981) **Language, Meaning and Context**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Матијашевић, Ј. (1986) "Лексико-семантическое образование имен существительных в русском и сербохорватском языках", **Studia philologica 1-2**, Приштина: Филозофски факултет, 11-26

Нерознак, В.П. Суперанская А.В. (1972) **Лингвистические проблемы терминологии,** Москва: „Известия АН СССР, Серия литературы и языка", вып.2

Palmer, F.R. (1976) **Semantics**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Поляков, О.С. (1972) **Сербскохорватско-русский строительный словарь,** Москва: Издательство „Советская энциклопедия"

Речник српскохрватскога књижевног језика, (1967) Нови Сад: Матица Српска - Матица Хрватска, 6 томова

Виноградов, В.В. (1952) **Об основном словарном фонде и его словообразующей роли в истории языка,** Москва: Вопросы языкознания в свете трудов И.В. Сталина

Вукићевић, Б. (1984) **Српско-енглески грађевински речник**, Београд: ИРО Грађевинска књига

Живковић, С. (2003) **Енглески за студенте грађевине**, Ниш: Хелиос принт

UDK 811.111'373.22

Nadežda Silaški

ANIMAL METAPHORS IN SOME BUSINESS-RELATED TERMS IN ENGLISH

Abstract: *The paper deals with* ANIMAL *metaphors as a cognitive mechanism through which people and institutions in the world of business and finance are conceptualised. The more general* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS *and* INSTITUTIONS ARE ANIMALS *metaphors are illustrated and categorised into several submetaphors (e.g.* INVESTORS ARE ANIMALS, PRODUCTS ARE ANIMALS, COMPANIES ARE ANIMALS*) in order to show how the most salient characteristics of animals and recognisable patterns of their behaviour (source domain) are mapped onto the business and financial market participants (target domain). Some pedagogical implications, i.e. metaphor-based vocabulary teaching to ESP economics students, are also discussed in the paper.*

Key words: *conceptual metaphor,* ANIMAL *metaphor,* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, INSTITUTIONS ARE ANIMALS, *English for Specific Purposes.*

1. Introduction

In the last three decades, since the seminal book by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) was published on metaphors as not merely a textual decoration but the way we structure and organise our thoughts, there has been a continuing interest in the research of metaphors used in the field of economics and business, already proved to be notably replete with metaphors (e.g. Henderson, 1982; Charteris-Black, 2000; 2004; White, 2003; etc.). Such a proliferation of studies in itself indicates the extent to which metaphors permeate this type of discourse. These studies have described various aspects of metaphoricity in economic and business texts, e.g. the conceptualisations of ECONOMY, GROWTH, MARKET, MARKET MOVEMENTS, etc.

As White (2003: 138) claims, "diverse figurative expressions encountered in economic discourse can often be traced back to a single source domain". Having in mind the pervasive use of ANIMAL metaphors in business and economic texts in English, little systematic research has been done to explain why animals and their distinctive characteristics so frequently serve as a source domain in the process of metaphorisation as well as which particular aspects of certain animals (their habits, food, physical characteristics, etc.) are used in conceptual mappings from the source to the target domain. In this paper, therefore, we deal with some metaphorically used business and financial terms in English that are based on the ANIMAL metaphor. Most terms that make up the corpus of the research have been taken from *Investopedia.com*, a web site containing a comprehensive financial dictionary available online. Several terms, which are not highly technical, come from diverse English dictionaries.

Within the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff/Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2002), we point out the more general PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and INSTITUTIONS ARE ANIMALS metaphors, illustrating and categorising them into several submetaphors (e.g. INVESTORS ARE ANIMALS, PRODUCTS ARE ANIMALS, COMPANIES ARE ANIMALS) in order to show how relevant characteristics of animals and animal behaviour (source domain) are mapped onto the financial market participants, people and institutions (target domain). We also suggest ways in which metaphor-based vocabulary teaching to ESP economics students may be applied in regard to the teaching of specific financial and business lexis.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) define *metaphor* as understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another or as a mapping or set of correspondences between two conceptual domains which they term the *source* and *target* domains. However, such metaphorical structuring is partial in that only certain aspects of a target domain are brought into focus, thus stressing the most relevant aspects, while at the same time hiding some other aspects of a concept, in line with the principle of *metaphorical highlighting* (Kövecses, 2002: 79). In this article, an attempt is made to demonstrate how certain aspects of animals and their instinctual attributes and behaviour patterns are mapped onto people and institutions in business and finance vocabulary. Such ANIMAL metaphors are metonymy-based, i.e. *typical properties* of an animal stand for that animal. Thus, in the process of metaphorisation, only the most salient properties of animals (via metonymy motivated by the TYPICAL OVER NON–TYPICAL cognitive principle [Radden/Kövecses, 1999: 49]) are mapped onto people and institutions as a target domain.

2. Animal metaphors

ANIMAL metaphors are common in many languages[473], which proves that "the domain of animals is an extremely productive source domain" (Kövecses, 2002: 17) in the process of metaphorisation. Since much of human behavior may be metaphorically understood in terms of animal behaviour, it is not surprising that the business and financial world, with its fiercely competitive setting and its main participants, people and institutions, abounds in ANIMAL metaphors. The working of a financial system and the intricacies of the business and financial world are frequently difficult to understand. In this field, therefore, metaphors serve, among other things, the purpose of understanding intangible, complex and abstract entities in terms of more concrete, simpler and easier-to-comprehend entities. In an attempt to explain how the animal-related words acquired their metaphorical meanings, Kövecses states the following:

[473] For Serbian see e.g. Halupka-Rešetar/Radić (2003) and Prodanović-Stankić (2004). For other languages see e.g. Talebinejad/Dastjerdi (2005), Hsieh (2006), Silaški/Đurović (2009), etc.

> "The only way these meanings can have emerged is that humans attributed human characteristics to animals and then reapplied these characteristics to humans. That is, animals were personified first, and then the "human-based animal characteristics" were used to understand human behavior. But it is not only human behavior that is metaphorically understood in terms of animal behavior; people themselves are also often described as animals of some kind." (Kövecses, 2002: 125)

Thus, the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS structures our thoughts about human behaviour and its relevant aspects, meaning that "anthropomorphization of animal attributes and behavior is almost always an input condition for the metaphorical applications of animal names" (Talebinejad/Dastjerdi, 2005: 145). However, it is not only people and the way they behave that are viewed in terms of animals and their behaviour. In financial and business semi-technical vocabulary we find numerous ANIMAL metaphors where "instinctual attributes and behavior" (Kövecses, 2002: 126) of animals are mapped onto inanimate objects, such as institutions (companies, markets) as well as products. In the following sections we will categorise two broad metaphors, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and INSTITUTIONS ARE ANIMALS into several submetaphors, to illustrate and explain the process of metaphorisation in those terms in which animal names are used metaphorically.

2.1. PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

In the above metaphor, salient properties of animals are mapped onto the properties of people as a target domain. In other words, the conceptual basis for this metaphor is that "there is a semantic transfer of the attributes that are associated with the animal to refer to the behaviour of humans" (Charteris-Black, 2004: 182). More specifically, in a set of epistemic correspondences we use the knowledge about a particular animal (its most relevant characteristics) to talk about people. For example, in a metaphorically motivated expression *fat cats*, a slang word used to describe executives who earn what are widely believed to be unreasonably high salaries and bonuses, the conceptual mapping occurs, such that "quintessential properties" (Lakoff/Turner, 1989: 196) of cats (laziness, detachment, lust and vanity) are mapped onto people. In this term, an image of cats is conjured up as animals (=people) that consume more than an appropriate amount of food (=money), thus becoming grossly overweight, which in turn, connotes luxurious life *fat cats* have.[474]

---

[474] In this case, negative aspects of an animal are mapped onto people. However, there are other metaphorically motivated expressions (e.g. *eager beaver* or *busy bee*), where animal-related metaphors capture the positive characteristics of human beings, zeal, industry and hard work. In the term *killer bees* (those who help a company fend off a takeover attempt with the use of defensive strategies), however, the conceptual mapping stresses the negative properties of bees –

We shall illustrate the use of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor in business and financial vocabulary by two more examples. The first term is *hawk*, which, in the financial world, is defined as “an economic policy advisor who has a negative view toward inflation and its effects on society”. The most salient property of a hawk is its sharp vision as this bird is reputed to have visual acuity several times that of a normal human being. *Hawks*, therefore, carefully monitor and control economic inflation through interest-rate adjustments and monetary-policy controls, thanks to their sharp vision and the ability to spot the danger (=inflation) much faster than other people. The term with the opposite meaning is *dove*, defined as “an economic policy advisor who promotes monetary policies that involve the maintenance of low interest rates, believing that inflation and its negative effects will have a minimal impact on society”. With regard to doves, we tend to attribute to these animals the characteristic of placidity, which is their salient property metaphorically given to them by humans. The term *dove* is derived from the docile and placid nature of doves, birds which are most frequently used as symbols of peace and tranquility.

A submetaphor of the more general PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor is the INVESTORS ARE ANIMALS metaphor, made explicit in the TYPES OF INVESTORS ARE TYPES OF ANIMALS metaphor. Investors, like all other people, differ with regard to the ways they choose the most profitable investments. For this reason, there are several terms that refer to various kinds of investors and many of them are metaphorically used animal names. In this case, certain properties of animals which correspond to the attributes of investors, reflected in their prudent, reckless, greedy, etc. behaviour as regards investments, are mapped onto the investors as a target domain. Here are some examples of metaphorical terms for different kinds of investors, together with the conceptual mappings on which they are based:

- *lemming* – a lemming is known for periodic mass migrations that occasionally end in drowning → an investor that follows the crowd into an investment that will inevitably end in a disaster.
- *ostrich* – an ostrich is known to stick its head in the ground in response to a dangerous situation → an investor who ignores important pieces of information, which have the ability to impact them or the market in which they operate.
- *pig* – a pig in the farmyard is said to overindulge in feed → an investor who is often seen as greedy, having forgotten their original investment strategy to focus on securing unrealistic future gains.
- *sheep* – sheep are followers and are known for their relying on a shepherd for guidance → an investor who lacks a focused trading strategy and trades on the suggestions of others, including friends, family and financial gurus.

---

their painful sting that can be deadly to allergic people. See Talebinejad/Dastjerdi (2005) for a discussion about the negative and positive aspects of animal behavior.

- *shark* – sharks are known for their greed and hunting instinct → an investor that is hostile to the target firm's management and that is interested in taking over the firm.[475]

The above terms are part of the jargon used by economists who coin them to more easily differentiate between various types of investors. Charteris-Black (2000: 163) claims, however, that in this case, "the motivation behind the choice of animal metaphors is [...] to present the economist as an outside expert", which "puts him in a position of control in so far as he has developed a colourful set of metaphorical terms" which he uses to refer to various intangible intricacies of the trading and investing practice. The same author also claims that this procedure is based on an illusion that people, just like animals, may be sorted out into neat categories, as well as an attempt to simplify often complicated and incomprehensible workings of trading practices.

2.2. INSTITUTIONS ARE ANIMALS

As we have already stated, it is not only people who are conceptualised as animals, but also inanimate concepts, such as institutions, markets, companies and products. In the INSTITUTIONS ARE ANIMALS metaphor, with its several submetaphors, salient traits of animals are projected onto nonhuman entities which are thus anthropomorphised. It is a rather common strategy in economic discourse that more abstract phenomena are "made tangible and given meaning through the use of conventional knowledge about the existence and behaviour of living things" (Charteris-Black, 2000: 158-159). In the following three sections we shall illustrate conceptual mappings in three submetaphors of a broader INSTITUTIONS ARE ANIMALS metaphor.[476]

2.2.1. MARKETS ARE ANIMALS

In the MARKET MOVEMENTS ARE ANIMAL MOVEMENTS metaphor the way animals move and attack are mapped onto the way markets move in terms of upward and downward market trends, or, alternatively, market stagnation. Thus, a *deer market* is a flat market, characterized by low activity, with timid investors waiting for a sign of which way the market is going to end up moving – the market is perceived as unable or unwilling to move due to uncertainty – like deer who freeze when "caught in the headlights" of a vehicle. A *bear market* is characterised by a downward trend – a market

---

[475] The same conceptual mapping occurs in the term *loan shark* (a person or entity that charges borrowers interest above an established legal rate, whose lendings are often backed with threats of violence or damage to a person's reputation as a way to ensure the loans are repaid) as well as the terms *shark repellant* (a measure taken by a company to fend off an unwanted or hostile takeover attempt) and *shark watcher* (a firm specializing in the early detection of takeovers).

[476] Due to space constraint, we shall not deal with another metaphor, ECONOMY IS AN ANIMAL, reflected in the terms such as *tiger economy*, *Celtic tiger*, etc.

condition in which the prices of securities are falling. The opposite is a *bull market*, characterised by an upward trend in the price of securities. In the latter two metaphors, the conceptual mappings are most likely based on the knowledge about the ways bulls and bears attack – a bull attacks with its horns from bottom *up*, while a bear attacks with its paw from above, *downward*.

2.2.2. COMPANIES ARE ANIMALS

Gorillas are the largest of the living primates, thus the most salient characteristic of a gorilla, its size, is mapped onto another inanimate concept, a company – a *gorilla* is a large company that dominates an industry. Gazelles are known as swift animals, able to reach high speed. Thus, the most salient characteristic of a gazelle, its ability to run very fast, is projected onto a company (a *gazelle*), so that the ability of a company to grow at an unusually high annual rate of 20 per cent or more is metaphorically seen as swiftness of a gazelle. In its literal sense, the term *lame duck* refers to a duck which is unable to keep up with its flock, making it a target for predators. The duck's lameness and its inability to proceed is mapped onto a company who has defaulted on its debts or has gone bankrupt due to the stock market. Several other examples illustrate the same submetaphor:

- *turkey* – a turkey is an inept, undesirable or stupid person → a start-up company that may subsequently
go bankrupt.
- *elephants* – elephants are the second largest mammals in the world → an elephant is a large institution that has the funds to make high volume trades, thus having decisive influence on the price of the underlying financial asset.

2.2.3. PRODUCTS ARE ANIMALS

The PRODUCTS ARE ANIMALS metaphor follows the same type of conceptual mappings present in the previous metaphors, i.e. "the 'logic' associated with the 'source' is generally preserved in the metaphorical understanding of the 'target' (Lakoff 1990, quoted in Boers, 2000: 138). In other words, the correspondences that constitute the PRODUCTS ARE ANIMALS metaphor map our knowledge about certain animals onto knowledge about products, which allows us to reason about products using the knowledge we use to reason about these types of animals:

- *cash cow* – a cow connotes nourishment, plenty, nurturing, while a dairy cow produces milk over the course of its life and requires little maintenance → a *cash cow* is a product that requires minimal advertising and promotional expenditures but continues to generate revenues year after year.

- *golden goose* – a goose produces a lot of meat and, if properly fattened, a lot of very expensive liver → a golden goose is a profitable product which produces a lot of sales revenue.
- *turkey* – a turkey in English frequently means an inept, undesirable or stupid person. Via metonymic transfer (THING FOR THE PERSON DOING IT), a *turkey* in financial vocabulary has come to mean an investment that has performed poorly, an unwise purchase.
- *dog* – the term dog is used to refer to a dull unattractive unpleasant girl or woman → a *dog* is a property that, as a result of factors such as poor condition, poor location or poor design, is slow to sell, therefore being perceived as an unattractive and undesirable possession.[477]

3. Pedagogical implications

The explicative role of metaphor in vocabulary teaching to ESP students has long been recognised by a number of methodologists.[478] They all stress the importance of metaphors in vocabulary acquisition, pointing out one particular technique: groupings of words according to a particular metaphor, that gives rise to a whole set of expressions which are all based on that same metaphor, i.e. "metaphorical sets", as Dudley-Evans and St John (1998: 84) call them. These sets help students simplify the vocabulary that would otherwise be too complicated to understand. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to raise "metaphoric awareness on the part of the language learner [by drawing] their attention to the source domain or to the origin of unfamiliar figurative expressions" (Boers, 2000: 140). This is, according to the same author, best achieved by making "explicit reference to the literal sense or origin, grouping figurative expressions under their source domains, and questioning the validity of the underlying analogies" (Boers, 2000: 145). Such an approach to vocabulary teaching/learning has already been proved very fruitful[479]. In the case of the ANIMAL metaphor in general, and the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor in particular, this technique of vocabulary teaching to ESP students whose native tongue is Serbian, is further facilitated by the fact that English and Serbian seem to frequently (though not always) share the same cognitive

[477] Strangely enough, we do not come across a conceptual mapping regarding *dogs* in which loyalty, devotion and guardianship, being the most salient properties of dogs (at least as dogs are perceived in Serbian), are mapped onto people. Metaphorically motivated English terms in business (e.g. *Dogs of the Dow*, *go to the dogs*, *dog-eat-dog*, *cats and dogs*, etc.) seem to stress negatively evaluated aspects of dog behaviour – a dog is regarded as "a despised entity" (Talebinejad/Dastjerdi, 2005: 139).

[478] See e.g. Henderson (1982), Dudley-Evans/St John (1998), Charteris-Black (2000).

[479] See e.g. White (2003), who shows that the student group exposed to a cognitive linguistic approach to learning vocabulary as opposed to another group given a more conventional vocabulary explanation, showed a clear advantage with regard to "memorisation, recall and test performance" (White, 2003: 147).

and cultural models, i.e. humans are frequently conceptualised as animals and the same properties of animals are mapped onto the same types of people (that is, the choice of the most salient properties seems to be based on the identical cognitive principles) in both languages. Since ANIMAL metaphors involve transference of meanings, these meanings may be culturally dependent and "[o]ne reason why students tend to misinterpret metaphors may be that they use different cultural references when attempting to interpret them" (Littlemore, 2003: 273), when "the aspects of the source domain that are drawn on to create metaphorical expressions may not be those aspects that are most salient to current speakers" (Deignan, 2003: 267). Fortunately, both in English and Serbian, there are a number of cross-domain mappings generated by unique cultural stereotypes, which facilitates teaching special lexis with animal-related words to Serbian students.[480]

4. Conclusion

In this article we have tried to demonstrate the pervasiveness of the ANIMAL metaphor in the conceptualisation of certain human and inanimate phenomena in the world of business and economics. We have classified the conceptual PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and INSTITUTIONS ARE ANIMALS metaphors into several submetaphors and illustrated them by examples of animal names used metaphorically. Finally, we pointed out the importance of raising metaphor awareness on the part of business and economics students as a tool of providing "tertiary learners with the knowledge that will enhance both their understanding of academic texts and their stylistic awareness" (Charteris-Black, 2000:150). In order to attain the necessary skill with specialised business and financial vocabulary in English, students need to develop their "metaphoric competence" (Low, 1988) so as to be able to understand a deeper motivation behind the terms they need to master.

References

Boers, F. (2000) "Enhancing metaphoric awareness in specialised reading", **English for Specific Purposes**, Vol. 19, Issue 2, pp. 97-195

Charteris-Black, J. (2000) "Metaphor and Vocabulary Teaching in ESP Economics", **English for Specific Purposes**, Vol. 19, Issue 2, pp. 149-165

Charteris-Black, J. (2004) **Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis**, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan

[480] We can claim this only in the case of specialised business and finance vocabulary. For differences in the conceptualisation of human behaviour in terms of animal behaviour between English and Serbian found in the corpus of more general texts, see e.g. Prodanović-Stankić (2004).

Deignan, A. (2003) “Metaphorical expressions and culture: An indirect link”, **Metaphor and Symbol**, Vol. 18, pp. 255–271

Dudley-Evans, T., St John, M. J. (1998) **Developments in English for specific purposes: a multi-disciplinary approach**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Halupka-Rešetar, S., B. Radić (2003) “Animal names used in adressing people in Serbian”, **Journal of Pragmatics**, Vol. 35, Issue 12, pp. 1891–1902

Henderson, W. (1982) “Metaphor in Economics”, **Economics** (Winter), pp. 147-53

Hsieh, S. C. (2006) “A corpus-based study on animal expressions in Mandarin Chinese and German”, **Journal of Pragmatics**, Vol. 38, Issue 12, pp. 2206–2222

Kövecses, Z. (2002) **Metaphor. A Practical Introduction**. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Lakoff, G., M. Johnson (1980) **Metaphors we live by**, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Lakoff, G., M. Turner (1989) **More than Cool Reason. A field Guide to Poetic Metaphor**, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Littlemore, J. (2003) “The Effect of Cultural Background on Metaphor Interpretation”, **Metaphor and Symbol**, Vol. 18, Issue 4, pp. 273–288

Low, G. D. (1988) “On teaching metaphor”, **Applied Linguistics**, Vol. 9, Issue 2, pp. 125–147

Prodanović-Stankić, D. (2004) “Metafore s nazivima životinja u engleskom i srpskom jeziku”, **Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku**, XLVII, 1–2, pp. 131-145

Radden, G., Z. Kövecses (1999) “Towards a theory of metonymy”, in Panther, K.-U. and and Radden, G. (eds.) **Metonymy in Language and Thought**, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins, pp. 17-59

Silaški, N., T. Đurović (2009) *“Recapturing the beast once uncaged* – the conceptualisation of inflation in English”, International Conference *English Language And Literature Studies: Image, Identity, Reality* (ELLSIIR), Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, Serbia, 4–6 December 2009

Talebinejad, M. R., H. V. Dastjerdi (2005) “A Cross-Cultural Study of Animal Metaphors: When Owls Are Not Wise!”, **Metaphor and Symbol**, Vo. 20, Issue 2, pp. 133–150

White, M. (2003) “Metaphor and economics: the case of growth”, **English for Specific Purposes**, Vol 22, Issue 2. pp. 131–151

www.investopedia.com

UDK 81'276:371.64/69

Ljilja Omerdić
Neda Donat

NEKI ASPEKTI KREIRANJA UDŽBENIKA JEZIKA STRUKE

Apstrakt: *Ovaj rad se bavi nekim aspektima kreiranja udžbenika jezika struke i rezultat je praktičnog iskustva, proizašlog iz pisanja udžbenika za njemački jezik u turizmu . Novi nastavni programi iz 2004. godine zahtijevaju i drugačiji pristup u kreiranju udžbenika jezika struke. Nove udžbenike potrebno je uskladiti sa određenim normama koje su navedene u kurikulumima za pojedine jezike. Udžbenici stranih jezika treba da sadrže nekoliko bitinih elemenata: jasno definisane ciljeve koje je potrebno postići u svakoj lekciji, aktivnosti koje će dovesti do postignuća kojem se teži, jezičke i komunikacijske standarde, a ne smiju se zanemariti ni pedagoški, socijalizacijski, vizuelni i audio aspekt udžbenika.*

Ključne riječi: *pisanje udžbenika, njemački jezik, jezik struke,*

1. Uvod

Reforma obrazovnog sistema pokrenula je čitav niz promjena, a jedna od njih je promjena do tada važećih nastavnih planova. Promjena postojećih nastavnih planova i programa 2004. godine uslovila je i drugačiji pristup u kreiranju udžbenika. Udžbenike je trebalo uskladiti sa određenim normama koje su navedene u kurikulumima za svaki predmet u osnovnim i srednjim školama. Novi standardi za pisanje udžbenika stranih jezika razlikuju se od standarda koji su važili prije deset ili dvadeset godina.

Gramatičko-prevodni metod koji se, uz primjenu raznih drugih metoda, održao neobično dugo u podučavanju stranih jezika od najnižeg do najvišeg nivoa obrazovnog sistema, uticao je da generacije učenika izađu iz školskih, pa i fakultetskih klupa, sa pretežno razvijenom samo jednom sposobnošću – sposobnošću razumijevanja jezika. Jezičke kompetencije i vještine sporazumijevanja bile su male ili prosječne.

Opcije koje se preporučuju u *Zajedničkom evropskom jezičkom okviru* u kojem su postavljeni jezički standardi putem diferenciranog sistema od šest nivoa nude smjernice i deskriptore za četiri jezičke vještine: slušanje, govor, čitanje i pisanje, koje uz odgovarajuće metode rada omogućavaju da se tačnije utvrdi nivo jezičke kompetencije i komunikativne aktivnosti za svaku ciljnu grupu, odnosno da se učenje stranog jezika usmjeri ne samo na sposobnost razumijevanja, već na sposobnost i vještinu komuniciranja kao krajnji ishod.

2. Pisanje udžbenika

Svako ko se lati izuzetno složenog posla pisanja udžbenika za izučavanje nekog od stranih jezika treba da zna da udžbenik mora sadržavati nekoliko bitnih elemenata: ***jasno definisane ciljeve koje bi trebalo postići u svakoj lekciji, aktivnosti koje će dovesti do postignuća kojem se teži, jezičke i komunikacijske standarde***, a, svakako, ne bi trebalo izostaviti ni ***pedagoški, socijalizacijski, vizuelni i audio aspekt.***

Autori udžbenika za njemački jezik za turističke škole morali su voditi računa o slijedećem:

1. Ciljevi, aktivnosti i jezički standardi u udžbeniku za srednje škole koje imaju usmjerenje na turizam, ugostiteljstvo i hotelijerstvo trebalo bi da budu tako odabrani i prezentirani da ***težište bude prije svega na razvijanju vještine razumijevanja i komuniciranja, pa onda čitanja i pisanja***. Da bi se kreirao udžbenik sa takvim pristupom potrebno je da lekcije budu jasno strukturirane, a vježbanja za svaku od vještina pažljivo odabrana po težini i primjenljiva za upotrebu u različitim svakodnevnim situacijama.

2. Za savremen i učenicima primjeren udžbenik veoma je ***bitan izbor tema*** kako bi zainteresovao i motivisao, podstakao na kulturu dijaloga, međusobnog uvažavanja prilikom komuniciranja, humanog odnosa među polovima. Tematski sadržaji trebalo bi da budu, po mogućnosti, autentični tekstovi. S obzirom da su u publikaciji *Profili* predložene teme klasifikovane u dvanaest glavnih oblasti, razvrstane po nivoima od A1 do B1, od obrazovanja i škole, ličnih podataka, slobodnog vremena i razonode, putovanja i saobraćaja, ličnih odnosa i kontakata, aktuelnih i društvenih zbivanja i sl., autentični tekstovi i odgovarajući podaci mogu se relativno lako pronaći u časopisima, brošurama, prospektima, katalozima. Takođe se mogu iskoristiti redovi vožnje, originalni računi, recepti za kuvanje, uputstva za upotrebu lijekova i kozmetičkih preparata, razne vrste reklama i oglasa.

3. ***Svaka lekcija treba da počne uvodnom stranom*** na kojoj će se učenici upoznati sa temom, gramatikom, ključnim vokabularom ili kratkim opštim informacijama. Zatim se navode ciljevi koji predstavljaju težište lekcije, a upućuju na jezičke aktivnosti i strukture koje će se izučavati i uvježbavati, te da veza između teme, aktivnosti i strategija koje slijede u vježbanjima bude jasna kako bi se podsticale, razvijale i postigle odgovarajuće jezičke vještine. Ako je, na primjer, tema *putovanje*, podtema *dolazak u neku stranu zemlju*, aktivnosti: snalaženje, odnosno traženje i davanje informacija na aerodromu ili željezničkoj/autobuskoj stanici, kupovina karata, smještaj prtljaga, onda se sistematično uvježbavaju vještina slušanja i razumijevanja informacija o letu, redu vožnje, raznim vrstama obavještenja za putnike, vještina govora: konverzacija sa osobama koje pružaju usluge, razmjena informacija, razgovor sa putnicima, te vještina čitanja: redova vožnje, piktograma, plana grada, ostalih pisanih obavještenja o putovanjima. Za temu *smještaj*, podtemu *hoteli i prateće usluge*, težište je na razvijanju vještine slušanja i govora, potom čitanja i pisanja (popunjavanje formulara), dok je, na primjer, za temu *društveni kontakti*, podtemu *zabava* (diskoteka,

parti, muzičke manifestacije) težište na razvijanju vještine slušanja i govora (učestvovanje u razgovoru i povezani govor).

4. ***Prezentacija gramatike*** kao sastavnog dijela svake lekcije treba da bude ***povezana sa temom kao i sa prethodnim znanjem*** koje će poslužiti za prepoznavanje novih zakonitosti. Ako je prezentacija gramatičkih zakonitosti jasna i logična, nije preobimna i primjenljiva je za postizanje određenog cilja, usmjeriće sposobnost i vještinu onog ko uči na to da sam pokuša doći do pravila ili pravilne upotrebe u rečenici ili tekstu. To se može postići postavljanjem kratkih gramatičkih podsjetnika u obliku tabele, dijagrama ili rastera, direktno uz vježbanje u kojem treba da se primijeni ili pronađe zakonitost. Na kraju lekcije može se ponovo izvršiti prezentacija gramatike, sistematizovano i uz navođenje sličnih primjera u kojima su ključne gramatičke odrednice istaknute tako da se mogu lako uočiti. Ovakva koncepcija prezentacije gramatičkih zakonitosti jednostavnija je i lakša za primjenu nego koncepcija postavljanja jezičkih struktura u obliku definicija i brojnih primjera na kraju udžbenika.

5. ***Izbor vokabulara*** koji će se naći u udžbeniku ***veoma je bitan*** jer se radi o jeziku struke i smjernicama iz kurikuluma koje treba da budu ispoštovane. Mogu se primijeniti sljedeće opcije: uvodna strana sa ključnim riječima ili onima koje se najčešće javljaju u dotičnoj lekciji, zatim poslije vježbanja, a ispred gramatičkog podsjetnika - kao izbor najbitnijih riječi i fraza koje se odnose na temu lekcije, a koje su potrebne da bi se ovladalo komunikativnim aktivnostima, i na kraju udžbenika, kao glosar, prevedene na maternji jezik ili sa objašnjenjima na njemačkom jeziku.

6. Potrebno je ***voditi računa o pedagoškom i socijalizacijskom aspektu*** kreiranja udžbenika stranog jezika kao prvog ili drugog stranog jezika u srednjim stručnim školama, a to podrazumijeva, prije svega, ciljeve kojima se teži, a koji moraju biti prilagođeni starosnoj grupi, odnosno učenicima određenog uzrasta, njihovim psihološkim i socijalnim sposobnostima, a nadasve komunikativnim vještinama, verbalnim i neverbalnim.

7. ***Izbor metoda rada*** treba da podstakne onog ko uči jezik da bude spreman na saradnju i pomoć, timski rad, preuzimanje odgovornosti, stvaranje pogodne društvene klime za rad, da podstiče interakciju učenik-učenik, slobodu izražavanja stavova i ideja na stranom jeziku. Odgovarajući metod rada u prvi plan treba da stavi onog ko uči, a ne onog ko podučava, koji će, koristeći svoja jezička znanja, razvijati ne samo sposobnost razumijevanja nego i vještinu komuniciranja. Nova koncepcija kreiranja udžbenika nudi raznovrsne metode za razvoj četiri vještine: slušanje, govor (učestvovanje u razgovoru i povezani govor), čitanje i pisanje.

Svojom savremenom koncepcijom udžbenici bi trebalo da omoguće onom ko uči da koristi prethodno stečena znanja iz stranog jezika, da ih nadograđuje i razvija (vertikalno povezivanje = spirala znanja), kao i da koristi i primjeni znanja iz ostalih predmeta koje uči (horizontalno = međupredmetno povezivanje).

Produktivne strategije i tehnike koriste se prilikom govora i pisanja, a vježbanja u udžbeniku mogu usmjeriti i aktivirati te strategije. Usmenom produciranju teksta ili informacija koje se slušaju (npr. saopštenja na javnim mjestima, upozorenja, opisivanja svakodnevnih radnji, opis ljudi i njihovih osobina) može prethoditi glasno čitanje teksta ili pisanje teza na osnovu teksta, slike, dijagrama.

Produktivne strategije prilikom pisanja usmjerene su na aktivnosti koje se odvijaju prije, tokom i nakon pisanja. U tu svrhu može se koristiti niz vježbanja koja služe kao model i pomoć za aktiviranje prethodnog znanja onog ko uči strani jezik: popunjavanje prijavnih formulara u hotelu, pisanje kratkih ličnih pisama i obavještenja, sastavljanje jednostavnog jelovnika, kratak opis destinacije.

Za razvijanje i podsticanje *receptivnih strategija* koje obuhvataju slušanje i čitanje, udžbenik mora biti opremljen audio materijalom (za auditivne receptivne aktivnosti), odnosno snimljenim originalnim razgovorima u restoranu, hotelu, na javnim mjestima, vremenske prognoze, objašnjenja turističkih vodiča, kao i originalnim tekstovima za čitanje, kojima će se vježbati vizuelne receptivne sposobnosti zapažanja opštih i pojedinačnih informacija, vezanih za turističko ili hotelijersko poslovanje (poslovna korespondencija, pisana uputstva, razne vrste informacija).

Interaktivne strategije odnose se na usmene i pisane aktivnosti onog ko uči strani jezik. *Usmena interakcija* treba da podstakne i razvija receptivne i produktivne aktivnosti govornika, kako bi došlo do komunikacije. To podrazumijeva koncept lekcije sa vježbanjima za rad u parovima, manjim ili većim grupama, kako bi se razmijenile informacije ili vodio razgovor, na primjer putem davanja intervjua (iskustva i doživljaji), zajedničkog planiranja i dogovaranja (odmor, putovanja, posjete), diskusije (argumenti za i protiv neke odluke).

Pisana interakcija usmjerena je na aktivnosti i strategije kojima se vježba komunikacija putem razmjene pisanih informacija o nekome (pitati, zapisati i proslijediti pisanu informaciju sa sličnim podacima: razne vrste formulara), vođenje poslovne korespondencije (ponude, ugovori, reklamacije), zapisivanje kratkih podataka i saopštenja (dolazak i odlazak gostiju, promjene podataka o izletima, programima).

8. Poznato je koliko je ***važna i likovno-grafička strana udžbenika***, jer se određene gramatičke strukture lakše usvajaju kada su adekvatno vizuelno prikazane. Autori udžbenika za njemački jezik u turizmu trudili su se da vizuelni elementi budu jasni, a detalji koji su povezani sa pronalaženjem ili davanjem određene informacije uočljivi, nedovosmisleni i krajnje pažljivo odabrani. Razumijevanje uputstava koja se signaliziraju putem crteža, dijagrama, tabela, karta i piktograma od velikog su značaja, jer predstavljaju određenu vrstu pismenosti koja je sve više potrebna zbog skraćivanja pisanih informacija u oblasti turizma, tehnike, pa i u svakodnevnom životu.

9. ***Savremeni udžbenik*** za strane jezike ***nezamisliv*** je ***bez tonskog zapisa***. Ozvučen udžbenik podrazumijeva snimak fonemskih vježbanja (intonacija i akcent) koja se mogu postaviti kao vježbanja uz samu lekciju ili kao posebna vježbanja na kraju udžbenika. Za ciljno uvježbavanje vještine slušanja veoma su bitni snimci autentičnih tekstova, vijesti sa radio i televizijskih stanica ili kreirane govorne situacije, dijalozi i telefonski razgovori koje čitaju izvorni govornici, a koji su u svakodnevnoj upotrebi i u vezi sa postavljenim ciljem. Snimci šumova i raznih zvukova na javnim mjestima pospješuju empatička iskustva koja služe za prepoznavanje odgovarajućih situacija.

Prepoznavanje i lično iskustvo može se iskoristiti potom za uvježbavanje odgovarajućih komunikativnih vještina.

Dakle, poštovanje svih gore navedenih aspekata trebalo bi da kod učenika dovede do lingvističke, socio-lingvističke, diskurzivne, sociokulturne i strategijske kompetencije.

3. Zaključak

Suvišno je isticati značaj udžbenika stranog jezika u „didaktičkoj trijadi" udžbenik-nastavnik-učenik. Dobar udžbenik treba da zadovolji potrebe kako nastavnika, tako i učenika. On nastavniku treba da omogući kvalitetnu interakciju u nastavnom procesu, a da kod učenika podstakne želju za učenjem stranog jezika, da ga on uči što brže i kvalitetnije. Gore navedeni aspekti su samo neki od bitnih aspekata koje je potrebno uzeti u obzir prilikom pisanja udžbenika stranog jezika. Pisanje udžbenika iz stranog jezika struke izuzetno je složen posao, jer je složena i metodologija njegovog pisanja. Ovog veoma teškog i zahtjevnog posla stoga treba da se late samo iskusni i izuzetno stručni profesori.

Nadamo se da će udžbenik njemačkog jezika – *GUTE REISE 1,2!* - koji treba da izađe iz štampe, ispuniti sve prethodno navedene zahtjeve i da će doživjeti brojna izdanja.

Literatura

Gemeinsamer europäischer Referenzrahmen für Sprachen: lernen, lehren, beurteilen (2001) München: Langenscheidt

Glabionat, Müller, Rusch, Schmitz, Wertenschlag (2001) **Profile deutsch**, Langenscheidt, München: Gemeinsamer europäischer Referenzrahmen

Obrazovni program turistički tehničar/turistička tehničarka (2004) Podgorica: Centar za stručno obrazovanje

Osnove za obnovu nastavnih planova i programa osnovne i srednjih škola (2002) Podgorica: Zavod za školstvo

Predmetni program za njemački jezik devetogodišnje osnovne škole (2005), Podgorica: Zavod za školstvo

Predmetni program za njemački jezik za gimnazije (2005), Podgorica: Zavod za školstvo

5.
NASTAVA STRANIH JEZIKA
TEACHING FOREIGN LANGUAGES

UDK 811.131.1:373.3

Aleksandra Šuvaković

UČENJE ITALIJANSKOG JEZIKA U OSNOVNIM ŠKOLAMA SRBIJE

Apstrakt: *U radu se kritički sagledava proces uvođenja italijanskog jezika, kao nastavnog predmeta, u prosvetni sistem Srbije, u osnovnim školama. Analiziraju se nastavni planovi i programi kroz razrede, udžbenici, nastavna sredstva i njihova usaglašenost sa evropskom politikom učenja stranih jezika. Kroz sprovedeno empirijsko istraživanje došlo se do podataka o kvalifikovanosti, stručnom usavršavanju nastavnog kadra, kao i o tome kako nastavnici ocenjuju udžbenike i da li koriste pomoćnu literaturu. Naznačeni su problemi koje s jedne strane ističu učenici u savladavanju gradiva, a sa druge strane problemi samih nastavnika u ostvarivanju predviđenog plana i programa*.

Ključne reči: *italijanski jezik, uvođenje u nastavu, osnovne škole, udžbenici, pomoćna literatura, empirijsko istraživanje, Srbija.*

1. Uvod: O istorijatu institucionalizacije visokoškolskog učenja italijanskog jezika u Srbiji

Na samom početku, prisustvo italijanskog jezika u Srbiji je bilo indirektno i vezuje se za ugledne intelektualce koji su se, poznavajući druge strane jezike (francuski, nemački), bavili određenim temama iz oblasti italijanskog jezika i književnosti. Sredinom XIX veka predavanja vezana za italijansku književnost na beogradskom Liceju držao je i Matija Ban. Neposredno pred I svetski rat u Beogradu se na kratko obreo Italijan, Bruno Guyons, lektor italijanskog jezika koji je držao lektorske vežbe i predavao jezik. Kao svedočanstvo njegovog boravka na našim prostorima u Milanu se 1919.god. pojavila gramatika srpskog jezika (Klajn, 2000: 232 u Vučo, 2003: 137).

Neposredno pred osnivanje Katedre za italijanski jezik i književost na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu kurs italijanskog jezika i kurs iz književnosti posvećen Manzoniju držao je lektor Ilija Maričić. (Savić, 1975: 175). Oktobar 1930. označava zvaničan početak nastave italijanskog jezika na Univerzitetu u Beogradu u sklopu Filozofskog fakulteta, da bi 1961. prešla pod okrilje novoosnovanog Filološkog fakulteta. Jedna od značajnijih ličnosti koja je učestvovala u osnivanju katedre bio je profesor Stanko Šekrlj. Školovan u Parizu i Firenci, Katedri je svojim kontaktima sa najznačajnijim italijanistima toga vremena dao međunarodnu dimenziju koju su današnji renomirani profesori uspeli da očuvaju. Sledi niz naučno značajnih imena: prof. Ibrovac, prof. Vojnović, akademici Stipčević i Klajn koji su iznedrili petnaest nastavnika na samoj katedri i više od hiljadu diplomiranih studenata (Vučo, 2003: 139) .

2.I Uvodjenje italijanskog jezika kao predmeta u osnovnim školama u Srbiji

2.1. Faktori koji utiču na izbor italijanskog jezika

Tradicionalno relativno snažan uticaj italijanske kulture i jezika u našoj zemlji održao se do današnjih dana. Spoj jezičke politike naše zemlje u datom trenutku koja se realizuje preko Ministarstva prosvete i predstave koju naši ljudi imaju o italijanskom načinu života, modi pre svega, italijanskim brendovima, kuhinji, sve popularnijoj muzici i filmu dovelo je i do uvođenja nastave italijanskog jezika u osnovne škole. Na samom početku, 2001.godine, italijanski se učio kao redovan predmet samo u Beogradu, u dve osnovne škole kao drugi strani jezik, tj. od V razreda. Pioniri tog projekta - OŠ „Majka Jugovića" u Zemunu i OŠ „Petar Petrović Njegoš", na Savskom vencu u Beogradu, obuhvatile su nastavom italijanskog jezika ukupno 170 đaka, prva njih 120, a druga 50 (Vučo, 2003: 141).

2.2. Kratak pregled nastavnog plana i programa učenja italijanskog, kao drugog stranog jezika u drugom ciklusu (prva godina učenja)[481]

Učenjem prvog stranog jezika od prvog razreda osnovne škole pospešuje se sticanje višejezičke i višekulturne kompetencije. Oslanjajući se na prethodna iskustva u učenju, deca od svoje 11. godine počinju osvajanje drugog jezičkog bogatstva iz užeg ili šireg okruženja.

Operativni zadaci na nivou jezičkih veština sastoje se iz: 1) razumevanja govora; 2) razumevanja pisanog teksta (do 50 reči); 3.) usmenog izražavanja 4-5 replika; 4) interakcije; 5) pismenog izražavanja; 6) znanja o jeziku.

Teme i situacije obuhvataju školu, samu ličnost učenika i njegove drugove, porodicu i blisko okruženje, praznike, ishranu, odeću, brojeve, iskazivanje vremena, godišnja doba, mesece i delove dana.

Komunikativne funkcije koje treba ostvariti kroz nastavu italijanskog jezika u V razredu prve godine učenja iste su kao u V razredu pete godine učenja, s tim, što moramo imati u vidu, leksičku i gramatičku suženost na prvoj godini učenja.

Svi gramatički sadržaji uvode se sa što manje gramatičkih objašnjenja osim ukoliko učenik ne insistira. Evaluacija se zasniva na upotrebnoj jezičkoj sposobnosti u komunikativnom kontekstu, a ne na eksplicitnom poznavanju gramatičkih pravila. Fond časova od V do VIII razreda za drugi strani jezik je dva puta nedeljno, ili 72 časa godišnje.

Morfosintaksički i fonetski sadržaji sa primerima obuhvataju: 1) fonetiku i fonologiju; 2) morfosintaksu u koju spadaju imenice vlastite i zajedničke, imena gradova, rod, broj, pravilna jednina i množina; član određeni i neodređeni partitivni spojen sa predlozima,

[481] Vidi "Pravilnik o nastavnom planu za drugi ciklus osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja i nastavnom programu za V razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja" od 19. juna 2007.godine, u: " Prosvetni pregled", specijalni broj, Beograd, 2007, str. 35-42

položaj člana uz tutto, upotreba uz prisvojni pridev; zamenice lične subjekatske i objekatske, neneglašene, prisvojne, upitne i neodređene; pridevi opisni, neodređeni, prisvojni, pokazni i pridevi za iskazivanje boja; prosti predlozi; prilozi potvrdni i odrični, vremenski, upitni i priloški; brojevi do 100 i primo za iskazivanje datuma; i rečce ci i ne, a od glagolskih vremena Presente sa nepravilnim glagolskim oblicima, modalni glagoli, zapovedni način (osim trećeg lica množine), povratni glagoli, gl. piacere, izrazi sa glagolima i negacije.

Oblast sintakse obuhvata prostu i proširenu rečenicu, u potvrdnom i odričnom obliku, upitnu rečenicu (potvrdnu sa upitnom intonacijom i odričnu sa upitnom intonacijom); složena rečanica, odnosno izjavna objekatska, indirektna naredba (dire + di); namerne i vremenske rečenice kao i obraćanje pažnje na red reči u rečenici.

2.3. Nastavni plan i program za šesti razred osnovnog obrazovanja (druga godina učenja)[482]

Sve ono što se učilo na prvoj godini učenja italijanskog kao LS2 (u petom razredu) ponavlja se i na drugoj godini učenja (u šestom razredu).

Na nivou gramatike novine koje treba usvojiti i naučiti primetne su pre svega kod: prideva (komparacija); brojeva – brojevi preko 1000 i redni do 20; kod glagolskih vremena novi zadatak je Passato Prossimo, i Condizionale Presente gl. volere i potere, Futuro- pravilnih glagola.

Sintaksa je na nivou prethodne godine uz uvođenje novog vokabulara.

Nastavni plan i program za VII razred, odnosno treću godinu učenja, je gotov, i očekuje se da će ga Ministarstvo prosvete u najkraćem roku odobriti i objaviti.

Izrada nastavnog plana i programa za VIII razred, odnosno četvrtu godinu učenja, je u toku, u skladu sa tempom odvijanja reforme nastavnih planova i programa osnovnoškolskog obrazovanja i vaspitanja.

2.4. Osnovne škole u Republici Srbiji u kojima se danas uči italijanski jezik

Upućivanje odgovarajućeg zahteva Ministarstvu prosvete od strane roditelja, odnosno školskih odbora i davanje odobrenja Ministarstva dovelo je do toga da danas, 1. septembra 2008. godine, u Srbiji[483] postoji čak 31 osnovna škola u kojoj se italijanski jezik izučava kao redovni predmet. Posmatrano administrativno, škole su raspoređene u

[482] Vidi " Pravilnik o nastavnom programu za šesti razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja", od 15. maja 2008. godine, u: "Prosvetni pregled", specijalni broj, Beograd, 2008.(str. 115-116, 118-120).
[483] Nisu učključeni podaci za Autonomnu Pokrajinu Kosovo i Metohija

17 opština, u 11 administrativnih okruga[484], što znači da se italijanski jezik u osnovnim školama ne izučava čak u 150 opština i 13 administrativnih okruga.[485]

NAZIV OPŠTINE I OKRUGA	Broj osnovnih škola
Savski venac, Beograd	2
Zemun, Beograd	1
Novi Beograd, Beograd	1
Čačak, Moravički	3
Gornji Milanovac, Moravički	1
Topola, Šumadijski	1
Kraljevo, Raški	3
Kruševac, Rasinski	3
Trstenik, Rasinski	3
Mediana, Niš, Nišavski	3
Novi Sad, Južnobački	1
Vrbas, Južnobački	1
Smederevo, Podunavski	4
Valjevo, Kolubarski	1
Pančevo, Južnobanatski	1
Plandište, Južnobanatski	1
Užice, Zlatiborski	2

Tabela 1: *Broj osnovnih škola u Srbiji, po opštinama, u kojima se izučava italijanski jezik, na dan 1. septembra 2008. godine*

Interesantno je uočiti da se od ukupnog broja osnovnih škola u kojima se uči italijanski, njih 11, odnosno 34,37% nalazi u mestima koja nisu sedišta opština u koje su uključena[486], dok se njih 5, odnosno 15,62% nalazi u opštinama koje nisu okružni centri[487]. U svega 3 beogradske opštine uči se italijanski. Ovo je indikator toga da su male sredine shvatile značaj učenja italijanskog jezika i omogućile da se on izučava i u njihovim školama. Istovremeno, to pokazuje značajnu promenu situacije u odnosu na 2001. godinu kada se italijanski jezik učio u samo dve beogradske osnovne škole. Za ovih sedam godina, u Beogradu se broj škola koje imaju nastavu italijanskog povećao za svega 2, a u drugim delovima Srbije čak za 28.

---

[484] Uključujući i područje grada Beograda.

[485] Pojmom opštine obuhvatamo sve administrativno-teritorijalne jedinice koje, po Zakonu o teritorijalnoj organizaciji R Srbije, imaju status opštine, grada, i grad Beograd . Osim toga u sastavu grada Beograda nalazi se 17, a u sastavu grada Niša 4 gradske opštine, koje smo takođe obuhvatili ovim pojmom.

[486] Mrčajevci-opština Čačak, Lađevci, Roćevići i Žiča-Kraljevo, Veliki Kupci i Gornji Stepoš-Kruševac, Milutovac i Počekovina-Trstenik, Futog-Novi Sad, Kucura-Vrbas, Lipe-Smedervo

[487] Gornji Milanovac, Topola, Trstenik, Vrbas i Plandište

Do podataka smo došli anketom koja je sprovedena telefonskim putem. Anketni listić sadržao je još jedanaest pitanja u vezi sa nastavom italijanskog jezika u Srbiji, koja nisu prikazana tabelarnim presekom.

Pretpostavljalo se da deo nastavničkog kadra nije završio studije italijanistike, već da italijanski jezik predaju i oni koji su studirali na drugim studijskim grupama filološkog usmerenja ili čak na nefilološkim fakultetima. Na pitanje da li je predmetni nastavnik diplomirao na grupi za italijanski jezik i književnost, i ukoliko nije na kojoj grupi je stekao diplomu dobijen je očekivani odgovor: od ukupnog broja nastavnika njih trideset, dvadesetčetiri nastavnika ili 80,00% diplomirali su na grupi za italijanski jezik i književnost, od čega njih dvadeset dvoje ili 91,67% posle 2000.godine. Pet nastavnika[488] nisu diplomirala na grupi za italijanski jezik i književnost, što predstavlja 16,67% kadra, dok je jedan nastavnik (3,33%) apsolvent na grupi za italijanski jezik i književnost .

Prema važećim propisima u Srbiji, sav nastavni kadar je posle godinu dana rada u prosveti dužan je da polaže stručni ispit. Budući da je italijanski u većini škola, kao redovan predmet uveden školske 2007/08. u trenutku sprovođenja ankete (kraj avgusta 2008.) veliki deo ispitanih nastavnika tek je sticao uslov za njegovo prijavljivanje. Stoga, ne začuđuju rezultati do kojih smo došli postavljanjem pitanja d*a li nastavnik ima položen stručni ispit.* Od ukupnog broja nastavnika, koji su diplomirali na grupi za italijanski jezik i književnost, samo njih pet ima položen stručni ispit (16,67%), njih devetnaest (63,33%), su prijavili ispit u zakonom predviđenom roku, i trenutno je u toku polaganje ispita prve grupe nastavnika, njih šest (31,58%). Od pet nastavnika koji nisu diplomirali na katedri za italijanski jezik i književnost njih troje ili 60% nisu položili državni ispit ni na grupi na kojoj su diplomirali.

Kako se evropska politika zalaže da svaki nastavnik tokom godine provede od petnaest do mesec dana u zemlji čiji jezik je predmet njegovog izučavanja, pokušali smo da vidimo koliko je ta težnja ostvariva u Srbiji. Na pitanje d*a li je nastavnik boravio u Italiji na usavršavanju*, dvadesetdva od ukupnog broja predmetnih nastavnika (73,33%) odgovorilo je potvrdno na postavljeno pitanje. To znači da 26,67% nikada nije bilo na jezičkom usavršavanju u zemlji čiji jezik predaje.

Kako smo došli do podataka da je većina nastavnika diplomirala posle 2000.godine, te tako nisu imali priliku da steknu iskustvo u nastavi, neophodnu pomoć mogli bi da im pruže i razni stručni kursevi. Na pitanje d*a li je nastavnik pohađao kurseve za usavršavanje koje organizuje Ministarstvo prosvete, stručna udruženja ili Italijanski kulturni centar*, dobijeni su sledeći odgovori: deset nastavnika (33,33%) od trideset ispitanih potvrdilo je da su pohađali neki od pomenutih kurseva. Moze se dakle zakljuciti da njih 66,67% nikada nisu prisustvovali nijednom kursu namenjenom nastavničkoj edukaciji.

[488] Četiri nastavnika diplomirali su na grupi za engleski jezik i književnost, a italijanski jezik slušali 4 semestra; dok je jedan nastavnik diplomirao na Filozofskom fakultetu na grupi za filozofiju, a italijanski jezik izučavao u Italiji gde ga je i polagao na jednom od Univerziteta.

Izvestan udeo u motivaciji učenika ima i udžbenik koji se koristi u nastavi. Na pitanje *koji udžbenik koriste u nastavi i kako ga ocenjuju*, svi ispitani nastavnici, njih trideset (100%) se opredelilo za udžbenik *Amici 1*, Zavoda za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva.[489] Kada je u pitanju udžbenik *Amici 1* sedmoro nastavnika (23,33%) njime „nije zadovoljno“, jedanaest (36,67%) je „zadovoljno“, a dvanaest (40,00%) nastavnika su „veoma zadovoljni“. To znaci da je na skali od 1 do 3 ovaj udžbenik ocenjen sa prosečnom ocenom „ veoma zadovoljan“ (3,33).

Budući da nastavni plan i program predviđa ostvarivanje i primenu različitih tehnika/aktivnosti pretpostavili smo da nastavnici u cilju što kvalitetnijeg i zanimljivijeg odvijanja nastave osim udžbenika koriste i neku dopunsku literaturu. Na pitanje d*a li i šta koristite kao pomoćnu literaturu u nastavi*, došli smo do sledećih podataka: kao pomoćnu literaturu u petom razredu, dvanaest nastavnika (40,00%) obavezno je koristilo Vučo, Moderc, *Il mio italiano*, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Podgorica 2003, ali takođe i raznu drugu dostupnu jednojezičku literaturu (*Espresso1; In Italiano*, *Giro tondo)* kao i novinske članke, bajke, postere, fotografije, stranice sa Interneta, muziku. Trinaest nastavnika (43,33%) takođe koristi raznu pomoćnu literaturu u vidu novinskih članaka, stranica sa Interneta, bajki, postera, fotografija, gramatičkih vežbanja koja sami osmišljavaju. Pet nastavnika (16,67%) u petom razredu školske 2007/08 nije koristilo dodatnu literaturu.

Na ovom uzrastu motivacija je pretežno instrumentalnog karaktera i reč je o veoma kompleksnoj temi koja se može mnogo šire posmatrati i razrađivati. Na pitanje *da li je početna motivacija kod učenika nakon prve godine učenja ostala na istom nivou*, *smanjena ili povećana*, dvadeset sedam nastavnika (90,00%) odgovorilo je da je motivacija učenika rasla tokom školske godine, dok je njih troje (10,00%) reklo da je motivacija ista kao na početku učenja. Zanimljivo je zapažanje jednog nastavnika da su dečaci, zbog fudbalskih utakmica italijanske lige, više zainteresovani i motivisani za učenje od devojčica.

Na pitanje *da li postoje i koji su problemi u učenju kod dece, s*edamnaest (56,67%) nastavnika smatra da tokom petog razreda učenici nisu imali vidnih problema u savlađivanju gradiva. Šest nastavnika (20,00%) smatra da je program preambiciozan za decu tog uzrasta što donekle može da uzrokuje problem. Dva nastavnika (6,67%) smatraju da problem učenika potiče od različitosti fonološkog sistema između italijanskog i srpskog jezika. Četiri nastavnika (13,33%) problem vide u nedostatku audio i video zapisa koji bi učenicima približili ovaj strani jezik. Samo jedan nastavnik (3,33%) kao problem izdvaja čijenicu da učenici po završetku časa, više nisu izloženi italijanskom jeziku, kao što je to slučaj sa engleskim.

Isto pitanje postavili smo i samim nastavnicima i podaci su sledeći: šesnaest predmetnih nastavnika (53,33) nije imalo nikakav problem u izvođenju nastave školske 2007/08; tri nastavnika (10,00%) smatra da je fond od 72 časa godišnje mali jer to nije i broj časova aktivne nastave i vežbi, već određeni broj biva unapred određen za pismene

[489] Udžbenik za V razred Blatešić ,,Amici 1“, Zavod za udžbenike, Beograd, 2007.

zadatke, a 10 časova za eksperimentalnu nastavu; sedam nastavnika (23,33%) nema odgovarajuća sredstva i uslove za rad (modernija učila, kabinet, tehnička podrška); tri nastavnika (10,00%) udžbenik predstavlja kao svoj jedini problem u izvođenju nastave; jedan nastavnik (3,33%) kao problem ističe nedovoljno razumevanje od strane okruženja.

3. Zaključak

Italijanski jezik počinje se u sistemu osnovnog školstva u Srbiji izučavati od 2001. godine, a pioniri tog poduhvata bile su dve beogradske osnovne škole – „Majka Jugovića“ (Zemun) i „Petar Petrović Njegoš“ (Savski venac).

U pogledu izučavanja italijanskog jezika u osnovnim školama u Srbiji, situacija je danas značajno poboljšana u odnosu na 2001. godine. Prema rezultatima ispitivanja koje smo sproveli primenom tehnike telefonske ankete, italijanski jezik se na dan 1. septembra 2008. godine uči u 32 osnovne škole u Srbiji, u svima kao drugi strani jezik, pri čemu nastavu pohađa 5054 učenika. Treba primetiti da su i manje sredine, a ne samo Beograd i drugi veći gradski centri, pokazale interesovanje za učenje italijanskog jezika. Anketa pokazuje da, kada se radi o nastavnom kadru, 80% nastavnika koji drže predmet italijanski jezik je diplomiralo na grupi za italijanski jezik i književnost, a 3,33% ima status apsolventa na ovoj grupi. Međutim, svega 16,67% onih koji su diplomirali italijanski jezik i drže nastavu ima i položen stručni ispit, što se može tumačiti činjenicom da je italijanski jezik uveden kao redovni predmet školske 2007/08, te da im u trenutku sprovođenja ispitivanja još nije istekao rok da taj ispit polože. S druge strane, svi oni italijanisti koji drže nastavu, a nemaju položen stručni ispit, su ga prijavili za polaganje, dok od onog broja nastavnika koji predaju italijanski, a nisu diplomirali na matičnoj katedri, 60% nije položilo stručni ispit ni na katedri na kojoj su diplomirali.

U pogledu stručnog usavršavanja u Italiji, čak 73,3% odgovorilo je potvrdno na pitanje da li je u tu svrhu boravio/-la u Italiji, međutim čak 66,67% nikada nisu prisustvovali nijednom kursu namenjenom nastavničkoj edukaciji u organizaciji Ministarstva prosvete, stručnih udruženja ili italijanskog kulturnog centra.

Kada se radi o nastavnim planovima i programima za učenje italijanskog jezika, oni su u skladu sa tokom reforme sistema osnovnog školstva urađeni zaključno sa VI razredom, a u toku je i izrada nastavnog plana i programa za VII i VIII razred. Ti planovi su u skladu sa zahtevima koje pred nas postavlja evropska politika učenja stranih jezika. Postoje i odgovarajući udžbenici za V i VI razred osnovne škole (prva i druga godina učenja), dok udžbenici za VII i VIII razred (treća i četvrta godina učenja) još uvek nisu urađeni.

Možemo biti sasvim zadovoljni napretkom koji je Srbija ostvarila sprovođenjem reforme u oblasti učenja stranih jezika svrstavajući nas u tom pogledu u red najnaprednijih (LS1 od sedme godine, LS2 od jedanaeste). Ne smemo gubiti iz vida da se pre 2000.godine LS1 izučavao kao redovan predmet tek od petog razreda ili jedanaeste godine života, kada se određeni kritični pragovi već formiraju).

Napredak i proboj koji je italijanski jezik napravio od 2001.godine do danas i to u osnovnom obrazovanju može se zaista ocenti kao izuzetan. Težnja ka daljoj ekspanziji zasigurno će se nastaviti i u budućnosti.

Literatura

Balboni, E. P. (2009) **Le sfide di balbele**, Torino: Utet

De Marco, A. (2000) **Manuale di glottodidattica**, Roma: Caroccci editore

Freddi G. (1999) **Psicolinguistica, sociolinguistica,glottodidattica**, Torino: Utet

Lo Duca, M. (2006) **Sillabo di italiano L2**, Roma: Carocci editore

Lo Duca, M. (2007) **Lingua italiana ed educazione linguistica**, Roma: Carocci editore

Lo Duca, M. (2006) **Sillabo di italiano L2**, Roma: Caroccci editore

Luise, C. M. (2006) **Italiano come lingua seconda**, Torino: Utet

Pallotti, G. (1998) **La seconda lingua,** Milano: strumenti Bompiani

Tosi, A. (1995) **Dalla madrelingua all'italiano**, Firenze: La nuova Italia

Titone, R. (2000) **Esperienze di educazione plurilingue**, Perugia: Guerra

Tosi, A. (2007), **Un italiano per l'Europa**, Roma: Carocci

Vučo, J. (2008) **Lessico dell'italiano precoce per stranieri,** in Emanuela Cresti, (a cura di), **Prospettive nello studio del *lessico italiano***, Vol. 2, pp. 681-685, Firenze: Firenze University Press

Vučo, J. (2003) **Ogledi iz lingvistike**, Cetinje: Univerzitet Crne Gore

Vučo, J.(2005) "Istruzioni e insegnamento di lingue straniere verso una politica linguistica euopea', in **Lingue, istruzioni, territori,** Roma: Bulzoni, pp. 685-690

Normativna akta

Pravilnik o izmenama Pravilnika o nastavnom planu i programu osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja za VII i VIII razred (2006), Beograd : Prosvetni pregled

Pravilnik o nastavnom planu za drugi ciklus osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja i nastavnom programu za V razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja (2007), Beograd : Prosvetni pregled

Pravilnik o nastavnom programu za VI razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja (2008), Beograd: Prosvetni pregled

UDK 81'243'25:371.3

Aneta Trivić

PREVOĐENJE I UPOTREBA MATERNJEG JEZIKA KAO DIDAKTIČKA SREDSTVA U NASTAVI STRANOG JEZIKA

Apstrakt: *U radu ćemo razmotriti mogućnost upotrebe prevoda kao didaktčkog sredstva u nastavi stranog jezika. Nastojaćemo da pokažemo da savremene komunikativne metode jezičke nastave ne moraju ignorisati upotrebu maternjeg jezika (što uglavnom čine), već da ga mogu uključiti u sebe, ukoliko to čine konstruktivno i u cilju razvoja komunikativnih sposobnosti studenta. Dokazaćemo da je efikasnije upotrebljavati sve lingvističke sisteme koji već postoje kod učenika i ne izbegavati interferenciju maternjeg jezika po svaku cenu, već naprotiv prevođenje uključiti u nastavu L2 shvativši ga kao komunikativni čin kojim se poruka prenosi iz jednog sistema u drugi. Posebnu pažnju posvetićemo konkretnim primerima: predložićemo korisne vežbe prevođenja koje se mogu uključiti u nastavu stranog jezika (u ovom slučaju španskog) i pokazati da ga treba postepeno uključivati u svaki silabus i to od najranije faze učenja L2 kako bi studenti maksimalno iskoristili svoje lingvističke kapacitete.*

Ključne reči: *didaktika, strani jezik, maternji jezik, transfer, prevođenje, komunikativna kompetencija*

1. Uvod

U rovom radu ćemo pokazati da se maternji jezik može koristiti na času stranog jezika ne kršeći osnovne principe i ciljeve komunikativne didaktike stranih jezika, a to su uspešno komuniciranje na stranom jeziku i motivisanje na komunikaciju. Nastojaćemo da pokažemo da savremene metode za razvijanje komunikativnih veština mogu koristiti prevođenje kao konstruktivno didaktičko sredstvo, ukoliko je to korisno i ako se ono ne zloupotrebljava. Kao posebna jezička veština ono je u nastavnim programima zastupljeno jedino u visoko-školskoj didaktici, ali se mi u radu nećemo ograničiti samo na fakultetsku nastavu. Sva predložena vežbanja odnose se na nastavu bilo koje škole ili tečaja, njih predlažu navedeni teoretičari prevođenja, a mi ih koristimo na času španskog kao drugog stranog jezika na Filološko-umetničkom fakultetu u Kragujevcu. Nastavnik je taj koji određuje na kom stadijumu jezičkog učenja ih primenjuje, a sve u skladu sa nivoom poznavanja stranog jezika.

Prevođenje niko ne osporava kao intelektualnu sposobnost, ili kao sredstvo za evaluaciju komunikativne kompetencije L1 i L2[490]. Ono predstavlja validan korpus i za

[490] L1 skraćenicu koristimo da označimo maternji, a L2 strani jezik, tj. jezik koji se uči

kontrastivne lingvističke studije. Međutim, kao didaktički tj. pedagoški instrument u nastavi stranog jezika prevođenje je predmet mnogih sučeljavanja između onih koji smatraju da njegova upotreba nanosi više štete nego koristi učenicima L2 i onih koji podržavaju njegovu upotrebu u nastavi L2.

Definiše se kao reprodukcija poruke sa izvornog jezika (lengua fuente / original) na ciljni jezik (lengua receptora / terminal), tako da poruka bude što bliže izvornom jeziku, ali da bude prirodna na ciljnom jeziku u pogledu značenja, smisla i stila. Možemo ga posmatrati kao radnju, proces ili kao rezultat te radnje, procesa (García Yebra: 1997, 32). U ovom radu terminom "prevođenje" ćemo označavati proces prenosa poruke iz maternjeg u strani jezik koji se uči.

2. Metodi i prevođenje u nastavi

Gramatičko-prevodni metod u XIX i početkom XX veka nameće prevođenje gramatičkih tekstova i izolovanih struktura, stavljajući akcenat na gramatičku korektnost. Ovde prevođenje nije instrument za podučavanje L2, a konačan cilj nije da se uvede nova komunikativna situacija, već gramatička kategorija. Tekstovi koji se koriste uglavnom su gramatički; tek kasnije se uključuju književni tekstovi. Ovo je visoko gramatikalizovani metod, udaljen od govornog jezika, kritikovan zbog svoje izveštačenosti i nekomunikativnosti. Od sredine XX veka direktni metod počinje da neguje oralne i auditivne veštine, kompletno odbacujući upotrebu maternjeg jezika na času stranog. Negira se validnost prevođenja kao metodološkog sredstva, a posebno se anulira u prvim fazama jezičkog učenja. Svaka interferencija maternjeg u procesu učenja stranog jezika smatra se negativnom, i zato je L1 isključen iz nastavnog silabusa. Pedesetih godina XX veka audio-lingvalni metod uvodi ponavljanje struktura (tzv. „drills") radi stvaranja ekspresivnih automatizama kod učenika u okviru strukturalističke jezičke koncepcije Leonarda Blumfilda. Osnovni cilj ove škole je izbegavanje grešaka, koje se ne smatraju bitnim za razvoj studentovih strategija učenja stranog jezika, a učenje L2 se ne posmatra kao dinamički proces. Samo se demonstriraju i analiziraju ispravni prevodi na maternji jezik. Od 70-ih godina XX veka pa do danas aktuelan je komunikativni metod gde osnova nije više gramatička već pragmalingvistička, priznaje se vrednost upotrebe maternjeg jezika na času L2 kao sredstva evaluacije kompetencije L2.

3. Za i protiv prevođenja u savremenoj didaktici stranih jezika

Ono što ne ide u prilog upotrebe prevođenja na času stranog jezika na prvom mestu je to što se ova aktivnost bazira na vizuelnom medijumu, i služi se samo dvema pisanim veštinama: čitanjem i pisanjem, zanemarujući pritom akustički medij, tj. receptivnu veštinu slušanja/audiranja i produktivnu veštinu govora, tj. usmenog izražavanja. Imajući u vidu ciljeve moderne didaktike stranih jezika (sticanje komunikativne kompetencije, savladavanje svakodnevih komunikativnih potreba,...) ono nije striktno komunikativna aktivnost, jer se povezuje sa literarnim i naučnim tekstovima koji ne ispunjavaju učenikove komunikativne potrebe, prvenstveno zato što nema oralne interakcije. Konačno, prevođenje se teško primenjuje na času L2 gde na primer ima tridesetak studenata (a neretko i više) jer svako od njih piše za sebe. Savremena didaktika stranih jezika neguje četiri osnovne veštine: receptivne (slušanje, tj. razumevanje govora i čitanje, tj. razumevanje teksta) i produktivne (govor, tj. usmeno izražavanje i pisanje, tj. pismeno izražavanje). Prevođenje još uvek kod nas nije definisano kao konkretna jezička veština i ne spada u osnovno jezičko učenje, ne izučava se ni u osnovnim ni u srednjim školama, već pripada visokoškolskoj didaktici. U nastavnim programima zastupljeno je i kao veština medijacije, tj. posredovanja sadržaja sa L1 na L2 bez obaveza formalne ekvivalencije.

Osnovni argument u korist upotrebe prevođenja na času je činjenica da se ne može tek tako i po svaku cenu izbrisati uticaj maternjeg jezika u procesu učenja stranog jezika. Transferi iz maternjeg jezika pokazuju da postoji jedan lingvistički sistem na koji se oslanjamo kada želimo da se izrazimo na L2 (Süss, 1997). Današnji metodi jezičke nastave potpuno ignorišu prethodno usvojena jezička znanja. Kao da se zaboravlja da prevođenje nije samo puko traženje sinonima između L1 i L2, i da se u tom procesu prenosa sadržaja iz jednog na drugi jezik poštuju komunikativni imperativi.

Prevođenje postavlja nove zadatke pred studenta, proširujući njegovu komunikativnu kompetenciju na L2, i to ne samo kada je reč o leksičkim sadržajima, već i o približavanju dalekih i nepoznatih sadržaja i ideja iz drugih kultura. Pedagoško prevođenje jeste još jedan način za podučavanje L2 jer je negde između lingvistike, traduktologije i didaktike. Veoma je korisno na času L2 jer zahteva od studenta preciznost, pravilnu upotrebu gramatike, poznavanje frazeologije i stila.

Za rad na času korisno je direktno prevođenje (traduccićon direta, sa stranog na maternji jezik) kao i obrnuto (traducción inversa, sa maternjeg na ciljni jezik). Direktno koristimo kada treba da se razjasne apstraktni pojmovi, veznici, funkcionalne reči, idiomatski izrazi, npr. na početnim nivoima kada se student upoznaje sa različitim jezičkim registrima:

(1) *Buenos días, Pedro, ¿cómo está? / Dobar dan, Pedro, kako ste?*
Hola, Pedro, ¿qué tal? / Zdravo, Pedro, kako je?

Obrnuto prevođenje je korisno kod dve tehnike: kod prevođenja izolovanih rečenica (koje je veoma kritikovano, ali korisno da se učenik upozna sa osnovnim strukturama L2) i kod rečenica smeštenih u realan kontekst.

4. Vežbe prevođenja primenjive u nastavi L2

Süss (1997) smatra da određene gramatičke strukture koje eventualno predstavljaju problem za studente treba prevoditi na času stranog jezika. U španskom jeziku je to, na primer, upotreba zamenica u funkciji direktnog i indirektnog objekta (objeto directo, objeto indirecto):

(2) **Le lo he dado.* / *Se lo he dado.* / *Dala sam mu/joj ga.*

Dalje predlaže vežbu direktnog prevođenja koja bi uključila konfrontativne zadatke sa tekstovima na L1 i L2. Može se lako primeniti na izučavanje frazelogije, glagolskih perifraza, kolokacija, pa i gramatičkih konstrukcija. Ovakvi zadaci iziskuju dobro poznavanje maternjeg jezika i stimulišu traženje ekvivalenata u oba jezika:

(3) *Levantarse con el pie izquierdo. / Ustati na levu nogu.*
Tener la cabeza dura. / Biti tvrdoglav.
Despertar sospechas. / Izazvati podozrenje.
Soltar una risa. / Zakikotati se. (Pejović, 2005)

Takođe navodi kao moguće vežbanje u kome se studentima podele kraći tekstovi na maternjem jeziku, posle kojih bi usledile propratne vežbe za razumevanje pisanog teksta: odgovori na pitanja u vezi sa okolnostima dešavanja uvedena upitnim prilogom (ko, šta, gde, kada, kako, zašto...), T / N (tačno / netačno) za tvrdnje o tekstu, "multiple choice" testovi. Autor ne navodi na kom nivou jezičkog učenja treba uvesti svaku od ovih vežbi.

Kelly (1997) predlaže da se na času stranog jezika koriste tekstovi sa opštom tematikom, poput književnih, a nikako uže stručnih za didaktiku stranih jezika. Naročito su podobni novinski i turistički tekstovi, koji su informativni i tematika im nije visoko specijalizovana. Svakako da jedan od principa obrade novinskih i književnih tekstova treba da bude vremenska vrednost, a ne dnevna aktuelnost, jer je vreme poluraspada ovih formi kratko: novinske vesti i izveštaji moraju biti aktuelni da bi bili vesti. U skladu sa ciljevima savremene didaktike stranih jezika u nastavi simuliramo autentične govorne situacije, tj. nešto što u perspektivi može biti stvarno. Zato koristimo autentične pisane materijale (novinske članke, flajere, uputstva, turističke oglase…) koji pokušavaju da se približe životnom svetu i deluju motivišuće na studente. Postupak je sledeći: učenicima se da uprošćen novinski tekst na L1 koji svako pročita za sebe, potom se na času komentariše sadržaj teksta na L2. Nakon ovoga studenti pišu svoju verziju sadržine i okolnosti događanja iz teksta, i na času se upoređuju se barem dve napisane verzije. Analizira se gramatika, leksika, ortografija, tekstualna organizacija, beleže se razlike između verzija prepričavanja, unose se bitne izostavljene informacije, dopunjavaju se iskazi, da bi se na kraju opet konsultovao originalni tekst. Kelly zahteva da se ovo vežbanje vizualizuje, da se koriste kratki tekstovi, da bude što veće učešće studenata, da revizija bude zajednički rad, lingvistički i prevodilački, gde bi profesor imao direktivnu ulogu. Ni ovde nema indikacija o hronologiji implementacije ovih aktivnosti u nastavu.

Zurita (1997) razlikuje eksplikativno prevođenje (traducción explicativa), čiji subjekat je profesor, od interlingvalnog prevođenja (traducción interlingual) čiji subjekat je student. Eksplikativno prevođenje je kontrastivno i mikrolingvističko i odnosi se na prevode konkretnih reči čije značenje je nepoznato studentu, na kolokacije, „lažne prijatelje“:

(4) *Me trata con un tono* *familiar.* / *Obraća mi se* *neformalnim* *tonom.*
Su voz me resulta *familiar* . / *Njen glas mi je* *poznat.*

Možemo ga primeniti na objašnjavanje kontrastivnih gramatičkih pravila: u španskom povratni glagoli zahtevaju povratnu zamenicu, ali ne i posesiv, prevod na engleski će uključiti posesiv, a na srpski ni jedno ni drugo:

(5) *Me* *lavo las manos.* / *I wash* *my* *hands*. / Perem ruke.

Eksplikativno prevođenje uključuje i pragmatički jezički nivo kada se ono odnosi na izraze koje koristimo u svakodnevnim situacijama u kojima dolazi do zamene koda (formule identifikacije, određenja profesionalne ili nacionalne pripadnosti, pozdravi, učtivost, molbe...):

(6) *¿Me deja su boli, por favor?* / *Hoćete li mi, molim Vas, dati olovku?*
¿ Me *das tu boli?* / *Daš mi svoju olovku?*

Ovi primeri prevođenja odnose se na početne faze jezičkog učenja i zato je uloga profesora ključna. On bira vežbanja, usmerava studente da ih pravilno urade, motiviše na komunikaciju bez straha.

Zurita smatra da interlingvističko prevođenje treba koristiti kao dodatno pedagoško sredstvo, ali pažljivo i u zavisnosti od nivoa komunikativne kompetencije studenta. Tako će na početnom nivou jezičkog učenja student prevoditi u sebi gotovo sve i, prirodno praviti najviše grešaka usled interferencije:

(7) **El frioríf̈ico no* *trabaja*. / *El frioríf̈ico no* *funciona*. / *Frižider ne radi.*

Na srednjem nivou student počinje da razmišlja na L2 ali i dalje prevodi reči i strukture. Na višem nivou veća je oralna sposobnost i brzina repliciranja, kao i vladanje gramatičkim strukturama. Na najvišem nivou se automatski misli na L2, a profesor je taj koji poseže za L1 kako bi uhvatio specifičan leksički smisao (nijanse) ili da bi našao frazeološki ekvivalent. Ipak, greške i dalje nastaju, naročito tamo gde nema gramatičkog ekvivalenta u maternjem jeziku (kao npr. upotreba subjunktiva u španskom):

(8) **Cuando volveré buscaré trabajo.* / *Kada se vratim potražiću posao.*

Autor daje objašnjenje kako student strateški koristi maternji jezik na času L2, sa sistematizovanim primerima grešaka nastalih iz interferencije (negativnog transfera) ali ne daje predloge za moguća vežbanja na času, niti hronologiju njihove implementacije.

Moreno García (1997) za razliku od ostalih autora polazi od kognitivističkih, a ne komunikativnih principa i, u skladu sa konceptom Univerzalne gramatike Noama Čomskog, tvrdi da zahvaljujući jezičkim univerzalijama uspešno učimo strane jezike. Ova autorka smatra da je prevođenje od izuzetnog značaja u prvim fazama L2 učenja jer daje sigurnost studentu i korisno je pri rešavanju leksičkih i frazeoloških nedoumica. Ona, ipak, upozorava na veliki problem interferencije tj. negativnog transfera u procesu učenja stranog jezika i savetuje da se ne prevodi previše da se ne bi ometalo usvajanje jezičkog sistema stranog jezika, već da prevođenje bude instrumentalizovano i korisno sredstvo kako za učenika tako i za profesora. Potom nabraja primere negativnih transfera koje povezuje sa preteranom upotrebom maternjeg jezika na času stranog, kao što su sintagme za izražavanje pravca u španskom:

(9) **Me gusta mucho conducir los fines de semana a mi abuela. / Volim da vikendom vozim do moje bake.*
**Tienen mucha prisa a su trabajo. / Veoma žure na posao.*

U ovim primerima izostavljen je nominalni deo sintagme koji je u španskom, ali ne i u srpskom, obavezan: " *hasta casa de mi abuela, para ir a trabajo".* I kod upotrebe zamenica uočava se izbegavanje njihovog ponavljanja kada je ono obavezno u španskom:

(10) **Miró a mí. / *A nosotros preocupa esto. / Pogledao me. / Ovo nas brine.*

Ovde treba objasniti upotrebu naglašenih i nenaglašenih oblika zamenica (pronombres átonos i tónicos), što je mnogo jasnije ako se uporedi sa engleskim i srpskim gde nema adekvatnog ekvivalenta za gramatički prevod, ali se pomoću reda reči u rečenici (i kraćeg i dužeg oblika zamenice u srpskom) postiže isti efekat:

(11) *I gave him the book. / I gave the book to him.*
Dala sam mu knjigu. / Dala sam knjigu njemu. / Njemu sam dala knjigu.

Svi navedeni autori pokazuju da je prevođenje dragoceno za razvoj kontrastivne lingvističke svesti, ali takođe smatraju da se njegova uloga smanjuje kako raste lingvistička kompetencija na stranom jeziku. Uključuju maternji jezik u prvim etapama L2 učenja, smatrajući da je ono korisno kako bi se razrešile jezičke nedoumice i problemi jezičke interferencije. Ali ono se još uvek ne posmatra kao osnovna veština koju treba uvrstiti u svaki *curriculum*.

Jedino Peter Newmark (2006) povezuje prevođenje sa određenim stadijumom jezičkog učenja i predlaže konkretne vežbe za svaki nivo. Za početni nivo L2 učenja upotreba direktnog prevođenja štedi vreme, konsoliduje leksičku i gramatičku osnovu, olakšava razumevanje i memorizaciju, ali autor upozorava da ga ne treba konstantno upotrebljavati na času. Na srednjem nivou direktno prevođenje reči i rečenica je validno kada se tretiraju interferencije i greške, ponekad je korisno i kod semantičnih sinonimija kako bi se proširio L1 vokabular. Na višem nivou on predlaže da prevođenje postane peta jezička veština koja se bazira na tekstu i zahteva visok nivo poznavanja oba jezika. Treba, dakle, uspostaviti novi poredak u svaki jezički *curriculum* gde prevođenje ne bi imalo samo instrumentalnu ulogu, već i komplementarnu ulogu u nastavi. Za njega je prevođenje osnovna lingvistička veština uz govor, razumevanje govora, čitanje i pisanje, i ne treba ga napuštati ni u jednoj fazi L2 učenja, već ga potpuno integrisati u nastavu. Konkretna primena vežbi prevođenja zavisi od samog profesora koji najbolje poznaje nivo znanja svojih učenika.

5. Zaključak

U radu smo se bavili temom upotrebe maternjeg na času stranog jezika. Nakon revizije najvažnijih metoda i njihovog odnosa prema upotrebi maternjeg jezika u nastavi izneli smo argumente koji idu u korist i protiv upotrebe prevoda, dali smo kratak pregled konkretnih vežbanja za rad na času koje se predložili teoretičari prevođenja. Svi oni smatraju prevođenje korisnim, ali sekundarnim u L2 nastavi, dok smo mi mišljenja da njega treba potpuno uključiti, što smo, nadamo se, i potkrepili valjanim primerima, i tako pokazali da maternji jezik ne mora po svaku cenu da ugrožava učenje stranog jezika i da se može i treba uvrstiti u savremenu nastavu stranih jezika. Mišljenja smo da treba prevazići predrasude po kojima je prevođenje isključivo izvor interferencija i grešaka, i po kojima se ono mora eliminisati u poslednjim fazama jezičkog učenja jer student tada već razmišlja na stranom jeziku, tj. potpuno se uklopio u L2 lingvistički i kulturni kod.

Protiv antiprevodilačkih predrasuda u L2 nastavi izvodimo sledeće zaključke: prevođenje je veština neophodna za svaki „curriculum“ u L2 nastavi, direktno prevođenje (traduccićon direta, L2→L1) treba progresivno koristiti na času od prvih momenata učenja L2 pa sve do usavršavanja, obrnuto prevođenje (traducción inversa, L1→L2) pogodno je za *curriculum* srednjeg i višeg nivoa jezičkog učenja zbog svog evaluativnog karaktera, zbog poznavanja međujezika kao i zbog toga što proširuje kontrastivnu metalingvističku svest kod učenika. Usled nedostatka specifičnih materijala o prevođenju kao veštini neophodnoj u L2 nastavi, profesor je taj koji treba da osmisli vežbanja i hronologiju njihove implantacije, jer najbolje poznaje stepen kompetencije svojih učenika. Smatramo da svaki profesor jezika treba da ima temeljno gramatičko znanje sopstvenog maternjeg jezika, bazirano prvenstveno na deskriptivnim gramatikama, da stekne detaljno poznavanje gramatike stranog jezika i da prouči kontrastivne gramatike. On je ključna figura u procesu jezičkog osvešćivanja studenta gde on uviđa da može da reflektuje i samostalno upoređuje L1 i L2, naročito na početnim nivoima jezičkog učenja. On treba da daje razumljiva objašnjenja i tako navede studenta na konkretnu realizaciju komunikativnog nauma. U skladu sa savremenom didaktikom stranih jezika koja danas pokušava da se približi autentičnom, životnom svetu, i ne narušavajući njene osnovne principe sticanja komunikativne kompetencije putem učenja elemenata jezika i savladavanja svakodnevnih komunikativnih potreba, prevođenje treba uvrstiti u svaki *curriculum* i koristiti ga kada je to korisno i svrsishodno.

Literatura

García-Medall, J. (2001) "La traducción en la enseñanza de lenguas", **Revista de traducción e interpretación**, Barcelona, No. 3, pp. 113-140

García Yebra, V. (1997) **Teoría y práctica de la traducción,** Madrid: Gredos

Kelly, D. (1997) "La enseñanza de la traducción inversa de textos "generales": consideraciones metodológicas", in: Vega, M. A. and Martín-Gaitero, R. (eds.) **La palabra vertida: investigaciones en torno a la traducción**, Madrid, IULMT/UCM, pp. 175-181

LLobera, M (et al.) (2000) **Competencia comunicativa. Documentos básicos en la enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras**, Madrid: Edelsa

Moreno García, C. (1997) "¿Es útil la traducción en la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera (E/LE)?", in: Félix Fernández, L. and Ortega Arjonilla, E. (eds.) **Estudios sobre traducción e interpretación**, Málaga: CEDMA, pp. 93-103

Newmark, P. (2006) **Manual de traducción**, Madrid: Cátedra

Newmark, P. (1991) **About Translation,** Clevedon (etc.): Multilingual matters

Niño, A. (2005): "La traducción automática en la clase de lengua extranjera: un arma de doble filo", **Espéculo**, preuzeto sa: http://www.ub.es/filhis/culturele/nino.html

Pascua Febles, I. (et al.) (2003) **Teoría, didáctica y práctica de la traducción**, La Coruña: Netbiblo

Pejović, A. (2005)" Las colocaciones léxicas y la traducción (español - serbio)" **Nasleđe**, god II, br.3, pp. 67 - 81

Savignon, S.J. (1983) **Communicative Competence: Theory and Clasroom Pratice,** Menlo Park, California (etc): Addison – Wesley Publishing Company

Süss, K. (1997) "La traducción en la enseñanza de idiomas", in: Vega M. A. and Martín-Gaitero, R. (eds.) **La palabra vertida. Investigaciones en torno a la traducción**, Madrid, IULMT/UCM, pp. 57-67

Zurita Sáenz de Navarrete, P. (1997) "La traducción explicativa y la traducción interiorizada en el proceso de la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera" in: Félix Fernández, L and Ortega Arjonilla, E. (eds.) **Estudios sobre traducción e interpretación,** Málaga: CEDMA, pp. 133-139

UDK 81'243:[371.3:378

Jelena Grubor
Darko Hinić

FACTORS INFLUENCING EFL STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS ROLE PLAY

Abstract: *The aim of the study was to investigate some potential factors involved in the formation of students' attitudes towards role play. The sample group of 31 philology course students from Kragujevac, aged 16-18, mainly female, were assessed with the standardised version of the NEO PI-R test (Extroversion subscale) and a four-point attitude scale, specifically designed for this occasion. By means of factor analysis, the following underlining dimensions of attitude towards role play have been singled out: 1) intrinsic nature of activity, 2) rapport, 3) instrumentality/usefulness, and 4) frequency. The results also indicate the correlation between extroversion and the fact that students can experiment, learn and use their imagination, as well as enjoy teamwork activities.*

Keywords: *attitudes, EFL classes, personality, rapport, role play*

1. Introduction

Nowadays, a great number of methodologists argue that a significant precondition for mastering the existing and developing new skills and strategies, which are part of learner training, and consequently language acquisition, is to create such an environment in which our students become active participants in the learning process, which may help them overcome the sense of failure and frustration, with an emphasis on pair and group work, with every member making their own contribution (Davies and Pearse, 2000; Harmer, 2001; McDonough, 2004; Storch, 2004). A very useful tool to get our students to use both the language and their imagination is *drama* (Grubor, 2008; Kulić, 2006; Scrivener, 1998; Thornbury, 2007), in all its variants. Herein, however, we will focus only on *role play*.

Due to the fact that attitude scales are beneficial for determining the relation to a referent, and consequently behavioural tendencies, it appears reasonable to try to identify students' attitudes towards a teaching technique, since these attitudes can have a great impact on learning, and (un)successful language acquisition respectively. There are various interpretations and definitions of the concept *attitudes*. However, the authors have adopted the one suggested by Rot (2003: 361):

> *'Attitudes comprise the systems of cognitive, emotional and conative tendencies... They present mental promptitude to react in a certain*

manner, and therefore influence the perception of particular objects, what we will think of them, how we will emotionally react to them... They also have the dynamic effect, they encourage and influence humans' behaviour.' (trans.)

2. Method

The study is part of broader research that investigated some potential variables that may influence students' attitudes: type of personality (extroversion), class rapport, the frequency of role play activities and students' attitudes related to enjoyment and other skills development (Grubor and Hinić, 2010). ***Nevertheless, as regards the limitation of the review, in this article we will only focus on the matter of the factors involved in the formation of EFL*** students' attitudes towards role play, as a representative of an interactive, cooperative and drama activity.

The research aims were set up as such due to the fact that attitudes influence behavioural tendencies, and therefore, in this instance, have an impact on learning and language acquisition. Therefore, the main aim was to investigate some potential factors which form students' attitudes towards role play. The subsidiary aim was to determine the order of importance of these factors, so as to provide the basic pivot around which English language teachers may dwell in order to boost their students' improvement.

The sample consisted of 31 philology course students in Kragujevac (five classes of English per week), aged 16-18, mainly female, of three different teachers. Only one group of each grade (excluding the first grade) was randomly chosen for this study. The reasons for this kind of sampling are as follows: a) philology course students are more confident of their language proficiency and therefore more aware of their progress; b) philology courses involve small groups of students (around 10), which enables them to be more self-directed, and also to cooperate with each other more directly and efficiently; c) the groups being quite small, their members cannot easily 'hide behind a screen of a bigger class' or 'relax too much' (Brown, 2001; Harmer, 2001; Ladousse, 2003).

The participants were assessed with a psychological test, the standardised version of the NEO PI-R test: Extroversion subscale (Đurić-Jočić et al., 2004), and a four-point attitude scale in terms of role play, which has primarily been devised as a measure of determining students' attitudes/ feelings towards role play. It consisted of eleven statements, graded as *Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree and Strongly Disagree.*

3. Results

In data analysis, the SPSS statistical programme (version 16.0) was employed, as the most commonly used software package in applied linguistics and educational research (Dörnyei, 2007: 198) and the following analyses: descriptive statistics (the frequencies, the percentages of the statements were calculated), correlation and factor analyses.

The participants were tasked to decide, on the scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 4 (*Strongly Agree*), in favour of the quoted statements, i.e. to what extent they agree with them when role play is concerned. The analysis of the statements is presented below.

Statement 1: I'm afraid that my teacher may think badly of me if I make a mistake, so I don't feel comfortable.

Statement 2: I'm afraid that my classmates may think badly of me if I make a mistake, so I don't feel comfortable.

	strongly disagree	disagree	agree	Mean	SD
St. 1	29.0	58.1	12.9	1.84	.64
St. 2	58.1	38.7	3.2	1.45	.57

Table 1 Statements 1 & 2

These two statements can imply the type of person in terms of extroversion, on the one hand, and lack of confidence, on the other. The great majority of our participants disagreed with these statements (87.1; 96.8% in total). Additionally, we believe that this has to do with strong relationship among themselves and with their teachers, so that they feel free to make mistakes.

Statement 3: I enjoy doing teamwork activities but not in English - my English isn't good enough.

Statement 4: I don't enjoy doing teamwork activities because I'd rather do things on my own without other people involved.

	strongly disagree	disagree	agree	strongly agree	Mean	SD
St. 3	25.8	51.6	12.9	9.7	2.06	.89
St. 4	22.6	48.4	25.8	3.2	2.10	.79

Table 2 Statements 3 & 4

These are connected with the type of personality (confidence; extroversion). As for the former statement, where a great number of the participants (77.4%) disagreed, we can provide different interpretations. To begin with, we may presume that these students are confident of their English, or simply that their English is at high level, since they attend a philology course. The results pretty much tally with the results from the latter statement (71%), although the introvert participants generally did not agree with it.

Statement 5: I can improve my fluency in English.
Statement 8: I can have fun and enjoy myself.
Statement 9: I can learn something.

	disagree	agree	strongly agree	Mean	SD
St. 5	9.7	87.1	3.2	2.94	.36
St. 8	0.0	61.3	38.7	3.39	.50
St. 9	0.0	35.5	64.5	3.65	.49

Table 3 Statements 5, 8 & 9

These three statements are to do with motivation. As for Statement 5, the vast majority of the participants agreed on it (90.3%), and therefore value role play as a technique that can help them develop communicative skills. The same applies for the following two statements, with a one-hundred consensus though, where apart from the instrumentality, the participants maintained that they can learn through fun.

Statement 6: I can experiment.
Statement 7: I can use my imagination.

	disagree	agree	strongly agree	Mean	SD
St. 6	12.9	54.8	32.3	3.19	3.19
St. 7	3.2	51.6	45.2	3.42	.56

Table 4 Statements 6 & 7

These two statements deal with the cognitive psychological processes connected with students' involvement during role play, and their autonomy to create the mere course of the activity. With these two there is quite a strong consensus (87.1; 96.8%).

Statement 10: The more I do it, the more I like it.
Statement 11: The more I do it, the more confident I become.

	disagree	agree	strongly agree	Mean	SD
St. 10	12.9	74.2	12.9	3.00	.52
St. 11	3.2	48.4	48.4	3.45	.57

Table 5 Statements 10 & 11

A very great number of the participants (87.1; 96.8%) seem to be aware of the fact that by time and practice they become even more successful.

In an attempt to identify potential dimensions at the core of the individual attitudes towards role play, the authors have applied a multivariate statistical technique, i.e. factor analysis, since it best 'summarises' the similarities between the variables in terms of a smaller number of reference factors (McEnery and Wilson, 2008: 89). The intercorrelation matrix was computed from the evaluated attitudes, and subsequently factor analysed through the Principal Component method (Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalisation). Since an item (in this context statement) which reduces the internal consistency of the scale should be omitted (Dörnyei, 2007: 207), Statement 3 was excluded from further analysis, due to the low intercorrelation with other items. Four factors were extracted by means of the implementation of the Kaiser's criterion, all of which explain 72.4% of the total variance observed. Factor loadings > 0.60 have been marked in bold characters (cf. Table 6 below).

	nature of activity	rapport	instrumentality	practice
St. 1	-,009	**,758**	-,366	,313
St. 2	-,176	**,879**	,028	-,142
St. 4	*-,831*	-,018	-,127	,347
St. 5	,072	-,333	**,741**	,164
St. 6	**,633**	-,073	,077	,416
St. 7	**,778**	-,263	,161	,209
St. 8	**,625**	-,348	,115	,128
St. 9	,260	,062	**,870**	-,012
St. 10	,201	,015	,093	**,926**
St. 11	,507	,123	,118	,295

Table 6 Factor loadings on attitudes

The results suggest that the four following factors represent an important part of attitude, i.e. influence the attitude formation:

1) *Factor 1*, which explains 34.5% of the total variance, gave high loadings to Statement 6, 7 and 8, and in the negative direction with Statement 4. This factor will be called *the intrinsic nature of activity* (indicating: the type of interaction; autonomy in behaviour; divergence in thinking);

2) *Factor 2*, which explains 16.6% of the total variance, was highly loaded with Statement 1 and 2. This factor will be called *rapport* (relationship both among the students themselves and with their teacher);
3) *Factor 3*, which explains 11% of the total variance, with high loadings for Statement 5 and 9 and will be called *instrumentality* (practical value/ usefulness that the students can derive from the activity).
4) Although it has been explained only by one statement (Statement 10), which is a considerable limitation, *Factor 4*, explaining 10.3% of the total variance, will be called *practice* (frequency of using this technique).

In order to explain the *variables* connected with attitudes on role play, the authors have utilised the correlation analysis between these attitudes and the variables: frequency, rapport, and type of personality (extroversion).

The correlation analysis has shown that *extroversion* significantly correlates with Statement 6 (p=.004), Statement 8 (p=.019) and Statement 4 (p=.046), whereas c*lass rapport* was in a moderate correlation (p=.05) with Statement 6, and in somewhat more significant correlation with Statement 1 (p=.021). As for the *frequency* variable, it is on the border of significance with Statement 11.

4. Discussion

According to the results gathered through descriptive statistics implemented on the attitude scale, general participants' attitude towards role play as a type of activity is positive. The participants evaluated this technique as a useful activity which enables them to develop their language skills and learn in an enjoyable way, in cooperation with others, independent to create the activity course. The emotional part of attitude includes feelings of comfort and lack of negative evaluations on the part of others, which enhances positive emotions towards it. As far as the motivational part of attitude is concerned, which is reflected in their desire to exercise role play, apart from instrumentality, autonomy, social needs and pure fun, it is additionally influenced by participants' opinion that with its repetition their successfulness and confidence increase.

The correlation analysis has shown the significance of extroversion, i.e. the extrovert participants believe that this technique can provide an opportunity for them to experiment, enjoy themselves, use imagination and cooperate with others, unlike the introvert type. However, as presented in the previous study (Grubor and Hinić, 2010), it seems that personality variable may be toned down, and therefore become even subordinate to other variables, such as rapport (where role play appeared a useful tool even for improving interclass relations) and frequency (which showed the significant correlation with enjoyment variable). On the other hand, the limitation in this respect is that other characteristics of personality have not been investigated in more details (level of confidence, self-esteem, etc.).

Furthermore, an interesting finding is that the correlation between *rapport* and Statement 1, but not 2, has been found. The former may imply that the teacher represents situations in which students can be negatively characterised by their peers, whereas the latter may indicate that allegedly the participants are not concerned with the opinion of those with whom they do not get along. Finally, an alternative interpretation may also be provided herein: this can represent an occurrence in which students can deal better with different situations providing that class relations are good. In view of social psychology, when the group is stronger, the fear of external factors (teacher in this very instance) is smaller.

In terms of extracting the underlining dimensions behind the participants' attitude towards role play, and their respective order, the factor analysis has shown the presence of the following factors (cf.

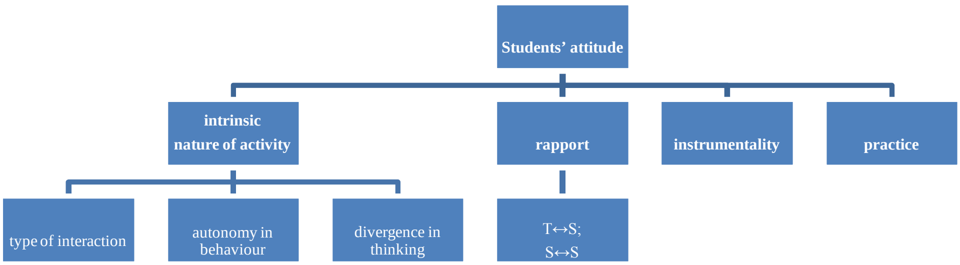


Figure 1 below).

Factor 1 **Factor 2** **Factor 3** **Factor 4**

Figure 1: Factors involved in attitude formation

The most significant factor involved in the formation of the participants' attitude is *intrinsic nature of activity*, which is comprised of the following aspects: type of interaction (keyword: *teamwork*), autonomy in behaviour (*experimenting*: students' independence to create the very course of activity and participate in the process of learning), divergence in thinking (*imagination*: possibility to use imagination, creativity, originality in terms of accepting different original solutions to a problem). The next factor is *rapport*, in other words the class interrelations, the relation with their teacher, as well as the classroom ambiance. This factor appeared even essential in the previous study (Grubor and Hinić, 2010), because role play seems to enable them to fulfil their social needs as well (the affiliation motive/ need to socialise with others; cooperation; empathy etc). The third factor is *instrumentality*, i.e. the practical value/ usefulness that the students can derive from the activity. This is an interesting finding, since it corresponds with theoretical standpoints underlining the importance of embedding classroom activities into meaningful context. The last factor, extracted by means of factor analysis, is *practice*, that is to say the frequency of using this technique. In the previous study (Grubor and Hinić, 2010), rapport was in a statistically significant correlation with enjoyment, and in this study with confidence. Actually, the participants recognised that by time and practice they build up their confidence and improve their skills.

5. Conclusion

Drama activities, and role play as such, are by their nature communicative, due to the fact that they emphasise the meaning, and also enable practising both the language system and skills (Kulić, 2006: 8). They embody the emotional and individual aspects of a learner (Kulić, 2006: 8), and provide a useful springboard for real-life language use (Thornbury, 2007: 96). Moreover, they are highly language productive and adaptable to different levels of proficiency and various topics, and allow learners to experience autonomy in the speaking skill (Thornbury, 2007: 98).

The findings of this study may as well be applied to other interactive/ cooperative activities (such as problem-solving and decision-making). It seems therefore that these results tally with theoretical standpoints that put a stress on the importance of affective factors (i.e. those acting as a block to learning) and sociopolitical (i.e. interaction, negotiation, appropriateness, registers and styles, etc.), as well as cooperative learning in language acquisition, and not only linguistic factors (Brown, 2001; Grubor, 2009; Holden, 1992).

To conclude, role play provides students with an opportunity to learn through cooperation, and Slavin (1995) discovered that cooperative learning resulted in increased student achievement. Therefore, the factors that accounted best for the data of this study may indicate that students' attitudes may as well serve as a potential indicator to teachers how to design their classes, thus taking into consideration their students' likings and needs, since attitudes themselves are likely to make an impact on learning process and language acquisition respectively.

References

Brown, H. D. (2001) **Teaching by Principles: An Interactive Approach to Language Pedagogy**, New York: Addision Wesly Longman, Inc.

Davies, P. and Pearse, E. (2000) **Success in English Teaching**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Dörnyei, Z. (2007) **Research Methods in Applied Linguistics**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Đurić-Jočić D., Džamonja-Ignjatović, T. i Knežević, G. (2004) **NEO PI-R - primena i interpretacija**, Beograd: Centar za primenjenu psihologiju

Grubor, J. (2008) "Role play: Fun or Frustration?", **Language, Literature and Cultural Studies**, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 241 - 250

Grubor, J. (2009) ”Problem percepiranja i primene kooperativnog učenja u Srbiji”, **Inovacije u nastavi** (in press)

Grubor, J. and Hinić, D. (2010) "Extroversion: A Factor Influencing Enjoyment in Role Play in EFL Students?" **The New Educational Review** (in press)

Harmer, J. (2001) **The Practice of English Language Teaching,** Harlow and Essex: Pearson Education Limited

Holden, S. (1992) "Drama", in Johnson, K. and Morrow, K. (eds.) **Communication in the Classroom. Applications and Methods for a Communicative Approach**, Harlow and Essex: Longman Group Limited, (pp. 131 - 136)

Kulić, D. (2006) **Dramske tehnike kod usvajanja engleskog jezika**, Unpublished magisterial thesis, Belgrade: Faculty of Philology

Ladousse, G. P. (2003) **Role Play**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

McDonough, K. (2004) "Learner-learner Interaction During Pair and Small Group Activities in a Thai EFL Context, **System**, Vol. 32, pp. 207 - 224

McEnery, T. and Wilson, A. (2008) **Corpus linguistics: Edinburgh Textbooks in Empirical Linguistics** (2nd edn.), Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Moon, J. (2000) **The Teacher Development Series: Children Learning English**, Oxford: Macmillan Publishers Limited

Rot, N. (2003) **Osnovi socijalne psihologije**, Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva

Slavin, R. E. (1995) **Cooperative Learning: Theory, research and practice** (2nd edn.), Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon

Scrivener, J. (1998) **Learning Teaching**, Oxford: Macmillan Heinemann English Language Teaching

Storch, N. (2004) "Using Activity Theory to Explain Differences in Patterns of Dyadic Interactions in an ESL Class", **The Canadian Modern Language Review**, Vol. 60, 457 - 480

Thornbury, S. (2007) **How to Teach Speaking**, Harlow and Essex: Pearson Education Limited

Willis, J. (1998) **A Framework for Task-Based Learning**, Harlow and Essex: Addison Wesley Longman Limited

UDK 811.111:[371.64/69:316.7

Jelena Matić

CULTURAL CONTENT IN ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS

Abstract: *The aim of the paper is to evaluate English textbooks for cultural information and then to compare and contrast cultural content in English textbooks written by native speakers of English with those written by Serbian authors. The research has been conducted in three Belgrade high schools, where teachers have filled in a questionnaire for each of the textbooks they have been using in class in the current school year.*

Key words: *cultural content, English textbooks, evaluate*

1. Introduction

Culture in its widest sense refers to everything related to the customs, institutions, and achievements of a country, group or community. It can be divided into two distinct groups – big 'C' and small 'c' culture. Big 'C' culture – the art, music, and literature of a country or ethnic group may include achievements such as the plays of Shakespeare, the Mona Lisa, the Taj Mahal and Beethoven's symphonies. Small 'c' culture refers to our 'everyday' culture and includes what we learn at school, our social customs, men's and women's lives differ, what time we get up and go to bed, what we do in our free time, what we eat and so on. (Gill and Čankova, 2008:1)

2. Empirical study

The aim of the pilot study was twofold. Firstly, we wanted to evaluate English textbooks for cultural information. Secondly, we wanted to compare and contrast cultural content in English textbooks written by Serbian authors, on the one hand, and those written by native speakers of English, on the other hand.

The research was conducted in three Belgrade high schools. Two of them are of the general type (The Third Belgrade High School and the Fourth Belgrade High School) and one is specialized (Philological High School). Ten teachers, whose teaching experience ranges from 2 to 33 years, took part in the research. They were asked to fill in the questionnaire for each of the textbooks they used in class in the current school year. In this way, 20 questionnaires were obtained.

3. The questionnaire

As the basis for our questionnaire, we used guidelines to evaluate cultural content in textbooks (Kilickaya, 2004). In addition to this, several more textbook evaluation checklists were consulted (Skierso, 1991; Sheldon, 1988; Daoud and Celce-Murcia, 1979; Cowles, 1976).

Our questionnaire consists of 48 questions organized into nine groups. This paper discusses only the group of questions dealing with cultural content. We introduced subgroups here: topics, text types and language, social groups and stereotypes, generalizations and comments about cultural information.

4. Bibliographical data

This pilot study included twelve textbooks published by two major international publishing houses: Oxford University Press and Longman and one renowned Serbian publisher: Zavod za izdavanje udzbenika.

Four textbooks were identified at the intermediate level: *Practice in English* by Gordana Marković and Katarina Kovačević (Zavod za udžbenike, 2007); *New Headway Intermediate* by Liz and John Soars (OUP, 2003, 2006); *Matrix Intermediate* by Kathy Gude and Jayne Wildman (OUP, 2007) and *Opportunities Intermediate* by Michael Harris, David Mower and Anna Sikorzynska (Longman, 2002).

There were another five books at the upper-intermediate level: *Engleski jezik za III razred Filološke gimnazije* by Gordana Marković and Katarina Kovačević (Zavod, 2001); *Engleski jezik za III razred gimanzije* by Gordana Grba (Zavod, 2003); *New Headway Upper-Intermediate* by Liz and John Soars (OUP, 2006); *Matrix Upper-Intermediate* by Kathy Gude and Jayne Wildman (OUP, 2007) and *Opportunities Upper-Intermediate* by Michael Harris, David Mower and Anna Sikorzynska (Longman, 2002).

At the advanced level there were three textbooks: *Engleski jezik za IV razred gimanzije* by Gordana Grba and Karin Radovanović (Zavod, 1995, 2006); *Gold Plus CAE* by Nick Kenny, Jacky Newbrook and Richard Acklam (Longman, 2008) and *Gold Advanced* by Richard Acklam and Sally Burgess (Longman, 2006).

To summarize, the teachers completed questionnaires for 4 textbooks written by Serbian authors and 8 textbooks whose authors mainly come from English speaking countries. For some of these textbooks we received more than one questionnaire. The data collected from 20 questionnaires was analysed.

5. Cultural content

	Target language culture	Native culture
Serbian authors	100	33
English authors	100	0

Table 1[491]: Does the content serve as a window into learning about target language culture or native culture?

The content in all the books that were analysed serves for learning about target language cultures such as American, British, Canadian, or Australian. However, in Serbian textbooks, the content also serves for acquiring knowledge about native culture. "Home-culture content is acceptable, not only because my students may need to know how to talk about it in the future, but also because it supplies subjects for discussion that are familiar, interesting and motivating." (Ur, 2002: 208).

	Yes	No	No answer
Serbian authors	66.6	16.6	16.6
English authors	50	50	0

Table 2: Does the textbook include a variety of cultures?

The results of the research revealed that two thirds of the teachers who evaluated Serbian textbooks believed that the books included a variety of cultures, whereas only half of those who evaluated English textbooks thought the same. Let us see why.

	British	American	Canadian	Australian	Serbian	European
Serbian authors	100	100	16.6	33.3	50	0
English authors	100	100	21.42	28.57	0	7.14

Table 3: Which culture does the textbook include?

Serbian coursebooks included cultures that ranked in the following order: British, American, Serbian, Australian and Canadian. On the other hand, English coursebooks presented cultures which were rated: British, American, Australian, Canadian and European. The only difference, as we can see here, is that Serbian culture was not included in the English textbooks and this was felt to be a great disadvantage by the informants. Another interesting thing which can be observed here is that Australian culture has ranked before Canadian in both cases. This is to say that our pupils can find

491 The results in all tables are in %

more pieces of information about Australia than Canada in these textbooks, according to our respondents.

Since some of the English textbooks, for example *Opportunities Intermediate* and *Opportunities Upper-Intermediate* were written by international teams of authors (Michael Harris, David Mower and Anna Sikorzynska), they tried to include elements of other European cultures, as well. Penny Ur points out that "the target language culture and literature, and other countries' culture and general knowledge are important for my students' education in principle." (Ur, 2002: 208).

	Adequate	Inadequate
Serbian authors	83.3	16.6
English authors	64.28	35.71

Table 4: Is the cultural content in this textbook adequate or inadequate?

	Yes	No	No answer
Serbian authors	66.6	16.6	16.6
English authors	42.85	42.85	14.28

Table 5: Are 'sanitized' views of the USA or Britain presented?

	Yes	No	No answer
Serbian authors	83.3	0	16.6
English authors	35.71	64	0

Table 6: Are uncomfortable social realities left out?

Next, the results show that a greater majority of teachers who have evaluated Serbian textbooks believe that the cultural content is adequate, despite the fact that two thirds of them consider the content to be an ideal version of the Anglophone culture, where unpleasant realities like the problems of the homeless or the unemployed are left out.

The picture is to some degree different with the teachers who have filled in the questionnaires for English textbooks: two thirds of them state that the cultural content is adequate; a little less than half of them support the idea that a false reality is given in the textbooks and only one third believe that uncomfortable social situations such as poverty or family breakdowns are left out. This might be explained by the fact that almost half of the teachers who have evaluated English textbooks see its content as contemporary, whereas two thirds of the teachers who have analysed Serbian textbooks regard the content as balanced, where both historical and contemporary topics are discussed.

	Historical	Balanced	Contemporary
Serbian authors	16.6	83.3	16.6
English authors	0	57.14	42.85

Table 7: Is the cultural content primarily historical, balanced or contemporary?

	Integrated	Supplemental	No answer
Serbian authors	100	16.6	0
English authors	100	14.28	7.14

Table 8: How is culture presented?

Finally, the results have shown that culture is integrated in texts, dialogues and exercises in all textbooks. In addition to this, in *Opportunities Intermediate* and *Opportunities Upper-Intermediate* by Michael Harris, David Mower and Anna Sikorzynska culture is treated as supplemental and, thus, optional material. Similarly, in *Engleski jezik za IV razred gimnazije* by Gordana Grba and Karin Radovanović, there are special 'cultural notes' which follow the text and give some additional cultural information.

6. Topics

The results of the research revealed that textbooks covered a variety of topics which were suitable to the interests of the intended audience, who are boys and girls in state schools aged between 15 and 18. The topics that were most frequently discussed in both Serbian and English coursebooks were family, art and literature, cultural diversity, professions and employment, the environment, science and technology, relationships and friendship, and books and films. The topics that rated somewhat lower were school life, good manners, future plans, money, food, sports and leisure, humour, living abroad, managing extreme situations, science fiction, hobbies, drug abuse and obsessions.

In conclusion, a great variety of contemporary, historical and geographical topics were included. Although the results showed that all these topics were culturally suitable for the learners in class, the subject matter was mainly specific to the target culture. Thus, reading about younger members of the royal family, for example, or about earning pocket money proved to be of less interest to some of our pupils.

7. Text types and language

Nevertheless, according to the results of the questionnaire, the majority of the coursebooks contain age-appropriate texts. Still, there are comments that some texts are very serious for the teenage population and should be replaced with lighter ones.

The results also reveal that the language in these texts is appropriate for the intended age group, with the exception of *New Headway Upper-Intermediate* where vocabulary can be rather difficult for pupils in the third grade.

	Authentic	Edited	Contrived
Serbian authors	66.6	50	16.6
English authors	50	50	28.57

Table 9: Are the texts authentic, edited or contrived?

Next, the results show that the books contain mainly authentic and/or edited texts, and only a very small amount of specially composed texts. Nunan defines authentic materials as “those which have been produced for purposes other than to teach language, for example print materials such as newspapers or timetables, or spoken materials such as public announcements.” (McGrath, 2008:104) Really authentic material “creates an authentic response, that informs, challenges, stimulates, enriches experience, encourages curiosity, develops judgement, and does the other things that real language does.” (Cunnigsworth, 2003:88).

The questionnaire also reveals an important piece of information: there is a greater variety of literary genres in the Serbian textbooks than in the English ones. The coursebooks written by Serbian authors contain the following types of texts[492]: poems, explanatory cultural notes, jokes and anecdotes, proverbs, fiction by reputable writers, plays, dialogues, newspapers articles and nonfiction. On the other hand, books written by native speakers of English include songs, dialogues, newspaper articles, letters, biographies, nonfiction, fiction by reputable writers and explanatory cultural notes. The results explicitly show that the classic genres of literature: poetry, drama and prose are included in the Serbian textbooks, unlike the English ones.

No	English textbooks written by Serbian authors	%	English textbooks written by native speakers of English	%
1.	Poems	100	Songs	92.85
2.	Explanatory cultural notes, Jokes and anecdotes, Proverbs, Fiction by reputable writers, Plays	83.3	Dialogues, Newspaper articles	78.57
3.	Dialogues, Newspapers articles, Nonfiction	66.6	Letters	71.42
4.	Special culture narratives, Legends	33.3	Biographies, Nonfiction	64.28

[492] the results are ranked in descending order

5.	Songs, Essays, Letters	16.6	Fiction by reputable writers	57.14
6.	Folk tales, fables and myths	0	Explanatory cultural notes	50
7.			Essays	42.85
8.			Poems, Proverbs	35.71
9.			Special culture narratives	28.57
10.			Jokes and anecdotes	21.42
11.			Folk tales	14.28
12.			Legends, fables and myths	7.14

Table 10: Types of texts that textbooks contain

Literature is culture in action. “One of the major functions of literature is to serve as a medium to transmit the culture of the people who speak the language in which it is written.” (Valdes, 2001:137) It provides examples of different styles of writing, and representations of various authentic uses of language. Plays are an obvious choice because of the real speech among real people, clear enough to reveal the characters and the interactions of the plot. Poetry should not to be avoided either. It is true that the syntax is often distorted and the images are elusive, but these charges are valid with some poems only.

8. Social groups and stereotypes

As for social groups, the results have revealed that more than half of all the informants believe that different social strata are represented in the textbooks. However, one third of the respondents point out that it is mainly the white middle class which is portrayed in the books, especially in *New Headway Intermediate* and *New Headway Upper-Intermediate.* This observation is similar to that of Dendrinos who says: “EFL books (...) over-represent the white middle-class population with their concerns about holidays abroad and leisure time, home decoration and dining out, their preoccupation with success, achievement and material wealth. Absent, or nearly absent, are the great variety of minorities, people of African, Indian, Pakistani descent who make up considerable part of the population.”(McGrath 2008: 212) Next, the questionnaire shows that a variety of professions are included in the textbooks, as well as people belonging to different age groups: from teenagers to old couples.

	Yes	No	No answer
Serbian authors	0	83.3	16.6
English authors	50	42.85	7.14

Table 11: Are there any stereotypes in the textbooks?

Stereotypes as “the conventionalized ways of talking and thinking about other people and cultures” (Kramsch 1998: 131) are present more in English textbooks than in Serbian ones, according to the results. As respondents have pointed out, stereotypes are included only to show how these fixed ideas or images about people may be accurate in depicting the ‘typical’ member of a culture, but inaccurate for describing a particular person, simply because every person is a unique individual. Not all cultural stereotypes are ‘bad’? These stereotyped images can help a person to understand another culture in general and the differences between that culture and his or her own. (Brown, 1987: 125)

9. Generalisations

	Yes	No
Serbian authors	16.6	83.3
English authors	21.42	78.57

Table 12: Does the book include generalizations about the culture?

Generalisations are necessary and acceptable to some extent. When they are too rigid they can be a barrier. Luckily, the results have shown that greater majority of coursebooks do not contain general interpretations which would represent obstacles for our pupils.

10. Evaluative judgements

The results of the questionnaire have revealed that there are no evaluative judgements in the textbooks which would show that some cultures are better and some worse. It is of utmost importance to demonstrate to our target audience, the teenagers, that all cultures are rich, complex, flexible and varied. Both learners and teachers of a second language need to understand cultural differences, to recognize openly that everyone in the world is not ‘just like me.’ There are real differences between groups and cultures. We can learn to perceive those differences, to appreciate them, and above all to respect them. (Brown, 1987: 126)

11. Conclusion

A number of simple points arise from this pilot study.

Firstly, three types of cultural information are used in the textbooks evaluated. These are: ‘source culture materials’ that draw on the learners’ own culture as content, then ‘target culture materials’ that use the culture of a country where English is spoken as a first language, and finally ‘international target culture materials’ that use a great variety of cultures in English and non-English speaking countries around the world.

Secondly, cultural information is presented in functional context rather than as isolated facts (both contemporary and historical).

Thirdly, the majority of the textbooks do not present a realistic picture, but one which implies the foreign society is problem-free.

Next, topics in the textbooks should be informative, but also challenging, amusing, and exciting, so that they provoke a real life conversation in the classroom.

Last but not least, stereotypes should be avoided or at least relativised – by making pupils aware of them.

To conclude, the best materials are undoubtedly those written by authors who are themselves practicing teachers, or have had extensive teaching experience.

References

Brown, D. (1987) **Principles of Language Learning and Teaching,** Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Regents

Cowles, H. (1976) "Textbook, materials evaluation: A comprehensive checksheet", **Foreign Language Annals**, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 300-303.

Cunnigsworth, A. (2003) **Choosing your Coursebook**, Oxford: Macmillan Heinemann English language Teaching

Daoud, A. & Celce-Murcia, M. (1979) "Selecting and evaluating a textbook", in M. Celce-Murcia and L. McIntosh (eds.) **Teaching English as a second or foreign language,** Cambridge, MA: Newbury House Publishers, pp. 302-307

Gill, S. and Čankova, M. (2002) **Oxford Basics series: Intercultural Activities**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Kilickaya, F. (2004) "Guidelines to Evaluate Cultural Content in Textbooks", **The Internet TESL Journal**, Vol. 10, No 12

Kramsch, C. (1998) **Language and Culture,** Oxford: Oxford University Press

McGrath, I. (2008) **Materials Evaluation and Design for Language Teaching**, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Sheldon, L. (1988) "Evaluating ELT textbooks and materials", **ELT Journal**, Vol. 42, No. 4, pp. 237-246

Skierso, A. (1991) "Textbook selection and evaluation", in M. Celce-Murcia (ed.) **Teaching English as a second or foreign language**, Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle Publishers, pp. 432-453

Ur, P. (2002) **A Course in Language Teaching**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Valdes, J. M. (2001) **Culture Bound: Bridging the cultural gap in language teaching**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

UDK 81'243:378(497.7)

Lulzime Kamberi

FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING BELIEFS AMONG STUDENTS FROM WESTERN COUNTRIES AND FROM MACEDONIA – A PILOT STUDY

Abstract: *This paper reports preliminary results from a pilot study investigating the effect of entry-level assumptions about foreign language learning on two groups of English Language learners at SEEU (South East European University) in Macedonia. Applying a modified version of the internationally recognized BALLI (Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory) survey (Horwitz, 1987) data were collected to compare the entry-level assumptions of Foreign students (coming from outside Macedonia) and Domestic students (coming from Macedonia). In this pilot stage of the study, quantitative descriptive data based on a five point Likert scale were collapsed into three categories: agree and strongly agree were contracted , as were disagree and strongly disagree, with neutral in the middle to identify possible extremes in belief. Cross tabulation was then used to identify correlations between the two groups of learners. Initial analysis using frequency statistics suggests that the study groups approach English Language learning with similar beliefs and assumptions, with only three areas of statistically significant difference*

Keywords: *computers and language learning, learner beliefs, language learning, learning strategies*

1. Introduction

As everywhere, English has become the 'lingua franca' of almost everybody in Macedonia. More particularly, starting in 2008, English has become part of the national curriculum of Macedonia. It is studied from the first school day of every child in Macedonia and continues through university level. At SEEU (The South-East European University), for example, EFL has become an essential core course requirement; students from all departments must study English up to level four (L4) [B2 according to the European Framework].

By observing and comparing students at SEEU, I have realized that students from Macedonia at least, seem to find it more difficult to understand what is being said to them and to respond comfortably in English than students from *western* countries like Germany, Denmark, Sweden, or Slovenia.

This brief study suggested that students' language learning strategies are influenced by beliefs about language learning which have been developed from their background, their past experience with languages and their primary and secondary education. What our learners really think and how their learning experience has been shaped will be significant in their development as language users shaping Macedonia's future. The lasting effects of these beliefs can be expected to have long-term influence on the implementation of English learning in Macedonia if they cannot be modified. As Bernat (2006: 4) states:

> *Investigating the relationship of beliefs to other factors sheds light on their stability and malleability and thus bears consequences for possible instructional intervention methods in the classroom attempting to change those beliefs, which may hinder the learning process.*

Since there has been little research focused on students and their attitude towards language learning in post-communist Macedonia, the educational importance of this study has significant potential for improving our teaching at the university and helping students to reshape their beliefs and improve their communicative competence.

2. Literature Review

According to the Dictionary of Applied Linguistics, 'learner beliefs'can be defined as "ideas learners have concerning different aspects of language, language ideas and language teaching/learning" (p.297). Some linguists see these as components of metacognitive knowledge (Flavell, 1987). Others, such as Wenden, separate beliefs from metacognitive knowledge because they are "value-related" (1999: 436). This 'value', as described in Wenden, seems to be related to *what students believe* is useful in language learning - what is important *according to the learners*. The learners from my brief preliminary study insisted that grammar was very important, as my observations have revealed, and some even saw it as the most important. Despite an absence of research to support what Champagne, et al (1988) described as their 'naive belief ', or by Richardson who views beliefs as "psychologically held understandings, premises, or propositions about the world that are felt to be true" (1996: 102).

Many scholars claim that beliefs are constructed in a social context (Alanen, 2003). Similarly, studies conducted in Asian settings (Xiuping Li, 2004; Degen & Absalom, 2004; Ross, 1992; Zacharias, 2003) have stressed the various learning styles and strategies of English language learners in the context of cultural and historical background.

In the Chinese learning context, the teacher is seen as the one "...to transmit knowledge, wisdom, culture, virtue, respect for learning and obedience for authority" (Degen & Absalom, 2004: 34). In Macedonia, the student is generally accepted to be the receiver of information and, as a result, learners develop strategies that decrease learning and therefore, as Oxford suggests we should "… train them to rely more on themselves" (1990: 10). As we can infer, Oxford seems to also agree that learners need to become more independent and by having an overview of their beliefs, as deep constructs, we can make a further step in helping our students become more independent learners.

Accepting the relationship between cultural and historical background and language learning behavior (Langkanavati, 2004; Bernat, 2005; Siebert, 2003; etc.), this paper assumes that the language learning beliefs of students from Macedonia are also shaped by their socio-cultural background.

2.1. The foundation of this paper

Following approach suggested by Wenden (1987, 1988), and Yang (1992), this paper reports a pilot study encouraging students to express their ideas and opinions or beliefs they hold about aspects of language learning. To identify learning beliefs, students volunteering for the study were provided with an initial five-pint Likert scale questionnaire.

Based on my professional teaching interest and influenced by the emerging findings reported in the brief literature review above, the research questions addressed in this paper include:

1. What are students' beliefs about language learning?
2. Do they really lack communicative competence?
3. Is there any significant difference among the two target groups *Domestic* and *Foreign* language learners related to cognitive aspects of language learning?

3. The study

In this part, I will briefly describe the subjects that were taken into consideration, the instruments used for the study, as well as the data collection and analysis. Some limitation will be mentioned as well.

3.1. Subjects

The participants in this study represent students from different departments of the South East European University (SEEU); Languages Cultures and Communication, Law, Business Administration; Public Administration. The proportion of the participants is uneven which represents threats to validity. The largest number of participants is from the English departments which were taking my course at that time, namely 68%, 5% from the BA (Business Administration), 6% from the German, 6% from the Law and finally 3% from the Public Administration department.

3.2. Instrumentation

Two instruments were used for the study; the background questionnaire and the modified version of the BALLI (Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory).

The modified BALLI

The instrument used in the study is a modified version of the BALLI developed by Elaine Horwitz in 1987. The instrument is a 39 –item Likert-type scale, on which respondents mark their degree of agreement or disagreement with each statement. The questions investigate learners' beliefs, about: 1) Foreign language aptitude; 2) computers and language learning; 3) the difficulty of language learning; 4) the nature of language learning (the importance of vocabulary and grammar in language learning); 5) effective learning and communication strategies; and 6) motivation and expectations.

Additional questions were added to the questionnaire to include the emerging use of computer assisted learning in language teaching.

3.3. Data Collection and analysis

Data was collected during the year 2008. The most difficult part was finding *Returnee/Foreign* students since there was no clear university record of how many students had come from western countries to study at SEEU. Most of the questionnaires were given to students on one-to-one basis. In these cases, the questionnaire was explained in detail and students then took it home after a return time was agreed upon. This represented one of the biggest challenges for me and for the *returnee or Foreign students*; many of them never came back. However, from about 50 distributed questionnaires 24 were returned, which represents 48 % of the total sample.

On the other hand, data with Domestic students was gathered by using convenience sampling with the students from the English department attending the English Language Skills III course during the year 2008, who represent 68% percent of the total sample; students from other departments who volunteered to participate represent 32% of the total sample. The age of the students ranges from 20 to 23, and the majority are from Macedonia.

3.4. Limitations

One of the limitations of this study is the percentage of the students regarding their major, 68% being from the English Department, and the rest of 32% from all other departments.

4. Results

Quantitative descriptive data based on a five point Likert scale were collapsed; 'agree' and 'strongly agree' were contracted, as were 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree', with the 'neutral' in the middle to identify possible extremes in belief. However, most of the time, in the results section, the middle was not reported. Cross tabulation was then used to identify correlations between the two groups of learners, *Domestic* and *Foreign* students on all beliefs about language learning included in the questionnaire. Initial analysis using frequency statistics suggests that despite perceived differences in students' background and methods of foreign language instruction, the study groups hold generally similar beliefs, with only three areas of statistically significant difference which are discussed below in greater detail.

4.1. Foreign language aptitude

Domestic students appear to be less confident than Foreign students in their ability or individual potential for learning a Foreign language. The vast majority, 70% of the *Domestic* students, compared to 39 % of the *Foreign* group, agreed that children can learn a language more easily than adults. This apparent lack of confidence appears to relate to their experience of relatively large primary and secondary classes, ranging from 30-40, coupled with poor amenities.

4.2. Computers and language learning

Added to the BALLI in an attempt to determine the impact of emerging technologies on the teaching/learning process, the five questions in this section focused on the assumption that students with access to a global vision develop different beliefs about how language can be learned. Having in mind the fact that many of today's young people may be spending a huge amount of time in front of a computer, this section was developed to see whether they hold positive opinions related to the issue of computers' help or obstruction in language learning.

In a surprising outcome, 70% of the *Domestic* students in this study believed that computers help in learning to speak English, compared to 39% of the *Foreign* students with the same opinion.

As a result, Domestic students seem to accept that the only way of being transported into a place where students get to communicate with the language is through a virtual world. As Nelson & Oliver (1999), have observed, access to a variety of learning environments is like travelling to different places just to experience and see various cultures or meet various ways of living and most of the Domestic students have never been outside of Macedonia, due to the visa regime for almost two decades.

4.3. The difficulty of language learning

Despite their wide range of language background and experience, both *Domestic* and *Foreign* language learners in this study agree that some languages are harder to learn than others. More importantly than the generalization, however, is the statistically significant difference in opinion about learning English. 84% of *Domestic* students consider "English to be a difficult to very difficult language to learn", while only 48% of the *Foreign* students agree with this statement.

4.4. The nature of language learning

Both groups believed that culture is a very important factor in language learning, which suggests that both are aware of the importance of understanding other cultures. Further, although both groups agreed with the relative importance of vocabulary and grammar, 56% of *Domestic* students felt that *translating from my own language was the better way of learning* compared to 24% of the *Foreign* ones. Again, it needs to be noted that *Domestic* students are accustomed to vocabulary rote learning and grammar translation methods (in their, primary and secondary education), and therefore, pay an extreme amount of attention and time to memorizing new words.

4.5. Effective learning and communication strategies

Learning and communication strategies relate to the concrete learning process and, for the most part, *Domestic* and *Foreign* students tended to agree with each other about which strategies were important. How to express this learning in communication, or practically however, produced a statistically significant polarization of opinion, as the statistical analysis show. Proposing that you "shouldn't say anything in English until you can say it correctly", 88% of the *Foreign* students felt it was desirable to take a risk with the language though only 51% of the *Domestic* students were equally confident.

The disparity in opinion about taking risks while speaking English suggests that *Foreign* students have a greater more experience of non-English speakers communicating in English than *Domestic* students. In this case it seems very likely that background experience with language development has surely shaped confidence and, as a result, belief about acceptable communicative behavior as well.

This lack of confidence seems, at first sight, to be reflected with similar statistical significance in whether students felt "shy about speaking in front of other people". Closer consideration of the results suggests that *speaking correctly in English* and *speaking in public* may not actually be related in the minds of the students – particularly the Foreign students. This issue will require closer attention as the study develops. In the meantime, the results from this pilot study indicate that 21% of the *Domestic* and 30% of the Foreign students agree that they feel shy speaking in front of other people. To finish with the same number of respondents of *Domestic* and *Foreign* respondents, 49% who disagree or strongly disagree.

4.6. Motivation and expectations

Reflecting on the opportunities and expectations of their language learning, both groups believed that they will learn English well and both expressed strong desires to gain increased practice with native speakers. This could be due to the fact that the vast majority is studying the English language and literature. Therefore, the increasing importance of finding a "better job if you speak English well" offers a more personal imperative. Both groups agreed that a strong motivation for learning English well was the potential for a better job. They seem to recognize that English has become the *lingua franca* of the globalized world.

5. Conclusion

This preliminary exploration of the ways in which beliefs about language learning may affect learning strategies has confirmed a number of similarities between Domestic and Foreign English language learners in Macedonia. More importantly, the study has established some significant differences between the beliefs and responses of the two groups.

Where *Foreign* students appear to be willing to take risks in usage because they are familiar with communicative learning strategies, *Domestic* students tend to be shy of making mistakes. Similarly, it appears, because *Foreign* students are more familiar with a broader range of languages and cultures, they find access to a virtual world less useful than *Domestic* students.

The fundamental foundation for this paper has been my initial assumption that *Domestic* students hold 'wrong' beliefs about communication. Therefore, they hesitate to "speak *in front of other people"* or they "*wait until they can say a word correctly"*. The findings of this pilot study suggest that my assumption may be premature. It seems more likely, even from such a small sample, that self-confidence derives from access to experience and understanding. The wider world-view and personal experience of the *Foreign* students supports their belief that it is better to be corrected after trying than to remain silent. Nevertheless, to make generalizations, a larger sample will be needed and, preferably, a larger percentage of students who are not studying English language as their major.

In conclusion, the findings from this pilot study support the view that language learning facility is strongly influenced by prior experience. Experience shapes beliefs and beliefs tend to determine which learning strategies are considered acceptable. Experience suggests that communicative competence comes from risk-taking and from practice with native speakers in context. Where this is not accessible, alternative access to a virtual world offers an alternative, at least. As Dorney & Schmidt (2001) have argued, the best intervention would be to improve the quality of teaching. Improving teaching involves teachers' developing their own range of teaching competencies in ways which may be similar to those that their students must use. A more substantial study of how this can be achieved is clearly the next step if beliefs are to be changed.

References

Alanen, R. (2003) "A sociocultural approach to young language learners' beliefs about language learning", in Kalaja, P.& A.M.F. Barcelos (Eds.) **Beliefs about SLA: New research**, Netherlands. Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp.55-85

Bernat, E. (2006) "Assessing EAP learners' beliefs about language learning in the Australian context", **The Asian EFL Journal Quarterly**

Champagne, A. B., Gunstone, R. F. and Klopfer, L. E. (1988) "Some students' beliefs in mechanics - A third world viewpoint, Research", **Science Education**, Vol.18 (1), pp.298-301

Degen, T. & Absalom, D. (2004) "Promoting learner autonomy", in **Proceedings of the Independent Learning Conference 2003**

Dörnyei, Z. & Schmidt, R. (Eds.) (2001) "Motivation and second language acquisition", **Technical Report,** No. 23, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, Second Language Teaching and Curriculum Center

Horwitz, E. (1987) "Surveying student beliefs about language learning', in Wenden, A. & Lengkanawati, N. S. (2004) **How learners from different cultural backgrounds learn a Foreign language**, **ASIAN EFL Journal**, Vol.6

Oxford, R. (1990) **Language Learning Strategies: What every teacher should know**, New York: Newbury House Publishers

Richardson, V. (1996) "The role attitudes and beliefs in learning to teach" in J. Sikula, T.J. Butterly, E. and Guyton (eds.) **Handbook of research on teacher education**, New York: Macmillan

Wenden, A. (1999) "An introduction to metacognitive knowledge and beliefs in language learning: beyond the basics", **System,** 27,435-441

Xiuping Li. (2004) **An analysis of Chinese EFL learners' beliefs about the role of rote learning in vocabulary learning strategies**, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sunderland, 2004

UDK 811.134.2'243:[371.64/69:316.7

Katarina Krstić

KULTURA U NASTAVI ŠPANSKOG KAO STRANOG JEZIKA

Apstrakt: *Imajući u vidu da se strani jezik uči da bi se koristio u konkretnoj situaciji, u ovom članku ćemo istaći važnost nastave kulture u cilju pravilnog usvajanja značenja i upotrebe formalnih aspekata jezika. Najpre ćemo odrediti značenje pojma kulture u onom kontekstu koji je bitan za učenje stranih jezika. Definisaćemo i pojam interkulturalne kompetencije i objasniti njen značaj. Analiziraćemo kulturne sadržaje u španskim udžbenicima Gente 1, Gente 2 i Gente 3, koji se koriste u nastavi španskog jezika u beogradskim gimnazijama. Razgraničićemo kulturne sadržaje po nivoima znanja i ukazati na različite načine kojima se ovi sadržaji prenose učenicima. Na kraju ćemo predložiti metodološki pristup koji bi vodio boljem usvajanju stranog jezika i kulture, kao i dodatna nastavna sredstva u vidu multimedijalnih sadržaja koja bi bitno uticala na poboljšanje kvaliteta nastave i motivaciju učenika.*

Ključne reči: *kultura, metodika nastave, strani jezici, interkulturalna kompetencija, udžbenici.*

1. Uvod

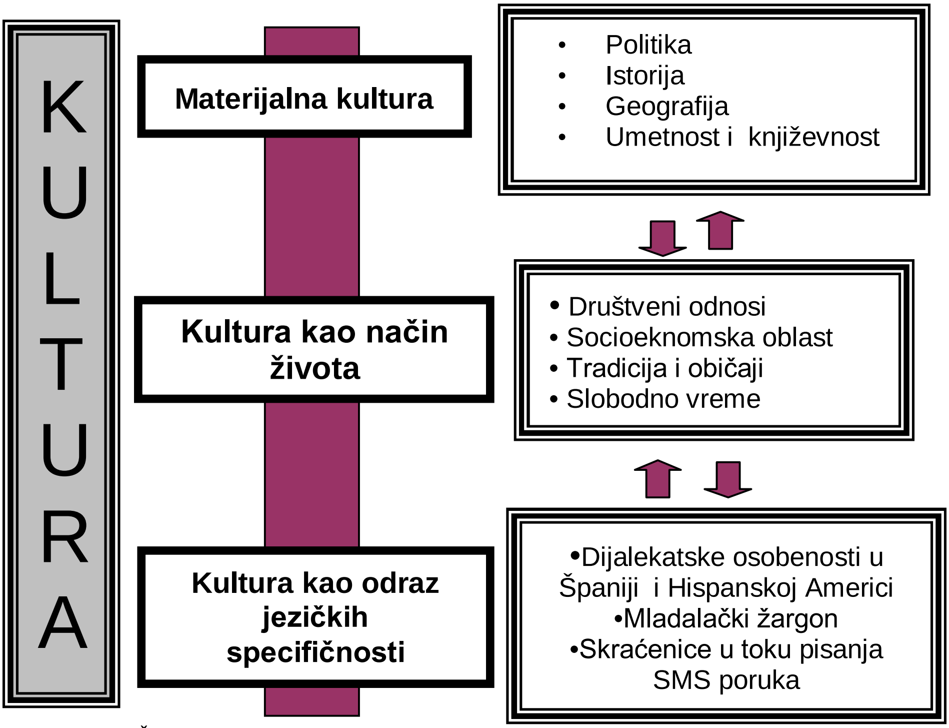
U savremenoj metodološkoj praksi postoji sve veća tendencija da se učenje stranog jezika u nastavi sagleda kroz jednu novu perspektivu, koja bi insistirala na komunikativnom pristupu u nastavi. Budući da poznavanje jedino formalnih aspekata stranog jezika nije dovoljno da garantuje uspešnu komunikaciju, neophodno je da učenici u isto vreme usvajaju i kulturne obrasce date jezičke zajednice. Komuniciranje između osoba koje koriste isti lingvistički kod, ali različite simbole, sistem verovanja i pretpostavki, koji se zasnivaju na kulturi zemalja iz kojih potiču, ne bi bilo uspešno i dovelo bi do nesporazuma ili čak i do nerazumevanja poruke. Ranije se nastava kulture u školama u većini slučajeva svodila na učenje istorije, književnosti, umetnosti i geografije, što ni na koji način nije dovodilo do uspostavljanja veze između formalnih i sociokulturnih aspekata stranog jezika, već su te aspekte učinici mogli jedino da tumače putem predstave o svetu karakteristične za njihovu kulturu.

Da bi se utvrdili kulturni sadržaji koji bi na najadekvatniji način omogućili učeniku da stekne neophodnu komunikativnu kompetenciju na stranom jeziku, najpre moramo odrediti pojam kulture. Kulturu nije lako definisati imajući u vidu da se ovaj termin koristi u različitim naukama (antropologija, sociologija, lingvistika, psihologija...) i da samim tim postoji i veliki broj osnovnih definicija ovog termina, koji je u zavisnosti od naučne discipline određen na drugačiji način. Ovom prilikom nećemo navoditi definicije kulture različitih autora, već ćemo ovaj pojam odrediti sa stanovišta njegove primene u nastavi stranih jezika. Kultura će s toga u ovom radu podrazumevati i materijalna i duhovna dobra jedne zajednice, odnosno vrednosti, verovanja, nauku i umetnost, tradiciju, način života i obrasce ponašanja. Ovako shvaćena kultura se može dalje podeliti na osnovu njena tri, za nas relevantna značenja, na *Kulturu kao odraz naučnih i umetničkih postignuća (odnosno na materijalnu kulturu), Kulturu kao način života i Kulturu kao odraz jezičkih specifičnosti pojedinih društvenih grupa.* (Miguel, Sanz, 2004: 4)

Kultura kao način života predstavlja centralni i najvažniji deo ove podele i odnosi se na sva znanja koja maternji govornici nekog jezika poseduju i koja im omogućavaju da budu uspešni akteri u svim komunikativnim situacijama. Ona se odnosi na sve ono što se u datoj jezičkoj zajednici podrazumeva, o čemu se ne govori i što je blisko svim njenim članovima. Jedino ako poseduju ova znanja članovi te zajednice će moći da pristupe **kulturi kao odrazu jezičkih specifičnosti pojedinih društvenih grupa**, koja bi podrazumevala sposobnost da se sa kulturnog ili socijalnog stanovišta identifikuje sagovornik i da mu se lingvistički prilagodi (na primer, prepoznavanje mladalačkog kolokvijalnog govora), kao i **materijalnoj kulturi,** koja bi se, recimo, ogledala u sposobnosti da čitamo i razumemo nadrealističnu pesmu ili pikarski roman.

Po našem mišljenju, **kultura kao način života** najvažnija je za primenu u nastavi. Znanja o toj kulturi bi učenicima omogućila da razumeju ono što se dešava u Španiji (*da je, na primer, u Španiji utorak, a ne petak 13. baksuzan dan, da se 6. januara slavi praznik Tri Kralja, da se šale zbijaju 28. decembra, a ne 1. aprila i slično*), da poseduju osnovna znanja o svakodnevnim uobičajenim radnjama (*da se u gradovima obično ruča između dva i tri popodne, da se poštanske markice kupuju na kiosku, da se jaja kupuju u pakovanju od šest ili dvanaest itd.*) kao i da steknu svest o očekivanom ponašanju (*da se nikada ne priča ili ne postavlja pitanje o visini zarade, osim ako se ne radi o bliskim prijateljima, da u slučaju pohvale treba odreagovati tako što će se smanjiti vrednost postignuća itd*).

Ostala dva tipa kulture nisu jednako bliska svim članovima jedne jezičke zajednice i predstavljaju na neki način *«kulturne dijalekte»* kojima se služe posebne društvene grupe, stručnjaci iz pojedinih oblasti ili mladi koji pripadaju posebnim socijalnim grupama. Međutim, u pojedinim slučajevima oba tipa kulture mogu vremenom postati sastavni deo **kulture kao načina života** i tako mogu biti shvaćeni i prihvaćeni od strane cele jezičke zajednice. Određeni književni izraz može ući u svakodnevnu upotrebu većine pojedinaca, koji čak i nemaju naviku da redovno čitaju, na isti način na koji i neki žargonski izraz može postati uobičajen u komunikaciji. U tom slučaju oba značenja termina kultura postaju relevantna u nastavi stranih jezika (Miguel, Sanz, 2004: 5).



Šematski prikaz klasifikacije kulturnih sadržaja

2. Način predstavljanja kulturnih sadržaja u nastavi

Kultura se u nastavu stranog jezika može uključiti na dva načina. Prvi način bi bio da ona bude integrisana sa formalnim i leksičkim sadržajem, dok bi drugi način podrazumevao da ona bude ponuđena kao zaseban predmet. Mi bismo se opredelili za prvi pristup, imajući u vidu povezanost kulture i ostalih aspekata jezika u komunikaciji.. Dakle, jedino nastava koja obuhvata simultano usvajanje kulturnih i ostalih jezičkih sadržaja može omogućiti učeniku da shvati pravilnu upotrebu naučenih gramatičkih pravila (Đorđević, 1975: 43).

Uključenje kulture u nastavu gramatike i konverzacije takođe omogućuje da se iskoriste situacioni konteksti predviđeni za datu metodološku jedinicu u okviru kojih se poznavanja kulture učenika mogu proširiti i lakše usvojiti. Na taj način bi, ako se lekcijom obrađuju funkcionalni sadržaji, kao što su izražavanje mišljenja, preferencija i opis načina provođenja slobodnog vremena, bilo adekvatno da se u okviru već utvrđenog konteksta obrade i običaji i navike u Španiji (kako Španci provode slobodno vreme, kada izlaze, koliko često i gde obično putuju, njihove navike vezane za odlazak u bioskop, pozorište ili koncert klasične muzike, kako se zabavljuju mladi itd.). Veoma je važno da se učenicima kultura stranog jezika predstavi kao stvarna i da im se predoče konkretne situacije u kojima poznavanje njenih osobenosti može biti od koristi. Sa kulturnog stanovišta, kontekst se odnosi na sva znanja kojima raspolaže maternji govornik u određenoj situaciji, a o kojima učenik mora da se informiše da bi ostvario uspešnu komunikaciju.

3. Interkulturalni pristup u nastavi stranih jezika

Cilj nastave kulture stranog jezika treba da bude i kritičko razmišljanje o svojoj kulturi. Nastava kulture omugućuje učenicima da sagledaju kako drugi narodi vide sebe, kako oni vide druge narode, kao i da sami sebe bolje shvate i razumeju. Upravo je ova ideja o upoznavanju sebe i sopstvene kulture kroz učenje strane u osnovi interkulturalnog pristupa. Znanja o svetu koje poseduje svaka osoba joj omogućuju da se snađe u bilo kojoj situaciji. Ova znanja se mogu izraziti rečima ili gestovima koje je svaki pojedinac usvojio u toku perioda svoje socijalizacije i koja predstavljaju sastavni deo njegove kulture. Kada učenik uči strani jezik on se susreće sa drugačijim shvatanjima, vrednostima, normama, verovanjima i ponašanjima od onih koje je usvojio u svojoj kulturi i do tada shvatao prirodnim i normalnim. Sistem vrednosti i verovanja koji je doživljavao kao univerzalan, jer pripadaja njegovoj kulturi, postaje relativan i različit u svakoj zemlji (Olivares, 2000: 38).

Interkulturalna kompetencija predstavlja upravo preispitivanje obrazaca vlastite kulture i prihvatanje tuđe kulture kao podjednako ispravne, iako drugačije. Cilj primene interkulturalnog principa u nastavi je da učenici budu u stanju da kritički sagledaju svoju kulturu, da dožive njen sistem vrednosti kao relativan i da razviju stav bez predrasuda, stereotipa i etnocentrizma prema drugima. Komunikaciju dakle ne određuje samo teorijsko poznavanje kulture strane zemlje, već način na koji učenik doživljava, razume i koristi stranu kulturu u interakciji sa drugima.

Uloga profesora je da predstavi što verodostojnije društvo i kulturu zemlje čiji jezik učenici uče kroz kritičku analizu kulture i društva vlastite zemlje. Da bi profesor uspešno sproveo ovakav tip nastave mora prethodno da stekne što veća znanja o kulturi strane zemlje, kao i o svojoj kulturi, da poseduje znanja kako funkcioniše jezik u svakoj komunikakivnoj situaciji koju predstavlja učenicima, kao i da stvori uslove na času koji bi bili najadekvatniji da pobude interes i radoznalost učenika prema kulturi strane zemlje.

4. Savremeni udžbenik za učenje španskog kao stranog jezika

Kao što smo u prethodnom odeljku istakli, u toku nastave stranog jezika učenik treba da upozna drugu kulturu i da putem te druge kulture razmisli i stekne bolju predstavu o svojoj kulturi kao i o sebi samom. Udžbenik bi, kao najklasičnije sredstvo u nastavi, trebalo da bude baziran na interkulturalnom pristupu i da na odgovarajući način, verodostojno predstavi špansku kulturnu stvarnost. Udžbenik bi s toga trebalo da zadovolji sledeće zahteve:

- Da sadrži aktivnosti koje bi omogućile analizu kulturnih sadržaja, vrednosti, verovanja i ideja na osnovu kojih bi učenici naučili kako da se snađu u konkretnoj komunikativnoj situaciji;
- Da učenicima ponudi što realniju sliku o svakodnevnom životu u Španiji i da se ne bazira na stereotipima;
- Da kulturni aspekti budu integrisani sa ostalom jezičkom građom, kako bi se učenicima omogućilo da uče kulturne sadržaje postupno od samog početka u isto vreme kada usvajaju i ostale formalne aspekte stranog jezika;
- Da insistira na aktivnom učešću učenika u nastavi i da predstavi aktivnosti koje bi učenika navele da razmisli o svojoj kulturi i da iskaže svoje mišljenje. Aktivan pristup takođe podrazumeva samostalan rad učnika, koji se može ogledati u osmišljavanju i izradi projekata. To mogu biti plakati i posteri, snimanje dijaloga, sastavljanje kvizova koji bi proverili znanje ostalih drugova u razredu itd.

Autori udžbenika bi trebalo da ponude i druga nastavna sredstva (audio CD, radnu svesku, priručnik za profesore, kratke audio-vizuelne reportaže o savremenom životu u Španiji i hispanoameričkim zemljama i lektiru) bazirana na novim tehnologijama koja bi tematski i formalno bila usklađena sa lekcijama u udžbeniku

5. Način predstavljanja kulturnih sadržaja u udžbeniku

Kultura se u udžbenicima može javiti u sledećim vidovima :

1. *Odsustvo kulturnih sadržaja*. Udžbenik se bazira na usvajanju gramatičkih aspekata jezika i na njihovo uvežbavanje, a kulturne informacije se jako retko javljaju, budući da ih je nemoguće izbeći u potpunosti
2. *Kultura je predstavljena kao dodatak jezičkoj građi*. Kulturni sadržaji su obrađeni u posebnom odeljku, u većini slučajeva na kraju svake lekcije.
3. *Kultura je integrisana sa ostalom jezičkom građom*. Kulturni sadržaji se ne obrađuju zasebno, kao dodatak, već su prisutni u svim delovima lekcije putem dijaloga, slika, vežbanja, itd. Formalni aspekti jezika su predstavljeni u kontekstu njihove adekvatne upotrebe u datoj komunikativnoj situaciji. Naime, učenik u isto vreme uči kako da se pravilno gramatički izrazi, ali takođe i kako da se ponaša u skladu sa kulturnim očekivanjima maternjeg govornika. Autori udžbenika mogu da predstave učenicima kulturne sadržaje na dva načina, putem eksplicitne ili implicitne kulturne informacije (González Casado, 2002: 66).
    - *Eksplicitna informacija*. Autori udžbenika svesno prenose učenicima kulturne informacije o Španiji ili Hispanskoj Americi. Učenicima se dakle, skreće pažnja da će u tom trenutku saznati nešto novo o španskoj kulturi što do tada, verovatno, nisu znali.
    - *Implicitna informacija*. Ovakva informacija se može javiti u udžbeniku na dva načina, odnosno autor udžbenika može da ne bude svestan da

daje kulturnu informaciju ili je može svesno prenositi sa ciljem da ona bude implicitna. U slučaju da autor **nesvesno prenosi kulturnu informaciju** ona se može bazirati na njegovim ličnim stavovima i predrasudama ili se može ispoljiti putem konstantnog ponavljanja jedne činjenice ili podatka. Na primer, ako se u udžbeniku često govori o lošem vremenu, učenici mogu steći pogrešan utisak o klimi u Španiji. Izostavljanje podataka je takođe način putem koga se prenosi nesvesna implicitna informacija. Ako se u udžbeniku, na primer, ne bi javio nikakav podatak o istoriji ili običajima, mogao bi da se stekne pogrešan utisak o Španiji kao zemlji koja nema bogatu istorijsku prošlost. Autor udžbenika može i **svesno prenositi kulturalnu informaciju**, ne obavestivši učenika prethodno o tome. U tom slučaju bi se kulturalna informacija pojavila u tekstu i vežbanjima zajedno sa drugim sadržajima predviđenim u datoj lekciji.

6. Analiza kulturnih sadržaja i načina njihovog predstavljanja u udžbenicima *Gente*

Na osnovu analize kulturnih sadržaja u udžbenicima *Gente* koji se koriste u nastavi u beogradskim gimnazijama, zaključili smo da su u svakom udžbeniku prisutna dva tipa kulture: Kultura kao odraz umetničkih i književnih postignuća i kultura kao način života. *Kultura kao odraz jezičkih specifičnosti pojedinih društvenih grupa* nije zastupljena ni u jednom od udžbenika *Gente*. Imajući u vidu da mladalački žargon u velikoj meri sadrži psovke i vulgarne reči, smatramo opravdanim odsustvo ovih sadržaja u udžbenicima. Sa druge strane, žargon je podložan brzom menjanju i lakom zastarivanju, pa ga je stoga teško uneti u bilo koji udžbenik bez rizika da će ti izrazi vrlo brzo postati neupotrebljivi i zamenjeni novima. *Kultura kao odraz umetničkih i književnoh postignuća* javlja se putem predstavljanja odlomaka dela španskih i hispanoameričkih pisaca, filmova, istorijskih podataka koji se odnose na određene događaje i ličnosti i geografskih osobenosti Španije i Hispanske Amerike, njihovih gradova, regiona, reljefa i predela. *Kultura kao način života* je u sva tri udžbenika zastupljena u većoj meri, što govori da su i autori udžbenika bili svesni njene nesumnjivo veće važnosti u nastavi stranih jezika. Ona se javlja u različitim oblastima, kroz prikaz običaja i proslava i načina ponašanja u određenim situacijama, putem opisa navika i mišljenja Španaca o različitim sferama života prikupljenih na osnovu anketa, kroz predstavljanje gastronomije, masovnih medija, odnosa u porodici, školi i među prijateljima, kao i putem tekstova koji ističu važnost poznavanja kulture kao i znakova naverbalne komunikacije u učenju stranih jezika. Iako se u više navrata govori o značaju poznavanja znakova neverbalne komunikacije i o kulturnim razlikama, u udžbeniku nisu predstavljeni znaci neverbalne komunikacije tipični za Španiju i Hispansku Ameriku. Njihovo poznavanje predstavljeno je teorijski i kroz primere razlika sa ciljem razvijanja svesti učenika o važnosti ovog aspekta u nastavi, ali je utvrđivanje tipičnih znakova i njihova primena u nastavi prepuštena snalažljivosti i dobroj volji profesora. Zamerka ovim udžbenicima je takođe i činjenica da primeri idioma i izreka, koji čine sastavni deo kulture svakog jezika, praktično ne postoje i da se javljaju samo u jednoj lekciji u udžbeniku *Gente 3*.

Udžbenici se zasnivaju na interkulturalnom pristupu i već od prve lekcije početnog nivoa učenici se podstiču na razmišljanje o kulturnim razlikama i važnosti poznavanja vlastite kulture zarad boljeg razumevanja drugih kultura. Odeljak *Mundos en contacto* je posebno posvećen razvoju interkulturalne kompetencije i navođenju učenika na razmišljanje i otkrivanje kulturnih različitosti, kao i stvaranju odnosa prema drugim kulturama bez stereotipa i predrasuda.

Kultura je u udžbenicima *Gente* integrisana sa ostalom jezičkom građom i zastupljena je u manjoj ili većoj meri u svim odeljcima u lekciji. Kulturna informacija je predstavljena učenicima i na eksplicitan i na implicitan način. Autori u većini slučajeva svesno prenose implicitnu informaciju, dok se nesvesno preneta implicitna informacija uglavnom odnosi na izostavljanje kulturnih podataka, kao na primer, odsustvo bilo kakvih podataka koji bi se odnosili na edukativni sistem u Španiji, raspored časova, predmete, smene u nastavi, trajanje raspusta, sistem ocenjivanja. Učenici će u nedostatku ovih informacija prirodno zaključiti da je španski edukativni sistem isti kao i srpski, iako se on u velikoj meri razlikuje.

7. Multimedijalna nastavna sredstva

Multimedijalna nastavna sredstva mogu na autentičniji i realniji način od udžbenika da učenicima predstave pojedine aspekte hispanske kulture. Nastavnik može za čas da osmisli aktivnosti koresteći autentične materijale kao što su španski filmovi, časopisi, novine, fotografije sa putovanja, stripovi... Iako su ovi materijali jako značajni za motivaciju učenika i pružaju im dodatne kulturne informacije, nastavnik mora imati u vidu da su oni predviđeni za maternje govornike španskog jezika i da su samim tim neprilagođeni nivou znanja učenika. Pored audiovizuelnih dokumenata iz realnog života, postoje i multimedijalni didaktički materijali, koji su osmišljeni za rad na času. Jedan od takvih materijala je *Gente de la calle*, koji je tematski i formalno usklađen sa lekcijama u udžbenicima *Gente.* Na DVD disku su snimljene situacije iz svakodnevnog života koje su predstavljene u vidu reportaža, intervjua, dokumentarne emisije ili serije. Putem ovog materijala mogu se prikazati aspekti neverbalne komunikacije, predstaviti spontani razgovori i ponašanje u realnom okruženju, kao i mnogi drugi kulturni aspekti iz svakodnevnog života Španaca. Priručnik za profesore sadrži transkripcije dijaloga i dodatna objašnjenja, kao i predloge aktivnosti za rad na času, koji bi omogućili profesoru da iz interkulturne perspektive utvrdi i poznavanje formalnih aspekata jezika.

8. Zaključak

Značaj kulture u nastavi stranih jezika je nesumnjiv, budući da se na njoj zasniva funkcionalna upotreba jezika, koja je u komunikaciji daleko značajnija od poznavanja formalnih aspekata. Gramatičke greške, nepravilan red reči u rečenici ili nesavršen izgovor neće sprečiti maternjeg govornika da razume poruku, dok će se komunikacija prekinuti ako se ne poznaje značenje nekog izraza ili se zanemare važna kulturološka pravila. Udžbenik bi trebalo učenicima da omogući sticanje svih relevantnih znanja o simbolima, vrednostima i pravilima španske kulture kao i o adekvatnom načinu njihove interpretacije i upotrebe u komunikaciji. Udžbenici *Gente* koji se koriste u beogradskim gimnazijama su u velikoj meri prilagođeni modernim tendencijama u nastavi španskog jezika. Zasnivaju se na interkulturalnom pristupu, relevantni kulturni sadržaji su uvek dati u adekvatnom situacionom kontekstu i integrisani su sa ostalom jezičkom građom, već od prve lekcije početnog nivoa. Međutim, oni takođe imaju i svoje propuste, kao što je odsustvo znaka neverbalne komunikacije, idioma i izreka koji se nalaze u čestoj upotrebi i bilo kakvog kriterjuma za evaluaciju jezičke i kulturne građe. Iako je udžbenik osnovni materijal u nastavi, ne može se očekivati da on može da obuhvati i predstavi sve kulturne aspekte. U učionici se pored udžbenika moraju koristiti i druga nastavna sredstva u vidu audiovizuelnih materijala, koji bi na mnogo adekvatniji način od udžbenika učenicima predstavili govor, neverbalnu komunikaciju i spontano ponašanje u realnim komunikativnim situacijama. Audiovizuelna nastavna sredstva bi u mnogome poboljšala kvalitet nastave a u isto vreme bi pozitivno uticala na buđenje interesovanja i motivacije učenika. Uspešnost nastave i motivacije učenika u najvećoj meri, ipak, zavisi od samog nastavnika, od njegove informisanosti o kulturi strane zemlje i sposobnosti da na adekvatan način obradi određenu temu. Samo dobro pripremljen nastavnik bi mogao da otkrije i prevaziđe sve propuste udžbenika i da učenike dobro pripremi za snalaženje u budućim komunikativnim situacijama van učionice.

Literatura

Alonso Cortés Frandejas, María Dolores et al. (2002) “El enfoque por tareas en la clase de Cultura. Cómo integrar destrezas trabajando la interculturalidad“, in María Rodriguez Rodriguez (coordinación) **Forma número 4. Interculturalidad,** Madrid: SGEL, pp. 37- 61

Allen, Virginia F. (1969) “Understanding the cultural context“, **The Modern Language Journal**, Vol. 53, pp. 336- 345

Areizaga, Elizabet (2000) “Cultura para la formación de la conpetencia comunicativa intercultural: el enfoque formativo“, **Revista Psicodidáctica**, No 9, pp. 194:202

Beaujour, Michel (1969) “Teaching Culture in the Foreign Environment-Goals and Non-goals“, **The Modern Language Journal**, Vol. 53, pp. 317-320

Brooks, Nelson (1969) “Teaching culture abroad: From concept to classroom technique“, **The Modern Language Journal**, Vol. 53, No. 5, pp. 320-324

Bugarski, Ranko (2005) **Jezik i kultura**, Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek

González Casado, Pilar (2002) “Contenidos culturales e imagen de España en manuales de E/LE de los años noventa“, in María Rodriguez Rodriguez (coordinación), **Forma número 4. Interculturalidad**, Madrid: SGEL, pp. 63- 86

Đorđević, Radmila (1975) **Kultura u nastavi engleskog jezika**, Beograd: ICS

Miguel, Lourdes y Neus Sanz (Marzo 2004) “El componente cultural: un ingrediente más en las clases de lengua“, **Revista RedELE**, No. 0, pp. 1-13 <http://www.mepsyd.es/redele/revista/miquel_sans.shtml>

Oliveras Vilaseca, Ángels (2000) **Hacia la competencia cultural en el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera. Estudio del choque cultural y los malentendidos**, Madrid: Editorial Edinumen

Witherspoon, Gary (January 1980) “Language in culture and culture in language”, **International Journal of American Linguistics,** Vol. 46, No.1, pp. 1-13

UDK 81'243:371.3

Ljiljana Šikmanović

VISUAL OR AUDITORY, KINAESTHETIC OR TACTILE? OR SOMETHING ELSE?

Abstract: *People learn and process information in different ways. Learning styles are one of the factors contributing to these differences which may refer to both cognitive and affective domains of a learner's personality. This paper summarizes some of the results of a four-month research and aims at offering insights into some of the ways that adult learners approach L2 learning and process L2 language information that the author has gained by using different methods including classroom observation, testing, questionnaires, (tape-recorded) interviews and informal conversation.*

Key words: *visual, auditory, kinaesthetic, tactile, experience, personalization, research*

1. Introduction

Successful L2 learning has always been related to motivational factors, language aptitude and intelligence; these factors were consequently the dominant subject of SLA research for a long time. For the past few decades, however, there has been a shift in the focus of researchers' attention in the direction of some other factors, the most important ones being *learning styles* and *strategies, personality factors and learners' emotional states, the instruction,* and *the relationship between the teacher and the student*.

2. Language learning and learning styles

Language learning does not only include memorizing vocabulary and applying grammatical rules, as according to some popular views; it is a *highly complex process* involving "an intricate interplay between the learning process itself, the teacher's intentions and actions, the individual personalities of the learners, their culture, reservoirs of background experiences, perceptions and beliefs, the learning environment, and a host of other factors" (Eva Bernat, 2000). The study of many of these factors (learning styles and strategies, in particular) has been enhanced during the past few decades, largely due to the belief that they strongly contribute to developing *learner autonomy*, which again is the tendency of the current SL/FL acquisition research and SL/FL teaching.

Learning styles are "the characteristic cognitive, affective and psychological behaviours that serve as relatively stable indicators of how learners perceive, interact with and respond to the learning environment" (Keefe, 1979b). Being characterized by the way that people perceive their environment, and that process is not exclusively cognitive but rather involves *physical*, *cognitive* and *affective* domains, a cognitive style actually reflects *''the totality of psychological functioning*'' (Willing, 1987).

3. The taxonomies of learning styles

The research carried out so far has resulted in a whole range of different taxonomies of learning styles, some of which include:

- *left brain and right brain dominance* or *LBD/RBD* (Brown, 1987)
- *field dependence and field independence* or *FD/FI* (Brown, 1987)
- *concrete, analytical, communicative and authority-oriented* learning styles (Willing, 1987)
- *visual, auditory, kinaesthetic* and *tactile* learning styles or *VAKT* (Reid, 1987)
- *reflexivity* and *impulsivity* (Brown, 1987)
- *tolerance of ambiguity*[493] (Brown, 1987).

Hatch (1974) furthermore distinguishes between:

- *rule-makers* and *data-gatherers*

and Krashen's classification includes:

- *monitor-over-users*, *monitor-under-users* and *monitor-optimal-users* (1987).

There has been a lot of research trying to prove the importance of learning styles in second/foreign language learning and their effect on the learning outcome, some researchers even claiming that the effect is direct.

The largest number of studies and research on learning styles refer to examining the relation between FI/FD and successful L2 learning; still, there are neither any precise conclusions in favour of either one or the other style nor any reliable information about the ways that they respectively affect L2 learning. There are, however, lots of assumptions, one of them being that FI learners are better in formal language learning and FD learners in natural setting, and another that FD learners cooperate and communicate with other L2 learners more than FI learners. FI learners are thought to be better in deductive, and FD learners in inductive type of instruction. Children and female learners are, furthermore, believed to be dominantly FD, whereas adults and male learners are believed to be dominantly FI. Still, which learning style contributes to better learning results is yet impossible to say. (Abraham, 1985; Brown, 1987)

[493] Some researchers, however, do not regard reflexivity, impulsivity and tolerance of ambiguity as learning styles as Brown does, but rather as personality factors (see Rod Ellis, 1999)

4. The VAKT taxonomy

The research the results of which are presented in this paper focused on the VAKT[494] learning style taxonomy, involving visual, auditory, kinaesthetic and tactile learning styles.

Visual learning style is related to

- reading and studying charts &
- preference for information by/in charts, graphs, flow charts, and all the symbolic arrows, circles, hierarchies and other devices (it, however, does not include movies, videos, power points).

Visual learners easily visualize objects, plans and outcomes in their mind's eye, have a good spatial sense (which gives them a good sense of direction), can easily find their way around using maps (they rarely get lost), prefer using images, pictures, diagrams, colours and maps to organize information and communicate with others. In a word, they best remember what they see.

Auditory (aural) learning style is related to

- listening to lectures and audio materials &
- preference for information that is 'heard' (lectures, tutorials, tapes, group discussion, speaking, web chat, talking things through).

Auditory learners have a good sense of pitch and rhythm, can sing, play a musical instrument or identify the sounds of different instruments, can often find themselves humming or tapping a song or jingle, notice the music playing in the background of movies, TV shows. In a word, they best learn through listening.

Kinaesthetic learning style is related to

- the experience through physical activity and physical response (TPR).

Kinaesthetic learners use their body and sense of touch to learn about the world around them, usually like sports and exercise, and other physical activities such as gardening, like making models, prefer pulling an engine apart and putting it back together to reading or looking at diagrams about how it works. In a word, they best learn through doing.

Tactile learning style is related to

- learning by touching &
- preference for hands-on learning (as in building blocks).

Tactile learners like moving and experiments; they explore the world actively.

Although a lot of research has been carried out so far in relation to the VAKT learning styles, there have been no clear results implying the advantage or supremacy of any one of them.

[494] for detailed explanation & description of VAKT see: Brown, 1987; Reid, 1987; Ellis, 1999; Felder & Soloman; Fleming and Mills, 1992

5. The research – empirical study

The research was carried out at evening courses at the Institute of Foreign Languages in Podgorica. It lasted for about four months and involved three different age groups (children, adolescents and adults), with the primary focus on adult learners (and these results will be presented here). The methodology of the research that helped the author of this paper to come to some crucial conclusions included: classroom observation, testing, questionnaires, (tape-recorded) interviews and informal discussion. The data gathered were subjected to both quantitative and qualitative analysis.

6. The methodology

The *questionnaires*[495] given to the learners during the course included:

- an *entrance questionnaire* - a questionnaire on learners' general approach to learning given at the very beginning of the course
- an *exit/final questionnaire* - a questionnaire given at the very end of the course - namely the entrance questionnaire slightly modified in terms of adding several questions/items which had in the meanwhile turned out to be relevant for the research on the whole
- a *daily activities checklist* - a questionnaire given to the learners after almost every class during the research, in which they answered the questions referring to the specific things they had dealt with that particular day and discussed the activities of the day.

From the very beginning of the research, the author was striving to gain insights not only into the learners' general approach to learning, but also into what lied behind their visible, objective behaviour (i.e. their way of thinking about learning, awareness of what they did and how they did it, the ways they dealt with the problems they came across in learning, their expectations and so on). Thereafter, apart from the regular testing of the learners' achievement, classroom observation, and questionnaires, she decided to include oral interviews and informal discussion[496] in her research methods; these, she thought, could serve the purpose of both answering her (teacher's)

---

[495] The questionnaires used in the research are based on the following sources: Torrance, 1980; Brown, 1994:195; Willing, 1987; Reid, 1987; Ellis, 1999; Oxford, 1989. Some of these sources offer true questionnaires that were simply used in their original form; others are just explanations of what learners do, as proposed by researchers when describing and explaining a particular learning style, and had to be slightly modified and adapted for the purpose of designing true questionnaires to be used in the research.

[496] The questions in the *interviews* and *informal conversation/discussion* are based on both the previously mentioned sources and the author's own insights and ideas she thought relevant for her research; they were either tape-recorded or in the form of notes taken directly during the conversation &/or recalled from memory, immediately after the class.

questions and talking about whatever aspect of teaching/learning they felt like giving their opinion on, making comments on the activities of the day and things they liked/disliked during the class and in general, and proposing certain ideas for further classes. Luckily for her, because were it not for these interviews, informal discussion, and taking notes of learners' random comments and remarks, many of the results and insights she has gained would have remained secret.

7. The research results

Setting out to examine the effect of visual/auditory/kinaesthetic/tactile learning styles on foreign language learning, the author rather soon excluded *tactile learning* from the list, having several reasons for this:

- some researchers frequently use terms '*kinaesthetic'* and *'tactile'* interchangeably, considering it the same thing (Fleming & Mills, 1992)
- some researchers include only *visual, auditory* and *kinaesthetic* learning styles in their taxonomies
- there are also some researchers who use only the terms *visual, auditory* and *tactile*, thus excluding kinaesthetic or, again, taking it to be the same as tactile and, finally
- in the author's opinion, language learning in adults has very little, if anything, to do with tactile learning (i.e. with building blocks and modelling).

The table below shows some of the questions related to the dominance of the learning styles that were examined in the research.

Visual
I like reading and studying charts and diagrams.
I best remember what I see.
Auditory (aural)
I like listening to lectures, tapes and so on.
I best remember what I hear.
Kinaesthetic
I best remember what I do.
I did what teacher told me and that helped me.

Table 1: Some of the questions related to a particular learning style dominance
.

The preliminary analysis of the research results showed that almost all adult learners favoured *kinaesthetic* to *visual* and *auditory* learning styles! It was a huge surprise for the researcher who at first thought that something must have been wrong with her results and the calculation of the learners' answers to the questions in the questionnaires (analysed by means of quantitative analysis). It was only after she had compared the questionnaire results to the data gathered by interviews and informal conversation (analysed by means of qualitative analysis) that things were clarified! Namely, it turned out that what learners understood under the phrases referring to kinaesthetic modality[497] (and what proved to be extremely important for them) was *experience:* experience in terms of applying the newly presented language materials in *immediate practicing* involving thinking, writing and speaking, through both simple exercises and more demanding communicative activities (like role-play, discussion, problem analysis) and with the accent on *personalization,* i.e. relating the language tasks to their everyday life and activities, giving real-life *examples* and their personal opinion on the topics discussed.

8. Problems in the interpretation of the results

Consequently, the researcher was faced with a serious difficulty when she started interpreting the results of the research. Although it was now completely clear what learners meant under the term *"experience"* and *"doing what teacher asked me to do"*, there was a problem of defining experience in the light of learning styles, due to its possible relation to kinaesthetic learning. Different researchers propose different "definitions" of kinaesthetic learning style; thus, while what the majority of them mean under the term "kinaesthetic" is a total physical response, there are also some researchers (Fleming and Mills, 1992) who claim that kinaesthetic modality involves not only physical activity and role-plays, but also different kinds of exercises and practice, even analysis and problem solving, which, definitely does not refer only to physical activity; for them, the key is that the learner is connected to reality, "either through experience, example, practice or simulation".

In this research, however, the dominant modality involves both physical and mental activity of "doing" what is asked, in either oral or written form; it involves identifying with the role given, giving personal opinion, problem solving and discussion.

Bearing in mind all these contradictions and different attitudes, the author does not dare to call her "findings" - "kinaesthetic learning", but rather "learning through experience", although she wouldn't mind it if anyone called it differently since she believes that it is the explanation of what lies behind it that matters.

9. Some further results

Learners are, furthermore, more inclined to *visual* than to *auditory* learning; however, if we compare the initial and the final results, we will see that there was a significant increase in the learners' inclination towards auditory learning (from 35% to 60%) and a slight decrease in their inclination towards visual learning (from 70% to 65%), implying that the dominance of these two learning styles could be related to the growing of the *learners' awareness* of their own learning (the learners frequently talked

[497] Take a look at Table 1

about their learning preferences and things they did during the course) or else to the *type of instruction* (the learners were exposed to a large amount of input in English, which means that they were, in a way, forced to listen more carefully to what was being spoken in order not to miss anything).

Questionnaire	**visual**	**auditory**
initial	70%	35%
final	65%	60%

Table 2: Changes in visual and auditory learning style preferences of the learners during the course

It is also worth mentioning that both excellent and bad learners in the research appeared to share the same learning style preferences, implying that no particular learning style can guarantee successful learning.

10 Conclusion

In the line with the majority of research carried out so far in relation to learning styles, this one has also shown that there is no clear relationship between a particular learning style dominance and learning outcome. Its results, however, imply that *"learning through experience"* can be considered as dominant learning preference of adults learning a foreign language, and that adult learners can benefit enormously from classroom activities involving personalization and relating things to their everyday life activities.

Examining learning styles is an important part of SLA research because it enables gaining insights into the learning process itself and into individual learner differences. Those insights can be beneficial for: (1) researchers – to help them develop their theories, (2) teachers – to help them to get to know their learners better and make necessary adjustments in their teaching, and (3) learners themselves – to help them raise awareness of and take responsibility for their own learning, and thus develop learner autonomy.

References

Abraham, R. (1985) "Field independence-dependence and the teaching of grammar", **TESOL Quarterly**, 20:689-702

Bernat E. (2000) "Attending to adult learners: Affective domain in the ESL classroom", **Humanising Language Teaching,** September 04, pp.1-6, http://www.hltmag.co.uk/sept04/mart2.htm

Brown, H. D. (1987) **Principles of Language Learning and Teaching,** Eaglewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents

Brown, H. D. (1994) **Teaching by Principles: An Interactive Approach to Language Pedagogy,** NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc.

Carter, E. (1988) "The relationship of field dependent/independent cognitive style to Spanish language achievement and proficiency: a preliminary report", in Ellis, R. **The Study of Second Language Acquisition**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Ellis, R. (1999) **The Study of Second Language Acquisition**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Felder, R.M. & Soloman, B.A. **Learning styles and strategies** http://www2.ncsu.edu/unity/lockers/users/f/felder/public/ILSdir/styles.htm

Fleming, N. D. & Mills, C. (1992).**VARK - a guide to learning styles.** http://www.vark-learn.com/English/index.asp

Fleming, D. Neil (1997) "The VARK preferences", **Learning Styles and Preferences**, University of Delaware, Centre for Teaching and Learning http://cte.udel.edu/instructional-topics/designing-courses/learning-styles-and-preferences.html

Fleming, N., and Baume, D. (2006) "Learning Styles Again: VARKing up the right tree!", **Educational Developments,** SEDA Ltd, Issue 7.4, p 4-7. http://cte.udel.edu/instructional-topics/designing-courses/learning-styles-and-preferences.html

Hatch, E. (1974) "Second language learning – universals?", in Ellis, R. **The Study of Second Language Acquisition**, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Keefe, J. (1979b) "Student Learning Styles: Diagnosing and Describing Programs" in Ellis, R. **The Study of Second Language Acquisition,** Oxford: Oxford University Press

Krashen, S. (1987) **Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition**, Prentice Hall Europe

Oxford, R. & M. Nykos (1989) "Variables affecting choice of language learning strategies by university students", **Modern Language Journal,** 73: 291-300

Reid, J. (1987), "The learning style preferences of ESL students", **TESOL Quarterly**, 21: 87-111

Torrance P. (1980) "Your style of learning and thinking., Forms B and C. Athes, GA: University of Georgia", in Brown, D. **Principles of Language Learning and Teaching**, Eaglewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents

Willing K. (1987) "Learning Styles and Adult Migrant Education, Adelaide, National Curriculum Resource Centre", in Ellis, R. **The Study of Second Language Acquisition,** Oxford: Oxford University Press

UDK 811.134.2:[371.3:004.738.5

Marina Nikolić

PRIMENA NOVIH TEHNOLOGIJA – INTERNETA U NASTAVI I UČENJU ŠPANSKOG JEZIKA STRUKE

Apstrakt: *Internet je izmenio naše navike, pa i načine izvođenja nastave i učenja španskog kao jezika struke. Reklo bi se da je otvorio ceo jedan „hispanski podkontinent“. Međutim, još uvek, mnogi se teško snalaze u širokoj ponudi veb sajtova U ovom radu daje se pregled sajtova za oblast nastave španskog jezika, grupisanih prema sadržaju, koji bi profesoru trebalo da posluže da obogati čas novim sadržajima, a studentu da usavrši jezičke kompetencije i proširi znanja o kulturi hispanskog sveta. Razmatraju se, ukratko, odlike i vrste multimedijalnog didaktičkog materijala, dostupnog na svetskoj mreži, predlaže kriterijum njegove klasifikacije i ukazuje na prednosti virtuelnog učenja.*

Ključne reči: *internet, multimedijalnost, jezik struke,virtuelno učenje*

1. Uvod

Jedna od najvećih promena koju mnogi ljudi danas doživljavaju u svom svakodnevnom životu, je neizbežno postepeno uvođenje novih tehnoloških dostignuća. Nove tehnologije nam danas služe da se obrazujemo, uživamo u slobodnom vremenu, da obavljamo redovne poslove, ali i da komuniciramo sa drugim osobama, a da pri tome nije neophodno da se istovremeno nalazimo u istom prostoru. Upravo je ovo prednost novih tehnologija, pre svega Interneta i mogućnosti koje nam on pruža za još uspešniju nastavu i brže učenje.

Ako se zapitamo čemu nam služi Internet, najkraći odgovor bi bio: svemu. Dakle, u oblasti obrazovanja, Internet treba shvatiti kao sredstvo koje ne zamenjuje profesora već reorganizuje komunikativnu interakciju među ljudima (Picó Eliseo,1997:108). Drugim rečima omogućava da nastava i učenje jezika izađe van učionica.

Pretražujući Internet postaje jasno da je njime „otkriven“ jedan sasvim novi „kontinent“, koji je zapravo novi prostor razmene informacija i novi je vid komunikacija. Internet je izmenio navike, načine izvođenja nastave i izučavanja raznih oblasti, pa i španskog jezika struke. Zahvaljujući njemu otvorio se čitav jedan novi „hispanski podkontinent“. Međutim, još uvek se mnogi teško snalaze u širokoj ponudi veb stranica. Broj sajtova iz dana u dan je sve veći ali, usled promenljivosti sadržaja mnogi i nestaju, a ponekad je veoma teško tako brzo razlučiti relevantne od irelevantnih informacija. Treba imati u vidu da nekim sajtovima, koje ćemo u radu pomenuti, već više nije moguće pristupiti. Radi lakšeg snalaženja, u oblasti španskog jezika, treba znati da postoje publikacije koje sadrže spiskove veb stranica i linkova korisnih za nastavu španskog jezika, kao i Katalog informatičkih materijala za učenje španskog jezika:

1. Arrarte G. y Sánchez de Villapadierna, J.I. (2001) „*Internet y la enseñanza del español*“, **Cuadernos de Didáctica del Español/LE**, Madrid:Arco/Libros, S.L.
2. González Hermoso, A. (1999) **Guía hispánica de Internet, 1000 direcciones del mundo hispano,** Madrid: Edelsa.
3. Departamento de Tecnología Linguística del Instituto Cervantes (1997) **Catálogo de materiales informáticos para el aprendizaje del español como lengua extranjera**, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid.

2. Internet u nastavi

Internet *boom* je pokrenuo niz veoma praktičnih primena u nastavi i učenju jezika jer:

a) predstavlja uvek aktuelan izvor informacija po veoma povoljnim cenama;
b) direktan je „prozor“ u zemlje u kojima se govori španski jezik, bez obzira na razdaljinu;
c) pomoću njega se jednostavno pristupa *on-line* rečnicima i bibliotekama;
d) omogućava učešće u diskusijama, forumima, četovima;
e) nesumnjivo je za veoma kratko vreme pospešio širenje virtuelnog obrazovanja, tj. obrazovanja na daljinu (Lobato y Santos Gargallo, 2004:1052).

Međutim, ovaj rad je krenuo donekle u drugom pravcu od željenog. Nakon ukucavanja na Internetu reči **Español para fines específicos - EFE** (Španski za posebne namene) ili **Español con fines profesionales - EFP** (Španski jezik struke) dobija se preko 180 sajtova. Ipak, veoma je mali broj sajtova koji nude samo kurs španskog jezika struke. Takvi kursevi se javljaju na sajtovima pojedinih fakulteta, viših stručnih škola ili centara za učenje jezika, dok svi ostali istovremeno i prvenstveno nude kurseve opšteg jezika. Dakle, teško je govoriti o upotrebi Interneta isključivo u nastavi i učenju španskog jezika struke.

Posebno se izdvaja Institut Servantes, kao centar koji svakog dana prevazilazi očekivanja bilo kog korisnika Interneta. U ovom centru neprekidno se radi na usavršavanju, poboljšanju i dopunjavanju usluga vezanih za širenje, nastavu i učenje španskog jezika i kulture. Osim Virtuelnog centra Servantes – (http://cvc.cervantes.es) i Virtuelne učionice španskog jezika – (http://ave2.cvc.cervantes.es). veoma je zanimljiv i sajt: http://cvc.cervantes.es/aula/rayuela na kome se mogu pronaći mnoge jezičke vežbe kroz igru (pitalice, ukrštenice, igre logike, zagonetke) koje podstiču učenje.

Originalnost Interneta nesumnjivo leži, između ostalog, u tome što korisnik nije samo primalac informacija, potrošač sadržaja, već i aktivni učesnik, autor i onaj koji emituje i kreira. To je velika razlika u odnosu na dosadašnju upotrebu i ulogu kompjutera u nastavi. (Lobato y Santos Gargallo, 2004:1062)

Na svetskoj mreži svakako preovlađuje engleski jezik. Mnogi i veoma dobri sajtovi koji se bave španskim jezikom i kulturom kreirani su na engleskom govornom području. Što ne znači da ne postoji i veliki broj veb stranica, veoma raznovrsnog sadržaja, na španskom jeziku, odnosno nastalih u Španiji ili Latinskoj Americi. Mnoge veb stranice mogu biti od pomoći kako profesorima, koji žele da obogate svoje časove, tako i studentima, koji žele da dopune i usavrše svoja znanja španskog jezika, španske i hispanoameričke kulture.

Jedno od veoma važnih pitanja je: da li Internet treba da bude dopunski materijal na svakom času ili samo dodatni materijal za samostalni rad? U pokušaju da se odgovori na ovo pitanje na isticanje prednosti virtuelnog učenja, u radu se predstavlja veb stranica http://ave2.cvc.cervantes.es, kao i rezultati ankete sprovedene među studentima Filozofskog fakulteta o svrsishodnosti korišćenja ovog sajta na časovima španskog jezika. Pošto je za kratko vreme Internet ušao u oblast obrazovanja toliko da je postao jedan od osnovnih resursa za profesora stranog jezika, posebno ako on nastoji da koristi autentične tekstove ili želi da je stalno u toku, u radu se predlažu sajtovi koji mogu da pomognu u kreiranju interaktivnog materijala, korisnog za časove.

3. Rezultati obrade podataka ankete

U ovom delu predstavicemo rezultate koji proizilaze iz obrade podataka ankete. Analiziraćemo pitanja onim redom kojim su se pojavila u anketi.

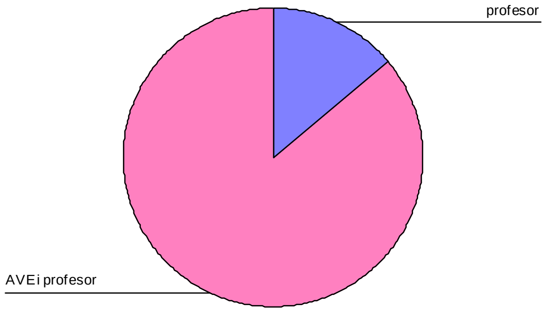
1. PITANJE: Šta biste želeli?

a) da učite uz AVE b) da učite uz profesora c) da učite i uz AVE i uz profesora

	Frekvencija ispitanika	Procenat ispitanika
Profesor	8	13.8
AVE i profesor	50	86.2
Ukupno	58	100

Od ukupno 58 ispitanika 86.2% su odabrali treće ponudjenu opciju- kombinovanje Ave i profesora.

Sta biste zeleli?

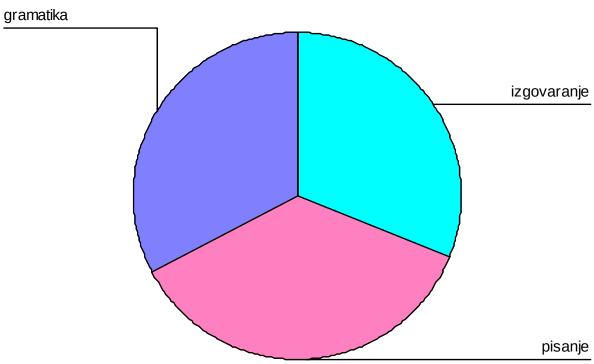


2. PITANJE: AVE Vam najviše služi za:

a) vežbe izgovora b) vežbe pisanja c) vežbe gramatike

	Frekvencija ispitanika	Procenat ispitanika
Vežbe izgovora	18	31
Vežbe pisanja	21	36.2
Vežbe gramatike	19	32.8
Ukupno	58	100

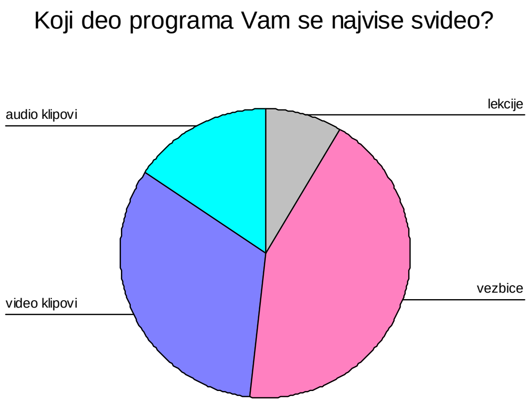
AVE Vam najvise sluzi za:



Broj ispitanika je ravnomerno rasporedjen po kategorijama, ali se ipak najveći procenat ispitanika (36.2%) odlučio za drugi ponudjeni odgovor.

3. PITANJE : Koji deo AVE programa Vam se najviše svideo?
a) lekcije b) vežbice c) video klipovi d) audio klipovi

	Frekvencija ispitanika	Procenat ispitanika
Lekcije	5	8.6
Vežbice	25	43.1
Video klipovi	19	32.8
Audio klipovi	9	15.5
Ukupno	58	100

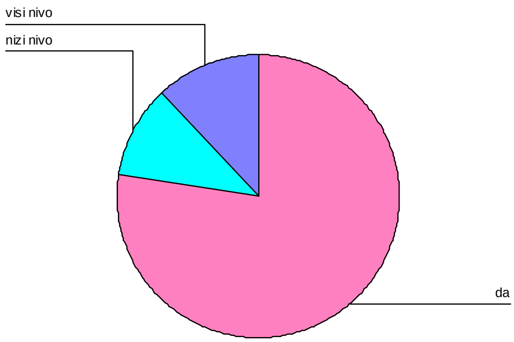


Skoro polovina ispitanika (43.1) složila se da su vežbe deo koji im se najviše dopada, mada procenat ispitanika koji je odgovorio "u korist" video klipova nije zanemarljiv.

4. PITANJE: Da li biste mogli da rešite test koji je predviđen za Vaš nivo znanja iz španskog jezika?
a) da b) mogu da rešim test i za viši nivo c) ne, ali mogu da rešim test za niži nivo

	Frekvencija ispitanika	Procenat ispitanika
Da	45	77.6
Viši nivo	6	10.3
Niži nivo	7	12.1
Ukupno	58	100

Da li biste mogli da resite test nivoa a2 (b2)?



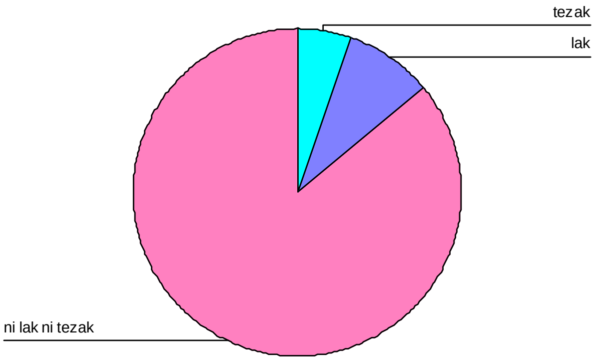
Težina testova je u skladu sa znanjem studenata.

5. PITANJE: Mislite da je AVE:

a) lak b) težak c) ni lak ni težak

	Frekvencija ispitanika	Procenat ispitanika
Težak	3	5.2
Lak	5	8.6
Ni težak ni lak	50	86.2
Ukupno	58	100

Mislite da je AVE:



Veliki procenat ispitanika (86.2%) smatra da AVE nije preterano težak program.

3. Zaključak analize

Ispitanici smatraju uvodjenje AVE programa korisnim, ali ukoliko se kombinuje sa predavanjima profesora. Usavršavanje pisanog jezika i vežbice koje nudi AVE su područja koja nailaze na najveće odobravanje studenata. Poslednje, ali ne i najmanje važno je da je program prilagođen sposobnostima ispitanika, tačnije nivou znanja jezika koji poseduju.

3.1. Prednosti i mane virtuelnog učenja

Prednosti i mane virtuelnog učenja su:

- Studenti imaju mogućnost da rade u paru ili grupi na zajedničkim zadacima.
- Studenti ispoljavaju svoje individualne potrebe i zanimanje za određenu oblast.
- Povećava se motivacija kod studenata s obzirom na to da postoji interaktivnost.
- Aktivnosti su fokusirane na one forme, veštine ili strategije, koje podstiču usvajanje stranog jezika.
- Aktivnosti omogućavaju da učenici direktno ostvare društveno-kulturni kontakt.
- Komunikacija je znatno brža od klasične.
- Situacije su realne i u realnom vremenu.
- Pošto se ona druga osoba najčešće ne vidi, ne postoji faktor - „blam“.
- Učenici dobijaju informaciju o svom napredovanju.
- Postoji mogućnost da se kontroliše proces vlastitog učenja.
- Pojavljuju se nove vrste vežbanja, prilagođenih ovoj vrsti komunikacije.

- Razvijaju se veštine, a direktan kontakt pomaže upoznavanje kulture hispanskog područja u kontekstualizovanoj formi. (Lobato y Santos Gargallo, 2004:1064)

Poređenjem tradicionalnog učenja s onim u učionici u kojoj se koriste tehnološke inovacije, dobija se sledeće:

Tradicionalna učionica	Tehnološki opremljena učionica
1.Usmerena je na profesora	Usmerena je na učenika
2.Pasivni učenici	Aktivni učenici
3.Profesor pruža znanja	Profesor olakšava i organizuje sticanje znanje
4.Učenici imaju ograničen pristup informacijama i štampanom materijalu	Učenici imaju neograničen pristup informacijama
5.Okruženje za učenje svedeno na učionicu	Okruženje za učenje prevazilazi prostor učionice
6.Učenik kao primalac informacija	Učenik kao korisnik informacija
7.Akcenat je na individualnom postignuću	Akcenat je na primeni kroz rad na projektima
8.Profesor je opterećen administracijom	Kompjuter oslobađa profesora administracije

Navešćemo i mane ove vrste učenja:

- Gubi se vreme, ako se luta po Internetu i ne zna se šta se zapravo traži.
- Mnoge informacije nisu pouzdane.
- Mnoge veb stranice se ne aktuelizuju.
- Neke osobe se ne drže normi ponašanja na Internetu (netiquette) pa to otežava komunikaciju.

3.2 Rezime

Radu sa Internetom mora se obazrivo pristupiti, naročito ako se ima malo časova na raspolaganju (što je i najčešći slučaj). Prema mišljenju većine profesora sa kojima autor ovog rada povremeno održava kontakt, zaključak je da za sada, u našem okruženju, Internet može veoma malo da se koristi jer većina centara nije tehnološki opremljena ili profesori nisu osposobljeni za ovakav način rada. Internet je za profesora samo još jedno sredstvo, kao što su to do sada bili, a i dalje su video, projektor, itd., pa samim tim, da bi se pravilno koristio, trebalo bi dobro proceniti kada ga upotrebiti.

Odluku o tome, profesor može doneti odgovarajući na sledeća pitanja:

1. Kako će Internet doprineti ostvarivanju određenih aktivnosti na času?
2. Koji je cilj: traženje informacija, razmena mišljenja sa sagovornicima sa španskog jezičkog područja, ili samo predlaganje studentima adekvatnih vežbi?
3. Koliko vremena studenti gube lutajući po sajtovima ukoliko se ne drže instrukcija?
4. Da li će profesor utrošiti suviše vremena za pripremu ovakvog časa?

Prema urađenim studijama dokazano je da upotreba Interneta na časovima jezika, pa i jezika struke, može biti od velike koristi za učenika. (Picó Eliseo, 1977: 115) Npr.: Učenici koji su proveli jedan sat „četujući" sa ljudima sa španskog govornog područja su više napredovali nego učenici koji su proveli isto vreme u nekoj jezičkoj laboratoriji.

4. Model kako koristiti internet na jednom času

Evo kratkog opisa kako se internet može koristiti na času. Tema je virtuelni boravak u Madridu. Muzej Prado, a nivo srednji.

Ciljevi: Planiranje posete Pradu. Traženje turističkih informacija putem Interneta. Dobijanje informacija o slikama i slikarima u Pradu. Organizovanje razgovora sa nekim Špancem o muzeju Prado, slikarstvu i istoriji.

Omogućiti učenicima korisne Internet adrese, npr: Muzej Prado: http://www.mcu.es/prado/index.html

Podeliti učenike u 6 grupa, gde svaka grupa dobija drugačiji zadatak: jedni traže tačan put do Prada, drugi pronalaze maršrutu posete Muzeju, treći se obaveštavaju o slikarima i slikama koje se mogu videti u ovom muzeju, sledeći predlažu redosled gledanja slika. Nakon izvršenog zadatka, svi podnose izveštaj i argumentuju svoje odluke.

5. Zaključak

Internet postaje jedan od omiljenih medija u nastavi španskog jezika uopšte, pa i španskog jezika struke. Lako je danas podstaći korisnike da komuniciraju ovim putem jer su već uveliko mnogi od malena navikli na ovakav vid komuniciranja (četovanje, „facebook", forumi). Možda je nešto teže profesorima jer je to još uvek nov način izvođenja nastave. Ali, pošto znatno doprinosi usavršavanju svih jezičkih kompetencija, profesori bi trebalo što pre da se uključe u nove tendencije u obrazovanju.

Osim toga, Internet pruža mogućnost dvosmerne komunikacije na mreži u cilju povezivanja, razmene informacija i iskustava, kako između zainteresovanih pojedinaca, tako i izmedju institucija. Nesumnjivo je da su specifične potrebe učenja jezika (EFE, EFP) sve izraženije i sve zastupljenije na evropskom tržištu obrazovanja.

Možemo se zapitati da li će ove promene i pretpostavljena korist koju donose biti isključivo privilegija određenih društvenih struktura, i time postati element segregacije i odvajanja (ovde se misli na one koji još nemaju lak, jednostavan i direktan pristup savremenim tehnologijama), ili, naprotiv, način povezivanja kultura. Dakle, treba raditi na sve masovnijem pristupu Internetu, čime bi on definitivno postao komplementarni deo savremene nastave.

Literatura

Bermejo Rubio, I. y Higueras García, M. (2000) "Recursos en Internet para la expresión oral de E/LE", Carabela, nº 47, pág.181-189, Madrid: SGEL

Consejo de Europa (2003) Marco común europeo de referencia para las lenguas: aprendizaje, enseñanza, evaluación. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Instituto Cervantes y Anaya

Cruy Piñol, M. (1997) "Guía para navegantes. La lengua española en Internet", Carabela, nº 42, pág 147-153, Madrid: SGEL

González Hermoso, A., (1999) Guía hispánica de Internet – 1000 direcciones del mundo hispano, pág. 162, Madrid: Edelsa

Picó, E. (1997) "Usos de Internet en el aula de E/LE", Carabela, nº 42, pág.107-121, Madrid: SGEL

Sánchez Lobato, J. y Santos Gargallo, I. (2004) Vademécum para la formación de profesores, pág.1308, Madrid: SGEL

UDK 81'243:371.3

Milica Baltić

PREDSTAVLJANJE VIDEO SEKVENCI KROZ TABELE U NASTAVI STRANIH JEZIKA

Abstract: *Korišćenje video materijala za didaktičke ciljeve može biti korisno u svakoj fazi i na svakom nivou usvajanja stranog jezika i u potpunoj fleksibilnosti sa potrebama studenata. Video ne predstavlja samo izolovan element u didaktičkom procesu. U zavisnosti od starosnog doba, interesovanja i nivoa znanja stranog jezika uz pomoć tabela učenicima se može olakšati razumevanje i memorisanje leksike kao i probuditi motivacija za sam pripremljeni video materijal. Kao primere odabrali smo reklame, vesti, dokumentarne programe i film koji su vezani za italijansko govorno područje i italijansku televiziju. Ovakve tabele moguće je koristiti za podučavanje bilo kog stranog jezika.*

Ključne reči: *televizijski programi, vesti, talk show emisije, reklame, film, tabele*

1. Uvod

Tema upotrebe video materijala u didaktičke svrhe u nastavi stranih jezika nije nova, i možemo reći da postoji veoma dugo. Oni koji su razmišljali o ovoj temi, davali su obično detaljne instrukcije kako po fazama isplanirati časove i učiniti video materijal što zanimljivijim studentima. (Diadori, 2001; Troncarelli, 1994). U ovom radu uveli bismo i upotrebu tabela ili dijagrama kao obavezan deo upotrebe videa na času koji bi studentima bili neka vrsta vodiča kroz materijal koji je po svojoj strukturi vrlo kompleksan.

2. Video i njegova didaktička upotreba

Kombinacija pokretnih slika i zvuka kod video materijala strani jezik predstavlja s više jasnoće nego bilo koji drugi medij, a njegovo korišćenje za didaktičke ciljeve je korisno u svakoj fazi i na svakom nivou usvajanja stranog jezika i u potpunoj fleksibilnosti sa potrebama studenata uvek vodeći računa o odabiru lingvističkih i kulturnih modela koji najviše odgovaraju studentima. (Mesumeci, 2007: 18)

Možemo reći da je tek nedavno napravljen pomak u aktivnom korišćenju video materijala u nastavi: prerastao je nekadašnji oblik pasivnog puštanja bez ikakve intervencije od strane predavača, pa stoga kažemo da je od suštinske važnosti studente aktivno uključiti u gledanje video materijala, dodeliti im određene zadatke, kao i uvesti ih u sadržaj svake sekvence pre samog njenog puštanja.

Da bi se jedan strani jezik uopšte mogao podučavati uz pomoć video materijala potrebno je znati odabrati lingvističke i kulturne modele koji najviše odgovaraju studentima. (Diadori, 2001: 299)

Većina video sekvenci mogu da budu korišćene u više didaktičkih ciljeva tokom nastave. Ukratko možemo reći da video materijali:

- Podstiču motivaciju
- Podstiču interaktivnu nastavu
- Poboljšavaju komunikaciju
- Daju jasniju sliku neverbalne komunikacije naroda čiji se jezik uči i njegovo kulturno nasleđe. (Cepollaro, 2002: 18; Serragiotto[498]; Troncarelli, 1994: 11)

Kroz recepte korišćenja tabela uz video sekvence motivacija studenata može biti najbolje usmerena i iskorišćena za usvajanje jezika tokom samog procesa nastave. Pripremanje tabela i pitanja koja će studenti pročitati pre nego što vide sekvencu je preporučljivo jer studenti o videu obično razmišljaju kao o gledanju televizije, ne kao o didaktičkom materijalu.

Didaktička upotreba autentičnih video materijala može ući u nastavu u bilo kojoj njenoj fazi i nivou procesa usvajanja jezika i u potpunoj fleksibilnosti sa potrebama studenata.

Savetuje se biranje kraćih sekvenci, ne dužih od pet minuta, pre svega za početne nivoe da bi se izbeglo preopterećenje novim rečima i informacijama koje mogu da budu demotivišuće.

Za sve vrste televizijskih programa i izbora filmova važilo bi pravilo:

a) što je niži nivo znanja trebalo bi birati manji broj govornika u video sekvenci i obratno;
b) lingvistički i kulturni modeli trebalo bi da budu izabrani po merilima studenata;
c) brzina govora i dijalekti takođe se prilagođavaju nivou znanja studenata; (Diadori, 2001: 302)

3. TV reklama

Reklama po pravilu izaziva veliko interesovanje kod studenata, a posebno ako se radi o reklami koja je studentima kulturološki i sociološki bliska, zato je veoma bitno uskladiti uzrast, lingvistički nivo i njihova interesovanja. (Davis, 1997: 13)

Reklama koja se odabira trebalo bi da bude interesanta, ubedljiva i razumljiva studentima kao i bogata ekstralingvističkim znacima, lingvističkim ponavljanjima i kulturnim elementima. Lingvističke forme su različite i često se mogu

[498] http://venus.unive.it/filim/materiali/accesso_gratuito/Filim_adulti_bambini_luise_serragiotto_teoria.pdf

čuti: imperativ za ubedjivanje, futur za obećavanje, komparativ za poređenje ili potvrdu superiornosti proizvoda itd. (Benucci, 2007: 118)

3.1. Kontrastivna analiza dve reklame dva različita jezika

Odabrali smo za primer dve reklame za mineralnu vodu, jednu italijansku za vodu *Ferrarelle* i jednu srpsku za vodu *VodaVoda*.

Tabela koju vidimo imala bi namenu da podstakne i pomogne u memorisanju leksike. Studenti biraju one rečenice koje mogu povezati sa jednom od reklama i u polja sa strane ubacivati koliko je prisutna neka od ponudjenih opcija u centralnom delu tabele. (Na primer: *da, ne, mnogo, malo, prisutne, odsutne itd*..).

Koje od dole nabrojanih vrednosti misliš da se nalaze u reklamama				
Ferrarelle				***Voda Voda***
		optimizam		
		materijalne vrednosti		
		duhovne vrednosti		
		težnja ka savršenom zdravlju		
		plan za bolju budućnost		

(Sherman, 2003: 125)

4. TV dnevnik

Kako dnevnik poseduje strukturu gde je vrlo jednostavno deliti na segmente video materijal po težini, možemo ga koristiti za sve nivoe znanja: vesti koje su praćene slikom mogu se koristiti na nižim nivoima, kao i vremenska prognoza. Sama priroda TV dnevnika je specifična; svaka nacija ima svoj pogled na različite političke i kulturne događje, tako da i ovde, kao i u prethodnom primeru možemo raditi kontrastivne analize dva dnevnika različitog jezika gde bi jedna vest mogla da bude analizirana iz više aspekata: (ozbiljna/površna/, tendenciozna/objektivna/itd.) (Torresan, 2002: 271; Losi, 2001: 8)

4.1. Kratka sekvenca iz TV dnevnika

Nakon puštanja sekvence, studenti zapisuju reči koje su čuli; ako se radi o vremenskoj prognozi, to može biti: *oblačno, mestimično sa kišom, pljuskovi, bura, vetar*, *padavine* itd., a zatim ih raspoređuju prema četiri strane sveta. Predstavljamo i jednostavnu tabelu za niže lingvističke nivoe gde bi studenti samo popunjavali naslove koje čuju. (Braović, 2006: 446; Torresan, 2002: 272)

TV dnevnik vremenska prognoza				
	JUG	***SEVER***	***ISTOK***	***ZAPAD***
VETAR				
KIŠA				
SNEG				
SUNCE				
OBLAČNO				

Naslovi iz TV dnevnika			
	tv dnevnik 1	***tv dnevnik 2***	***tv dnevnik 3***
vesti iz politike			
vesti iz inostranstva			
kulturna dogadjanja			
ekonomija			
hronika			
ekologija			
ostalo			

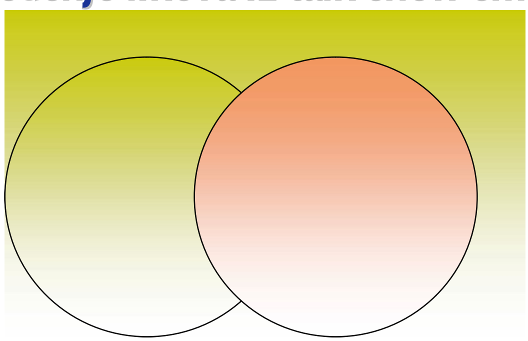
5. Talk show

Talk show je tip programa koji sam po sebi predstavlja autentični rudnik sociolingvistike i jedini je tip televizijskog programa gde možemo da sretnemo spontani svakodnevni jezik.

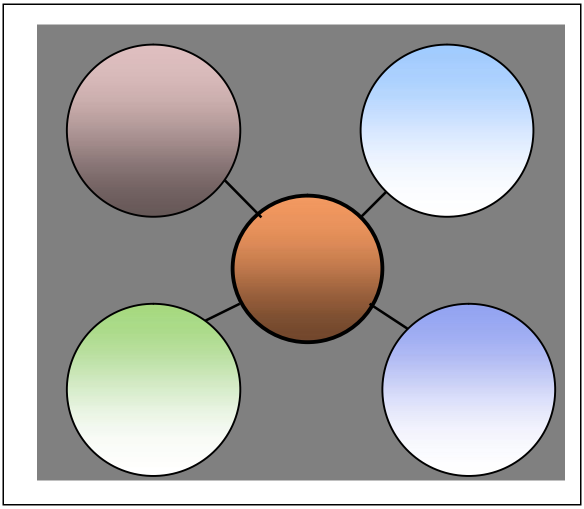
Po svom tipu je program koji se bavi najrazličitijim temama u kojoj su sagovornici slobodni da izražavaju svoje mišljenje na način na koji to žele. Podela se može načiniti prema temama: one iz svakodnevnog života pogodne su za niže nivoe, dok bi političke ili naučne teme bile korišćene za više nivoe. Osim toga, ovi programi mogu biti puni ekstralingvističkih znakova koji mogu da se iskoriste za pravljenje tabela, ali i kao povod za odvijanje nastavka diskusije na času. (Torresan, 2002: 272; Braović, 2006: 448)

Predstavljam dve tabele, od kojih je jedna tipa Venovog dijagrama za poređenje dva lika iz talk show emisije: u zajedničkom delu koji dele dva kruga studenti bi upisivali prideve i reči koje poseduju oba gosta u talk show emisiji, dok bi sledeća slika bila namenjena za definisanje samo jednog gosta: studenti koriste reči za koje smatraju da najbolje karakterišu jednu osobu iz emisije.

Poređenje likova iz talk show emisije



Stempleski, 2001: 120



(Stempleski, 2001: 119)

6. Film

Najčešći oblik rada sa filmom na času stranog jezika bio je popunjavanje praznina u datoj transkripciji pojedinih scena koje bi bile ponavljane. Generalno uzevši, problematika rada sa filmom mogla bi da se grupiše u dve tačke:

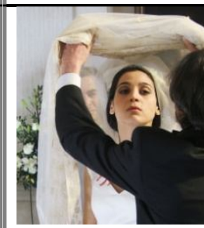
a) hipnotički efekat filma može, čak više od televizije, da smanji aktivno učešće studenata u nastavi tokom upotrebe filmskih sekvenci,

b) efekat filma može da bude toliko stimulišući da studenti mogu da zaborave na didaktičke ciljeve.

Da bismo smanjili probleme koje smo naveli, potrebno je birati kratke sekvence (pet, maksimalno sedam minuta), one koje su u polju interesovanja i komunikativnih potreba samih studenata, kao i omogućiti da se sekvence nalaze na njihovom nivou znanja stranog jezika. (Troncarelli, 1994: 11)

Lingvistička analiza filmskog teksta može da varira u zavisnosti od elemenata na kojima predavač želi da se fokusira: može se centar staviti na sintaksičku, morfološku, morfo-sintaksičku, leksičku ili fonološku analizu.

Tabela (*Predvideti scenu*) je prikaz scena iz filma *Reditelj venčanja* (Regista di matrimoni) reditelja Marka Belokja (Marco Bellocchio).

Predvideti scenu	
<u>setting</u> Gde i kada bi scena mogla da se odigra?	
<u>likovi</u> Ko bi od likova mogao da se pojavi u narednoj sceni?	
<u>bitni momenti</u> Šta bi moglo da se dogodi u sceni?	
<u>dijalozi</u> Šta bi mogli reći likovi u sceni koja sledi?	
<u>ostalo</u> Nabroj bilo koji drugi detalj koji bi mogao da bude važan (mimika, gestikulacija...)	

(Stempleski, 2001: 80)

7. Zaključak

Upotreba filma i TV programa će obogatiti časove stranih jezika i pružiti studentima mogućnost da se sretnu sa govornim jezikom, kulturom i običajima naroda čiji jezik uče. Naše iskustvo je da se uz upotrebu tabela i upitnika uz puštanje video sekvenci materijal bolje i brže usvaja, studenti se uvode u nastavu sa autentičnim sadržajima i više su za nju zainteresovani. Osim toga, autentični video snimci nude gotovo neograničene mogućnosti za predstavljanje komunikativnih situacija gde će lingvistička informacija biti data u kontekstu i biti upotpunjena čitavom serijom ekstralingvističkih informacija. Današnje mogućnosti snimanja autentičnih video materijala direktno sa interneta i njihova laka obrada umnogome olakšavaju pristup komunikativnom učenju stranog jezika.

Literatura

Benucci, P. (2007) "Lingue straniere e pubblicità: pubblicità televisiva e insegnamento dell'italiano", in Cardona M. (cura), **Vedere per capire e parlare**, Torino: Utet, pp.118-119.

Braović, M., Bojčić, I. (2006) "Televizijski programi kao didaktičko sredstvo u nastavi stranoga jezika**", Strani jezici**, 35, 4, pp. 446-447

Cepollaro, A. (2002) "Come sceglire materiale televisivo autentico", **Init**, anno 3,

Davis, R. (1997) "TV Commercial Messages: An Untapped Video Resource for

Diadori, P. (2001) "L'uso didattico degli audiovisivi", in Diadori P. (cura) **Insegnare italiano a stranieri,** Firenze, Le Monnier, pp. 300-302

Mesumeci, G. (2007) "La pubblicita' televisiva nella didattica dell'italiano L2", **Init,** anno 7, n.20, pp.18.

Stempleski, S. and Tomalin, B. (2001) **Film**, Oxford: Oxford University Press Torresan, P. (2002) L'utilizzo del video nella didattica dell'italiano LS" in Dolci, R. e Celentin, P. (cura) **La formazione di base del docente di italiano a stranieri**, Roma: Bonacci editore, pp. 271-273

Troncarelli, D. (1994) "Il film nella didattica della lingua straniera", **Scuola e Lingue Moderne**, XXXII, pp. 10 – 16.

Serragiotto, G. "Insegnare italiano come lingua straniera a bambini, insegnare italiano come lingua straniera ad adulti", in http://venus.unive.it/filim/materiali/accesso_gratuito/Filim_adulti_bambini_luise_serragiotto_teoria.pdf

Toresan, P. "Il video in classe" in http://associazioni.comune.firenze.it/ilsa/dcp_genapr04/art_torresan1.htm

6.
INTERKULTURNA KOMUNIKACIJA
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNINCATION

UDK 82.02

Biljana Dojčinović-Nešić

MODERNISM WITH(OUT) A DIFFERENCE

Abstract: *In comparison to many efforts to describe the difference of modernism in relation to the similar terms, the very differences within the modernism itself are not so often emphasized. The text points first to the difference between realism and modernism, and then to the issues of women's writing and of relation toward other cultures which had also experienced modernism. Reading of Virginia Woolf's essay about the character in fiction makes the basic position of the text closely connected to the issue of women and fiction; taking this issue further to Serbian context hopefully gives an insight of both the scope modernism and the difference(s) it comprises.*

Keywords: *modernism, realism, women's writing*

1. Introduction

Imagine this scene: Bloomsbury, London, 1904. Prince Amerigo and Charlotte Stant enter an antiquity shop to look for a present. We see them engaged in talking to a shopman while they are looking at various pieces of jewellery. It takes a while until the man puts a wooden box on the counter, opens it and takes out, with a great care, a precious object, pronouncing "My Golden Bowl". The young man and woman look at it, and then Prince Amerigo leaves the shop without any explanation, without saying that he has just noticed an almost invisible crack on the beautiful thing. Now, please imagine that in this scene, borrowed from Henry James' last completed novel *The Golden Bowl*, we see yet another character. Imagine a shade of a young woman passing by the window. The shopman cannot see her, for he is too busy showing the object, but we do notice her via Charlotte's and Amerigo's glances. Maybe we could time the scene so that she almost runs into the disappointed Amerigo, who would nervously cry: "Per Dio". The young intruder would hold an envelope in her hand and at that moment she would turn her big, curious eyes towards Prince, revealing that she was thinking about something else then people on the street. Or, exactly about them. That would be Virginia Adelina Stephen, interrupting the novel of her great predecessor while taking to the post office her essay, the very first one to be published...

2. Fiction, Life and Modernism

Well, of course, it is the end of 1904 and James' novel is already published. The children of the Stephen family have just moved to the Bloomsbury, in spite of the protest of their parents' friends, Henry James included. I do not mention the ontological impossibility of the event because Virginia Woolf herself will smoothly interchange life and text in her essays. In the famous „Modern Fiction", she asks the readers about the English realist fiction written by the writers she calls 'materialists': „What is the point of it all?" The question could, according to some critics, refer both to literature and to life itself: „And finding, dis-covering, re-presenting the truth of subjective consciousness is, for her, a redemptive and life-saving project." (Henke, 624).

Out of this mixture of life and fiction V.W. made an essayistic strategy as well. When she wanted to explain the process of character creating, she invited the readers to imagine an elderly lady, Mrs. Brown, travelling by train. Her description used the objects which were referring to the readers' experience, their own knowledge about the world and the meaning of things. Mrs. Brown's clothes and her way with them tell us something we have already known, but have maybe never clearly articulated for ourselves.

> She was one of those clean, threadbare old ladies whose extreme tidiness—everything buttoned, fastened, tied together, mended and brushed up—suggests more extreme poverty than rags and dirt. (Woolf, 39).

In contrast to the realist fiction, her essay proposes, or, should I repeat the central expression—suggests—suggesting. Without discussing it openly, without using the „key words" as the Materialists did, she puts things gently and discreetly together to appear in a certain way. Here is another speaking example: „Her feet, in their clean little boots, scarcely touched the floor. I felt that she had nobody to support her..." (39-40). The first sentence tells us that she is small and, more than that, like a child—as her feet scarcely touched the floor. It is an image, while the second sentence is imagination, a clearly subjective commentary. „I felt"... I feel, I suppose, it is my impression... There is nothing solid, square, just fluidity of personal feelings. This is what life is, Mrs. Brown's „real meaning for ourselves" (35).

The description of her as a literary character stands for the modernism in general, because Virginia Woof wrote the essay as a polemical response to a remark made by Arnold Bennett. She imagined what would authors like Bennett, Wells or Galsworthy do with a character like Mrs. Brown, and wondered what should really be done with it. While Wells would project better world where Mrs. Brown would be happier, Galsworthy would put her aside and continue with the talk about the social inequalities. Finally, Bennett would say everything about the outer appearances of both the character and her surroundings. In the story, Virginia Woolf creates for Mrs. Brown as the old lady „becomes ... a dancing light, an illumination gliding up the wall and out of the window...“ (Woolf, 2008: 35). A character as dancing light perfectly fits into depiction of life as a „luminous halo“ which Woolf had first presented in her essay „Modern Fiction" (Woolf, 2008: 9). When we want to know Mrs. Brown as she is for ourselves, her „solidity disappears, her features crumble, the house in which she has lived so long (and a very substantial house it was) topples to the ground.“ (Woolf, 2008: 35). This catastrophe is the moment when old (social and literary) values are replaced by the new ones. However, the transition is not immediate, at least according to Woolf in this essay. She warns the readers not to expect at present „a complete and satisfactory“ depiction of Mrs. Brown. „Tolerate the spasmodic, the obscure, the fragmentary, the failure“ (Woolf, 2008: 54). This is, indeed, a rhetorical trick, because depiction in modernism is meant to be like that—fragmentary“, partial, suggestive. It is never to become „complete“ in the old, 'materialist' way. Just like the old house of realism, all the solid characteristics crumble, crack and crash, and fluidity, luminosity and vagueness come to their place, making motions, dancing.

3. Other Modernism

We could justly say that motion is the emotion of modernism, its difference in relation to the realism or tradition in general. Modernism put an unpreceded accent on the ambivalent relation towards tradition, whether understood as the materialist, realist or mechanicist one. In some cases, such as futurism, the past is violently overthrown by the new values, such as speed and belief in technology. That tells us that the phenomenon we call modernism is, in fact, plural, as it is differentiated within – there are modernisms of Marinetti, Pound, Eliot and/or Joyce, as well as many other modernisms.

Modernism has been observed as a male enterprise for a long time. The women's role within the modernism(s) has been minimized and suppressed, although they were active both as writers and publishers. The collection *Gender and Modernism*, published in 1990, brought back to light names and roles of many women who were the bearers of the modernist change. One of them, which was never marginalized but also not fully recognized, has been Virginia Woolf. It is with her that modernism becomes theorized as the place of difference(s) — in the relation to the tradition as well as to the sex. Actually, the notion of sex, which decades later has become the notion of gender (socially constructed sexuality) changes every other perspective.

„But, you may say, we asked you to speak about women and fiction — what, has that got to do with a room of one's own? I will try to explain." This is the beginning of the essay *A Room of One's Own* (1929), the base of every thinking about gender and writing in English language. It speaks of difference not only in the character making, but in topics, style, and the very tradition. While men are discussing and cracking the house of their predecessors, women have yet to find their own tradition.

> For we think back through our mothers if we are women. It is useless to go to the great men writers for help, however much one may go to them for

> pleasure. Lamb, Browne, Thackeray, Newman, Sterne, Dickens, De Quincey — whoever it may be — never helped a woman yet, though she may have learnt a few tricks of them and adapted them to her use. (Woolf, 2009)

The so called “high modernism” needed tradition. It was not something to be completely rejected nor simply inherited, rather it was seen as the base for the difference. Moreover, women do have different tradition, because of their sexuality and everything it means in a social and psychological sense. When we look for a woman’s sentence, we seek the one which would suit woman writer’s needs and her body.

> The weight, the pace, the stride of a man’s mind are too unlike her own for her to lift anything substantial from him successfully. … Perhaps the first thing she would find, setting pen to paper, was that there was no common sentence ready for her use. (Woolf, 2009)

A Room of One’s Own has become the fundamental text of feminist criticism and it is still the text which poses most of the questions concerning the issues of gender and writing. In the eighties and the nineties of the 20th century, translation of this essay at the non-English speaking countries has become the hallmark of the entrance of feminist ideas into the community. Does the fact that *A Room of One’s Own* was translated into Chinese already in 1930 suggest strongly enough that there were modernist stories at the places *other* than Western world and *other* than male world? What about Ding Ling’s “Miss Sophie’s Diary”, a novella written at the same time as *A Room of One’s Own*, narrated by a Chinese girl who is open about her feelings and desires? And so many other similar facts?

4. Yet An/other Modernism

Actually, we do not need to go that far to find an exotic, orientalised *other* of modernism. The beginning of 20th century was marked by great changes in all aspects of life. There were new, revolutionary discoveries in the field of energy, new ways of communication and transport, new theories such as psychoanalysis and theory of relativity, but also social turmoil and war, which seems to be a unifying force through the European modernism. The trauma of war resulted in, as Tim Armstrong says, in

> disrupted temporality in which dynamic relation between past, present and future which we saw as intrinsic to modernity is forced to co-exist with elements of ’frozen time: a lost past, a traumatic present; a blighted future. (Armstrong, 19).

It is the union through mourning, the paralysis, images of dead haunting those who survived. However, history is present in modernism not only as the painful topic. As Hayden White points out, contemporary debates concerning the relationship of traditional historiography to other disciplines in many aspects mirror the debates within the field of literary studies about the relationship of literary realism to literary modernism. In both cases the question at issue is "the adequacy of a given form of discourse, the narrative, the representation of a given content, historical reality" (White, 2000: 24). What is the specificity of modernism? It is the dissolution of the event as a basic unit of temporal occurrence, which undermines the very concept of factuality and its distinction from fiction. In White's view, modernism that is focussed on sequences and episodes of events is better equipped for modernist and premodernist events than the traditional story telling techniques used by historians. Modernist techniques of representation provide the possibility of defetishising both events and the fantasy accounts of them which deny the threat they pose in the very process of pretending to represent them realistically; and clear the way for that process of mourning which alone can relieve the burden of history and make a more realistic perception of current problems possible (White, 2000: 82).

One among the number of key words for what was brewing and breaking at the end of 19th century and the first decades of 20th century, could be paralysis. Paralysis, the inability to move and work was the motif that Joyce took up in the *Dubliners*, as well as the obsessive topic of Serbian writer Danica Marković (1879-1932). Danica Marković was, as a poet, one of the few women who were recognised as important in Serbian criticism during their own lifetime. The recognition, however, was more nominal than real, as she died sick and poor. In addition to poetry, she also wrote stories. In her story *Doziv nečastivog* (An Invitation to the Devil), published in 1927, she creates a piece comparable to Charlotte Gilman's The *Yellow Wallpaper.* It is a story about a woman writer imprisoned in the private social network which prevents her from engaging in creative work, but in this case this is a modernist work in which the female narrator plays with her own self-understanding and auto-analysis. The 'devil' the narrator invites is self-consciously turned into a Freudian figure of the wish-fulfilling agent, while reflection leads her to the victorious end in which the creative process finally begins. In Marković's works there is local colour, especially in her ironic description of the small town's 'idyllic' life, but it is not a flamboyant and tragic mixture of religious and cultural identities. Something else is at issue here—the gender and vocational difference, the role of a woman in society. This modernist technique of, as White says, 'defetishising', is the most important trait of Marković's work. As a confessional poet, Danica Marković has been mostly read as a biographical writer but her poem and the story point to the same process of 'clearing' the fantasies that surround a modernist event. Because she is interested in the literary process, and because the story concentrates on her efforts to write, the main focus in the work is on the fact that the narrator is deprived both of the intimacy of a private life and of work. For her there is neither a room of one's own nor public space where the great history is being made:

> In Belgrade, people live as they want, but in a small town it is not possible, especially after the war, when one, due to the circumstances and many needs, as well as the irregularities of life, must have contact with a lot of people. (Marković 2003, 157).

The story is set in the time after World War One and the occupation of Serbia, which was then a part of the first Yugoslavia. This fact is known from Marković's biography and from the very first word of the story which is 'war'. The main events of the story, however, are the outcome of an eventless life after the war. Ironically, therefore, the creation depicted here comes out of nothing—*ex nihilo*, out of post-war depression. In her work, Marković is playing with the archetypal image of woman's devil-supported wish to steal godlike creative powers (reserved for men) as well as with the Faustian motif. Emptiness, vacuum, meaningless, mechanical reproduction of days and triviality. Just like her English counterpart, Virginia Woolf, Marković searches for a moment of being, the meaningful sentence or thought, and in that search exposes the presence of history in women's lives as an apparent absence of it:

> War has been the greatest school for me, and for others, too, I guess ... What an experience! ... But afterwards ... the killing effects of a small town started. (Marković 2003, 157)

By defetishising the modernist event of nothingness and by analysing it, Marković provides an insight into the inner life of a woman intellectual, the subject which is marginalised and expected to stay speechless, perhaps because if it does speaks up the whole his/story would be transformed. It would become something of an *other* kind.

5. Conclusion

So, what is modernism? It is time to return to Mrs. Brown, this plain, poor prisoner of life. How are we supposed to get to know her?

> The writer must get into touch with his reader by putting before him something which he recognises, which therefore stimulates his imagination, and makes him willing to co-operate in the far more difficult business of intimacy. And it is of the highest importance that this common meeting—place should be reached easily, almost instinctively, in the dark. (Woolf, 2008: 48).

In James' novel the golden bowl is the object which produces meaning for all the main characters – lost love, imperfection of beauty, treason. It is both "objective correlative" Eliot spoke about, and the Pound's and imagist's concrete object emanating meaning. The golden bowl's almost invisible crack suggests endless production of meaning both for characters and for readers. It is this recognition of impossibility of wholeness, these differences, that stands on the gates of the modern times. It counts on us, the readers, those equally imperfect, split subjects. This is something that Prince Amerigo could not take easily and something that Virginia Adelina Stephen not only knew instinctively, but appreciated above everything, from the very beginning, back then in December 1904.

Literatura

Armstrong, T. (2005) **Modernism: A Cultural History,** Cambridge: Polity Press.

Marković Danica. (2003) „Doziv nečastivog" in **Kupačica i zmija** (Čačak: Gradska biblioteka „Vladislav Petković Dis').

Henke, S. „The Modern Tradition", in Scott, Bonnie Kime (ed.) (1990). **The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology,** Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, pp. 622-8.

White, H. (2000) **Figural Realism**: **Studies in the *Mimesis Effect*,** Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Woolf, V. (2008) **Selected Essays,** Edited with an Introduction and Notes by David Bradshaw, OUP.

Woolf, V. (2009) **A Room of One's Own** at http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/w/woolf/virginia/w91r January 9th 2010.

UDK 811.111:[371.64/69:316.7

Jelena Matić

CULTURAL CONTENT IN ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS

Abstract: *The aim of the paper is to evaluate English textbooks for cultural information and then to compare and contrast cultural content in English textbooks written by native speakers of English with those written by Serbian authors. The research has been conducted in three Belgrade high schools, where teachers have filled in a questionnaire for each of the textbooks they have been using in class in the current school year.*

Key words: *cultural content, English textbooks, evaluate*

1. Introduction

Culture in its widest sense refers to everything related to the customs, institutions, and achievements of a country, group or community. It can be divided into two distinct groups – big 'C' and small 'c' culture. Big 'C' culture – the art, music, and literature of a country or ethnic group may include achievements such as the plays of Shakespeare, the Mona Lisa, the Taj Mahal and Beethoven's symphonies. Small 'c' culture refers to our 'everyday' culture and includes what we learn at school, our social customs, how men and women's lives differ, what time we get up and go to bed, what we do in our free time, what we eat and so on. (Gill and Čankova, 2008: 1)

The aim of the pilot study was twofold. Firstly, we wanted to evaluate English textbooks for cultural information. Secondly, we wanted to compare and contrast cultural content in English textbooks written by Serbian authors, on the one hand, and those written by native speakers of English, on the other hand.

The research was conducted in three Belgrade high schools. Two of them are of the general type (The Third Belgrade High School and the Fourth Belgrade High School) and one is specialized (Philological High School). Ten teachers, whose teaching experience ranges from 2 to 33 years, took part in the research. They were asked to fill in the questionnaire for each of the textbooks they used in class in the current school year. In this way, 20 questionnaires were obtained.

2. Bibliographical Data

This pilot study included twelve textbooks published by two major international publishing houses: Oxford University Press and Longman and one renowned Serbian publisher: Zavod za izdavanje udzbenika.

Four textbooks were identified at the intermediate level: *Practice in English* by Gordana, Marković and Katarina. Kovačević (Zavod za udžbenike, 2007); *New Headway Intermediate* by Liz and John Soars (OUP, 2003, 2006); *Matrix Intermediate* by Kathy Gude and Jayne Wildman (OUP, 2007) and *Opportunities Intermediate* by Michael Harris, David Mower and Anna Sikorzynska (Longman, 2002).

There were another five books at the upper-intermediate level: *Engleski jezik za III razred Filološke gimnazije* by Gordana Marković and Katarina Kovačević (Zavod, 2001); *Engleski jezik za III razred gimanzije* by Gordana Grba (Zavod, 2003); *New Headway Upper-Intermediate* by Liz and John Soars (OUP, 2006); *Matrix Upper-Intermediate* by Kathy Gude and Jayne Wildman (OUP, 2007) and *Opportunities Upper-Intermediate* by Michael Harris, David Mower and Anna Sikorzynska (Longman, 2002).

At the advanced level there were three textbooks: *Engleski jezik za IV razred gimanzije* by Gordana Grba and Karin Radovanović (Zavod, 1995, 2006); *Gold Plus CAE* by Nick Kenny, Jacky Newbrook and Richard Acklam (Longman, 2008) and *Gold Advanced* by Richard Acklam and Sally Burgess (Longman, 2006).

To summarize, the teachers completed questionnaires for 4 textbooks written by Serbian authors and 8 textbooks whose authors mainly come from English speaking countries. For some of these textbooks we received more than one questionnaire. The data collected from 20 questionnaires will be analysed.

3. Cultural Content

	Target language culture	Native culture
Serbian authors	100	33
English authors	100	0

Table 1[499]: Does the content serve as a window into learning about target language culture or native culture?

The content in all the books that were analysed served for learning about target language cultures such as American, British, Canadian, or Australian.

However, in Serbian textbooks, the content also serves for acquiring knowledge about native culture. “Home-culture content is acceptable, not only because my students may need to know how to talk about it in the future, but also because it supplies subjects for discussion that are familiar, interesting and motivating.” (Ur, 2002: 208).

	Yes	No	No answer
Serbian authors	66.6	16.6	16.6
English authors	50	50	0

Table 2: Does the textbook include a variety of cultures?

[499] The results in all tables are in %

The results of the research revealed that two thirds of the teachers who evaluated Serbian textbooks believed that the books included a variety of cultures, whereas only half of those who evaluated English textbooks thought the same. Let us see why.

	British	American	Canadian	Australian	Serbian	European
Serbian authors	100	100	16.6	33.3	50	0
English authors	100	100	21.42	28.57	0	7.14

Table 3: Which culture does the textbook include?

Serbian coursebooks included cultures that ranked in the following order: British, American, Serbian, Australian and Canadian. On the other hand, English coursebooks presented cultures which were rated: British, American, Australian, Canadian and European. The only difference, as we can see here, is that Serbian culture was not included in the English textbooks and this was felt to be a great disadvantage by the informants. Another interesting thing which can be observed here is that Australian culture has ranked before Canadian in both cases. This is to say that our pupils can find more pieces of information about Australia than Canada in these textbooks, according to our respondents.

Since some of the English textbooks, for example *Opportunities Intermediate* and *Opportunities Upper-Intermediate* were written by international teams of authors (Michael Harris, David Mower and Anna Sikorzynska), they tried to include elements of other European cultures, as well. Penny Ur points out that "the target language culture and literature, and other counties' culture and general knowledge are important for my students' education in principle." (Ur, 2002: 208).

	Adequate	Inadequate
Serbian authors	83.3	16.6
English authors	64.28	35.71

Table 4: Is the cultural content in this textbook adequate or inadequate?

	Yes	No	No answer
Serbian authors	66.6	16.6	16.6
English authors	42.85	42.85	14.28

Table 5: Are 'sanitized' views of the USA or Britain presented?

	Yes	No	No answer
Serbian authors	83.3	0	16.6
English authors	35.71	64	0

Table 6: Are uncomfortable social realities left out?

Next, the results show that a greater majority of teachers who have evaluated Serbian textbooks believe that the cultural content is adequate, despite the fact that two thirds of them consider the content to be an ideal version of the Anglophone culture, where unpleasant realities like the problems of the homeless or the unemployed are left out.

The picture is to some degree different with the teachers who have filled in the questionnaires for English textbooks: two thirds of them state that the cultural content is adequate; a little less than half of them support the idea that a false reality is given in the textbooks and only one third believe that uncomfortable social situations such as poverty or family breakdowns are left out. This might be explained by the fact that almost half of the teachers who have evaluated English textbooks see its content as contemporary, whereas two thirds of the teachers who have analysed Serbian textbooks regard the content as balanced, where both historical and contemporary topics are discussed.

	Historical	Balanced	Contemporary
Serbian authors	16.6	83.3	16.6
English authors	0	57.14	42.85

Table 7: Is the cultural content primarily historical, balanced or contemporary?

	Integrated	Supplemental	No answer
Serbian authors	100	16.6	0
English authors	100	14.28	7.14

Table 8: How is culture presented?

Finally, the results have shown that culture is integrated in texts, dialogues and exercises in all textbooks. In addition to this, in *Opportunities Intermediate* and *Opportunities Upper-Intermediate* by Michael Harris, David Mower and Anna Sikorzynska culture is treated as supplemental and, thus, optional material. Similarly, in *Engleski jezik za IV razred gimnazije* by Gordana Grba and Karin Radovanović, there are special ‘cultural notes’ which follow the text and give some additional cultural information.

4. Topics

The results of the research revealed that textbooks covered a variety of topics which were suitable to the interests of the intended audience, who are boys and girls in state schools aged between 15 and 18. The topics that were most frequently discussed in both Serbian and English coursebooks were family, art and literature, cultural diversity, professions and employment, the environment, science and technology, relationships and friendship, and books and films. The topics that rated somewhat lower were school life, good manners, future plans, money, food, sports and leisure, humour, living abroad, managing extreme situations**,** science fiction, hobbies, drug abuse and obsessions.

In conclusion, a great variety of contemporary, historical and geographical topics were included. Although the results showed that all these topics were culturally suitable for the learners in class, the subject matter was mainly specific to the target culture. Thus, reading about younger members of the royal family, for example, or about earning pocket money proved to be of less interest to some of our pupils.

5. Text types and language

Nevertheless, according to the results of the questionnaire, the majority of the coursebooks contain age-appropriate texts. Still, there are comments that some texts are very serious for the teenage population and should be replaced with lighter ones.

The results also reveal that the language in these texts is appropriate for the intended age group, with the exception of *New Headway Upper-Intermediate* where vocabulary can be rather difficult for pupils in the third grade.

	Authentic	Edited	Contrived
Serbian authors	66.6	50	16.6
English authors	50	50	28.57

Table 9: Are the texts authentic, edited or contrived?

Next, the results show that the books contain mainly authentic and/or edited texts, and only a very small amount of specially composed texts. Nunan defines authentic materials as "those which have been produced for purposes other than to teach language, for example print materials such as newspapers or timetables, or spoken materials such as public announcements." (McGrath, 2008:104) Really authentic material "creates an authentic response that informs, challenges, stimulates, enriches experience, encourages curiosity, develops judgement, and does the other things that real language does." (Cunnigsworth, 2003:88)

The questionnaire also reveals an important piece of information: there is a greater variety of literary genres in Serbian textbooks than in the English ones. The coursebooks written by Serbian authors contain the following types of texts[500]: poems, explanatory cultural notes, jokes and anecdotes, proverbs, fiction by reputable writers, plays, dialogues, newspapers articles and nonfiction. On the other hand, books written by native speakers of English include songs, dialogues, newspaper articles, letters, biographies, nonfiction, fiction by reputable writers and explanatory cultural notes. The results explicitly show that the classic genres of literature: poetry, drama and prose are included in Serbian textbooks, unlike English ones.

[500] the results are ranked in descending order

No	English textbooks written by Serbian authors	%	English textbooks written by native speakers of English	%
1.	Poems	100	Songs	92.85
2.	Explanatory cultural notes, Jokes and anecdotes, Proverbs, Fiction by reputable writers, Plays	83.3	Dialogues, Newspaper articles	78.57
3.	Dialogues, Newspapers articles, Nonfiction	66.6	Letters	71.42
4.	Special culture narratives, Legends	33.3	Biographies, Nonfiction	64.28
5.	Songs, Essays, Letters	16.6	Fiction by reputable writers	57.14
6.	Folk tales, fables and myths	0	Explanatory cultural notes	50
7.			Essays	42.85
8.			Poems, Proverbs	35.71
9.			Special culture narratives	28.57
10.			Jokes and anecdotes	21.42
11.			Folk tales	14.28
12.			Legends, fables and myths	7.14

Table 10: Types of texts that textbooks contain

Literature is culture in action. "One of the major functions of literature is to serve as a medium to transmit the culture of the people who speak the language in which it is written." (Valdes, 2001:137) It provides examples of different styles of writing, and representations of various authentic uses of language. Plays are an obvious choice because of the real speech among real people, clear enough to reveal the characters and the interactions of the plot. Poetry should not to be avoided either. It is true that the syntax is often distorted and the images are elusive, but these charges are valid with some poems only.

6. Social groups and stereotypes

As for social groups, the results have revealed that more than half of all the informants believe that different social strata are represented in the textbooks. However, one third of the respondents point out that it is mainly the white middle class which is portrayed in the books, especially in *New Headway Intermediate* and *New Headway Upper-Intermediate.* This observation is similar to that of Dendrinos who says: "EFL books (...) over-represent the white middle-class population with their concerns about holidays abroad and leisure time, home decoration and dining out, their preoccupation with success, achievement and material wealth. Absent, or nearly absent, are the great variety of minorities, people of African, Indian, Pakistanese descent who make up considerable part of the population."(McGrath 2008: 212) Next, the questionnaire shows that a variety of professions are included in the textbooks, as well as people belonging to different age groups: from teenagers to old couples.

	Yes	No	No answer
Serbian authors	0	83.3	16.6
English authors	50	42.85	7.14

Table 11: Are there any stereotypes in the textbooks?

Stereotypes as "the conventionalized ways of talking and thinking about other people and cultures" (Kramsch 1998: 131) are present more in English textbooks than in Serbian ones, according to the results. As respondents have pointed out, stereotypes are included only to show how these fixed ideas or images about people may be accurate in depicting the 'typical' member of a culture, but inaccurate for describing a particular person, simply because every person is a unique individual. Not all cultural stereotypes are 'bad'? These stereotyped images can help a person to understand another culture in general and the differences between that culture and his or her own. (Brown, 1987: 125)

7. Conclusion

Firstly, three types of cultural information are used in the textbooks evaluated. These are: 'source culture materials' that draw on the learners own culture as content, then 'target culture materials' that use the culture of a country where English is spoken as a first language, and finally 'international target culture materials' that use a great variety of cultures in English and non-English speaking countries around the world.

Secondly, cultural information is presented in functional context rather than as isolated facts (both contemporary and historical).

Thirdly, the majority of the textbooks do not present a realistic picture, but one which implies the foreign society is problem-free.

Next, topics in the textbooks should be informative, but also challenging, amusing, and exciting, so that they provoke a real life conversation in the classroom.

Last but not least, stereotypes should be avoided or at least relativised – by making pupils conscious of them.

To conclude, the best materials are undoubtedly those written by authors who are themselves practicing teachers, or have had extensive teaching experience.

Literatura

Brown, D. (1987) **Principles of Language Learning and Teaching**, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Regents.

Cowles, H. (1976) "Textbook, materials evaluation: A comprehensive checksheet", **Foreign Language Annals**, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 300-303.

Cunnigsworth, A. (2003) **Choosing your Coursebook**, Oxford: Macmillan Heinemann English language Teaching.

Daoud, A. & Celce-Murcia, M. (1979) "Selecting and evaluating a textbook", in M. Celce-Murcia and L. McIntosh (eds.) **Teaching English as a second or foreign language,** Cambridge, MA: Newbury House Publishers, pp. 302-307.

Gill, S. and Čankova, M. (2002) **Oxford Basics series: Intercultural Activities**, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kilickaya, F. (2004) "Guidelines to Evaluate Cultural Content in Textbooks", **The Internet TESL Journal**, Vol. 10, No 12.

Kramsch, C. (1998). **Language and Culture**, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McGrath, I. (2008) **Materials Evaluation and Design for Language Teaching**, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Sheldon, L. (1988) "Evaluating ELT textbooks and materials", **ELT Journal**, Vol. 42, No. 4, pp. 237-246.

Skierso, A. (1991). "Textbook selection and evaluation", in M. Celce-Murcia (ed.), **Teaching English as a second or foreign language,** Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle Publishers, pp. 432-453.

UDK 81'272:323.1(497.1)

Milojica Šutović

POJAVA JEZIČKOG NACIONALIZMA U BIVŠOJ JUGOSLAVIJI: SLUČAJ DVA DOKUMENTA

Apstrakt: *U ovom radu analiziraću pojavu jezičkog nacionalizma kao osnove obnove etničkog suverenističkog nacionalizma u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, koji se međusobno potpomažu i učvršćuju jedan drugog, otkrivanjem srodnosti i zajedničkih kulturnih temelja etničke zajednice. Kristalizacijom nacionalnog jezika potkrepljivao se nacionalni identitet stremljenja „samosvojnog duha", uobličavala mobilizacija naroda radi očuvanja subjektivne i političke slobode nacije, nadahnute književnim pejzažom njenog zlatnog doba, gde se nacionalni jezik uzima kao siguran čuvar od istorijskog propadanja i asimilacije.*

Ključne reči: *Jugoslavija, Srbi, Hrvati, jezički nacionalizam, etnički nacionalizam, rat među jezicima, simbolička generalizacija.*

1. Uvod

Sami jezički sukobi govore nam o društvenim (nacionalizovanim) sukobima. Jezički imperijalizam uvek je pokazatelj ekonomskog, kulturnog i političkog imperijalizma datog u krutim okvirima državnih granica. Pozadi rata među jezicima, nazire se rat drugim sredstvima. Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskog književnog jezika i srpski odgovor u vidu Predloga za razmišljanje (1967) bili su preludij višedecenijske rasprave u sveri kulture, politike i nacije. One su svoj tragičan rasplet imale u „trećem balkanskom ratu." Zapažanje, da svaki jezik čini krug oko svog naroda, iz koga se može izaći prelaskom u krug nekog drugog jezika, ostalo je po strani, potvrđujući još jednom „ako je jezik ono što nas čini ljudima, onda su jezici ono što nas čini neljudima" (N. Ostler). Stoga ne možemo ignorisati rezultate borbe među jezicima. Njihovi govornici mogu biti veoma nesentimentalni.

2. Analiza

Svojevrsnom restauracijom nacionalizma, oslonjenog na elemente drugih vrsta kolektivnih identiteta, kameleonskom permutacijom s drugim ideologijama, poput liberalizma i komunizma, zamenjena je u Jugoslaviji suspenzija nacionalizma, pozivanjem na suverenost naroda i legitimacije države na nacionalnom principu, kao države određenih nacija[501], naglašavanjem zajednice porekla i rodne kulture, rasprostirući i stvarajući svest o jezičkim tradicijama, istoriji i mitovima nacionalnih zajednica, pozivanjem na „narodnu volju”.

Sam nacionalizam u Jugoslaviji ima tradiciju osmišljavanja prevashodno na osnovici jezičkog i verskog identiteta, pa su mnoge nacionalne i kulturne vođe videle jezik kao najmoćnije sredstvo ujedinjavanja. Naglašavanjem kohezionog potencijala jezika, ukazuje i na njegovu isključivost, krutim ocrtavanjem etničkih granica koje on povlači, sprečavanjem integrisanja različitih jezičkih grupa u jedinstvenu naciju, čak i grupa identičnog porekla koje koriste isti jezik.[502] Pri tom je borba za vlastiti nacionalni jezik imala posebno mesto i bila vrlo burna, ne samo u ranom nacionalizmu, već i u obnovljenim nacionalnim jezičkim oživljavanjima,[503] kako bi se potkrepio nacionalni identitet kristalizacijom jezika kao nacionalnog simbola, koji radi svog autentičnog života traži autonomiju, crpeći nadahnuće iz književnog pejzaža zlatnog doba svoje etničke zajednice, naporima za stvaranjem književnog jezika, što predstavlja bitan preduslov ostvarenja subjektivne i političke slobode. Zato prvi uslov koji se mora ispuniti jeste „da je čovjek u svojoj svojini kod sama sebe, da govori na svom jeziku, da na njemu misli”,[504] proširujući književnim istorizmom kult nacionalne osobenosti, pribavljanjem pojmova i simbola jezika za uobličavanje mobilizacije naroda i njihovih stremljenja kao „samosvojnog duha” i osobene kulture, snažeći svest o etničkoj pozadini svake nacije, radi njenog slobodnog razvitka i čuvanja od istorijskog osipanja ili asimilacije.

Zahvaljujući tome, „nacionalni jezik” nije pragmatično, a još manje nepristrasno pitanje, naročito prema ideologijama nacionalizma za koje je jezik bio duša nacije i sve više postajao kriterijum nacionalnosti, „daleko od pitanja administrativne konvencije”, noseći eksplozivnost jezičkog problema u višejezičnim zemljama, gde je jezički nacionalizam bio, i „još uvek je suštinski za jezik javnog obrazovanja i službenu upotrebu”, postajući činilac unutrašnje politike nekih država kao i međunarodne diplomatije jer je to „jedini vid nacionalnosti koji je mogao da bude objektivno prebrojan i tabelarno prikazan”.[505]

Time su, jezički i etnički nacionalizam potpomagali i učvršćivali jedan drugog otkrivanjem srodnosti i zajedničkih kulturnih temelja, preklapanjem klasičnih etničkih nacionalizama i obnovljenih separatističkih etničkih nacionalizama. Ciljevi tih pokreta su neobično slični i ogledali su se u:

1) stvaranju „visoke” književne kulture u zajednici koja je nije imala,
2) oblikovanju kulturno homogene „organske” nacije,
3) osiguravanju zajednici priznate „domovine”, po mogućnosti, nezavisne države,

[501] Vidi: L. Tivey(ed) *The Nation – State*, Oxford, 1980.
[502] M. Todorova, *Imaginarni Balkan*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 1999, str. 303.
[503] Vidi: J. Fishman, et. al. *Language Problems of developing Contries*, John Wiley, New York, 1968.
[504] G. W. F. Hegel, *Istorija filozofije*, III, BIGZ, Beograd, 1975, str. 196.
[505] E. Hobsbaum, Nacije i nacionalizam od 1780, Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 1996, str. 108, 111.

4) pretvaranje dotad pasivne etnije, u aktivnu etnopolitičku zajednicu, i „istorijski subjekt".[506]

To pokazuje da jezički nacionalizam zahteva kontrolu države, ili bar službeno priznavanje jezika, tako da su komunikacija ili pak kultura povodi njegovog interesovanja za probleme moći, statusa, politike i ideologije, dajući im repertoare zajedničkih vrednosti, simbola i tradicija svoje nacije, popularisanjem književnog jezika, što je uticalo na procese nacionalne homogenizacije i zahteva da se nacionalnosti koje žive na određenom prostoru, razlikuju po svom jeziku. Ovi kompleksi ideja formulisani su kao odgovor na druge ideje i stremljenja koje se doživljavaju kao zamagljene, neadekvatne, nezadovoljavajuće i lišavajuće, kao karakter duhovnog konteksta u kom su oblikovane i artikulisane, tipom govora o politici iz koga „slijedi da član jedne nacije ne smiju upražnjavati običaje i jezik druge nacije".[507]

Otuda jezik opterećen političkim konotacijama od strane ljudi s literarnim preokupacijama uz potporu političke moći, sve se više u Jugoslaviji ispoljavao i kao problem međunacionalnih odnosa u kojima se stvari i događaju povezuju sa emocijama na osnovu sleđenja nacionalizma da se države moraju sastojati iz „homogenih lingvističkih nacija", čime bi „nacionalno jedinstvo država u kojima se govori više jezika (kakva je bila Jugoslavija – M.Š.) bilo opasno uzdrmano",[508] jer „ako takva cjelina (kao što je nacija) želi da apsorbuje u sebe neki drugi narod različitog porijekla i jezika ona to ne može da uradi a da sama ne postane konfuzna i ne ugrozi razvojni proces svoje kulture". (Fihte) Ovakvo shvatanje jezika preobrazilo ga je u političko pitanje, otvarajući prostor za dvosmislene zahteve i ambivalentne situacije rastočene teorijskim i literarnim spekulacijama, vezujući sve za naciju i zastavu raspirivanjem ksenofobičnih osećanja, kao i osećanja nacionalne superiornosti, radi kojih su ljudi spremni da mrze, pa čak i ubijaju i istrebljuju jedni druge, identifikujući se sa nekom od osnovnih nacija, stvaranjem viška nacionalne netrpeljivosti i sukoba, karakterističnije za ideološke konstrukcije nacionalne inteligencije, nego za stvarne korisnike maternjeg jezika.

Sami „jezički sukobi nam govore o društvenim sukobima, jezički imperijalizmi su uvek znaci drugih imperijalizama, a odstrag rata među jezicima nazire se jedan drugi rat, ekonomski kulturni", koji se vodi „duž puteva kojima se razastiru ekspanzivni jezici". Ali ga na jednom drugom nivou „vode ne više govornici već njihovi rukovodioci, ne više duž puteva koji presecaju granice, već u krutim okvirima državnih granica".[509]

Jezički sukobi i borba za nacionalne jezike izbila je na površinu javne scene Jugoslavije pojavom *Deklaracije o nazivu i položaju hrvatskog književnog jezika*, i odgovora na srpskoj strani u vidu *Predloga za razmišljanje* iz 1967. godine. Potpisnici Deklaracije, ističu da načelo nacionalne suverenosti i potpune ravnopravnosti obuhvata pravo svakog naroda da čuva sve atribute svog nacionalnog postojanja, maksimalno

---

[506] A d. Smit, *Nacionalni identitet*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 1998, str. 198.
[507] E. Keduri, *Nacionalizam*, CID, Podgorica, 2000, str. 75.
[508] Isto, str. 85.
[509] L. Ž. Kalve, *Rat među jezicima*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 1995, str. 325, 323.

razvijajući svoju privrednu i kulturnu delatnost: „Među tim atributima odsudno važnu ulogu ima vlastito nacionalno ime jezika kojim se hrvatski narod služi, jer je neotuđivo pravo svakog naroda da svoj jezik naziva vlastitim imenom bez obzira radi li se o filološkom fenomenu koji je u obliku jedne jezičke varijante ili čak u cjelosti pripada, u nekom drugom narodu”.

Novosadski dogovor,[510] prema *Deklaraciji*, opravdano je deklarisao zajedničke lingvističke osnove hrvatskog i srpskog jezika, ne poričući istorijsku, kulturnu i nacionalnu i političku istinu „o pravu svakog naroda na vlastiti jezički medij nacionalnog i kulturnog života”. To su potvrdili i ustavni tekstovi i program SK.

Međutim, „uprkos jasnoći osnovnih načela” ta načela su u praksi „zaobilažena, iskrivljivana i kršena”, tendencijama „etatizma, unitarizma, hegemonizma”, s kojim se javlja i koncepcija o „potrebi jedinstvenog državnog jezika”, pri čemu je ta uloga bila namijenjena srpskom književnom jeziku (zbog dominantnog uticaja administrativnog sjedišta naše državne zajednice)”. Putem upravnog aparata i sredstava masovnih komunikacija (savezna glasila, zajedničke emisije, PTT, željeznica, administrativni obrasci), putem jezičke prakse u JNA, zakonodavstvu, diplomatiji, saveznoj upravi, političkim organizacijama „faktički se i danas provodi nametanje „državnog jezika”, tako da se hrvatski književni jezik potiskuje i dovodi u neravnopravan položaj lokalnog naroda”.

Stoga potpisane hrvatske i naučne ustanove zahtevaju da se:

1) ustavnim propisom utvrdi jasna i nedvojbena jednakost i ravnopravnost „četirju književnih jezika: slovenskoga, hrvatskoga, srpskoga, makedonskoga”, i „adekvatnom formulacijom treba osigurati i prava jezika narodnosti u Jugoslaviji”,
2) potrebno je osigurati „dosljednu primjenu hrvatskoga književnog jezika u školstvu, novinarstvu, javnom i političkom životu, na radiju i televiziji kad god se radi o hrvatskom stanovništvu, te da službenici, nastavnici i javni radnici, bez obzira od kuda potjecali, službeno upotrebljavaju književni jezik sredine u kojoj djeluju”.

---

[510] Zaključci novosadskog dogovora doneseni su u decembru 1954. Njima je utvrđeno da: 1) Narodni jezik Srba, Hrvata i Crnogoraca je jedan jezik, jedinstven sa dva izgovora – ijekavskim i ekavskim 2) u nazivu jezika u službenoj upotrebi nužno je uvek istaći njegova oba sastavna dela 3) oba pisma, latinica i ćirilica su ravnopravni kao i oba izgovora ijekavski i ekavski 4) neophodna je izrada priručnog rečnika savremenog srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika 5) izrada terminologije za sve oblasti ekonomskog, naučnog i kulturnog jezika 6) zajednički jezik treba da ima i zajednički pravopis 7) treba onemogućiti veštačke prepreke prirodnom razvitku hrvatskosrpskog književnog jezika. Vidi: *Pravopis srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika*, Matica Srpska, Novi Sad, 1960, str. 8-10. Zaključke su potpisali istaknuti članovi SANU, JAZU, Zagrebačkog i Beogradskog univerziteta, književnici, profesori, reditelji, glumci, novinari. Između ostalih: Andrija Štampar predsednik JAZU, Marko Kostranović sekretar JAZU u Zagrebu, Milutin Milanković potpredsednik SANU; Književnici: Miroslav Krleža, Desanka Maksimović, Branko Ćopić, Skender Kulenović, Mahailo Lalić, Branko Kostić, Oskar Davičo, Tanasije Mladenović, Vladan Desnica, Marijan Stilinović, Dobrica Cesarić, Marko Ristić, Vladislav Ribnikar i drugi.

Jer dosadašnja odredba o „srpskohrvatskom odnosno hrvatskosrpskom jeziku" svojom nepreciznošću omogućuje da se dva uporedna naziva „shvate kao sinonimi, a ne kao temelj za ravnopravnost hrvatskog i srpskog književnog jezika, jednako među sobom, kao i u odnosu prema jezicima ostalih jugoslovenskih naroda", tako da se u „primjeni srpski književni jezik silom stvarnosti nameće kao jedinstven jezik za Srbe i Hrvate", „kao da hrvatskoga književnog jezika uopće nema ili kao da je istovjetan sa srpskim književnim jezikom".[511]

Rastući hrvatski nacionalizam oličen u Deklaraciji, kao svojevrstan pritisak za promene u federaciji, naišao je na žestoke reakcije u Srbiji. Tražilo se spaljivanje dela Miroslava Krleže kao jednog od njenih potpisnika,[512] dok je Krleža insistirao (molio) da Srbija ne dramatizuje ovaj jezički spor, jer „sve će to leći i cijeli događaj treba zaboraviti".[513]

Odgovor na nacionalno jezički izazov iz Hrvatske bio je „Predlog za razmišljanje Društva književnika Srbije", koji je u svojim kontrapredlozima i reakcijama kao „pandan" Deklaraciji polazio od isključivih rešenja i zatvaranja, zahtevajući da ukoliko se usvoje predlozi iz Deklaracije, da Televizija Beograd prestane sa upotrebom latinice, da se služi isključivo ćirilica, da se ćirilica proglasi pismom srpskog naroda, da književni jezik bude Srpski jezik i da se on upotrebljava u srpskim školama i ustanovama u Hrvatskoj".[514]

Pojava *Predloga za razmišljanje*, u Srbiji se povezivala sa otporom kursu IV plenuma CKSKJ, ali je u jezičkim pitanjima zahtevano od strane komunista, nužnost dijaloga i tolerancije,[515] pa je ovaj neugodan hrvatsko srpski spor, brzo zataškan, zajedničkom akcijom, gde su po sistemu simetrije oba dokumenta osuđena kao nacionalističke manifestacije. Ali jedinstveni jezik s malim razlikama u jezičkom izrazu, etnički bliskih naroda, nije pomogao njihovom boljem sporazumevanju, pretvarajući se u

---

[511] Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskog književnog jezika, u, B. Petranović, M. Zečević, *Jugoslovenski federalizam – ideje i stvarnost II*, Prosveta, Beograd, 1987, str. 739-147. 16. marta 1967. u zagrebačkom listu „Vjesnik" objavljena je Deklaracija, koju su osim Matice Hrvatske, Društva književnika Hrvatske, PEN kluba, Hrvatskog centra, Hrvatskog filozofskog društva, potpisalo još 15 drugih ustanova i organizacija.

[512] L. Perović, *Zatvaranje kruga, ishod političkog rascepa u SKJ 1971/1972*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1991, str. 51. Krleža koji je pružao ličnu podršku nacionalističkom kursu, uživao je ličnu Titovu zaštitu i bio pod njegovom ingerencijom kao „muza Politbiroa" (M. Đilas). Vidi: M. Đorđević, *Đilas – vernik/jeretik*, Akvarijus, Beograd, 1989, str. 81. Mika Tripalo svedoči da je Tito aprila 1967. tražio u Beogradu od Krleže da javno povuče svoj potpis sa Deklaracije, jer je smatrao da se jezička pitanja mogu mirnije rešavati partijskim putem. Krleža je obećao da će se povući iz CK Hrvatske, ali da ne može povući potpis pošto bi se javnost s tim izrugivala. M. Tripalo, *Hrvatsko Proljeće*, Globus, Zagreb, 1990, str. 93.

[513] S. Đukić, *Slom srpskih liberala, tehnologija političkih obračuna Josipa Broza*, Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 1990, str. 35. Krleža je ovo saopštio prilikom susreta s Dobrivojem Radosavljevićem, predsednikom CK Srbije (na svoje traženje ili mu je Tito sugerisao?) „Sa ovog susreta upamćeni su njegov umorni izgled i preplašenost". Isto, str. 34.

[514] B. Petranović, M. Zečević, nav. delo, str. 742-743. Na čelo grupe koja je pokrenula donošenje Predloga za razmišljanje bio je književnik Antonije Isaković, koga je Žarko Gavrilović, pročitao na plenumu Udruženja književnika Srbije, sredinom 1967. i dat na potpis književnicima. Dokument je imao 42 potpisa. Isto, str. 742.

[515] L. Perović ističe da su tada u Beograd došli Vladimir Bakarić i Duje Katić i zastupali isti ton. Toga se držao i CK SK Srbije u razgovoru s aktivom pisaca komunista koji je tih dana održan u Beogradu. Međutim potpisnici Predloga „izvukli su oštre konsekvence" jer se u Partiji „jednostavno ništa nije moglo raspraviti bez sankcija". L. Perović, nav. delo, str. 51.

sredstvo nesporazuma, propagande „seme razorne mržnje”, simbola „borbe za nacionalne države”, u kojoj su *Deklaracija* i *Predlog* bili samo preludij za višedecenijske rasprave u sveri politike i kulture koji su, kao i niz drugih činilaca, svoj tragični rasplet imale u „trećem balkanskom ratu”.[516] Nažalost, on je potvrdio iskustvo, da „nijedan zakon ili dekret bilo gde u svetu nikada još u istoriji nije mogao da zaustavi nalet jezičke plime”.[517] Samim tim, kako je povodom jezika zapazio Vilhelm fon Humbolt, što „čovek živi sa predmetima uglavnom onako – ustvari, pošto osećanje i delovanje u njemu zavise od njegovih predstava – može se reći isključivo onako kako mu jezik te predmete prikazuje, istim činom pomoću kojeg on iz sebe izatkiva jezik, on sebe utkiva u nj, i svaki jezik povlači oko naroda krug, iz koga je moguće izaći samo ukoliko se pređe u krug nekog drugog jezika”,[518] i to sa manje/više drukčijim situacijama, drugim trenucima ili možda drugim partnerima društvene komunikacije. Ovaj prelazak jezičkog kruga kao „raspoloživost za druge”, obrađuje se preko simboličnih generalizacija u konkretnom doživljaju i delanju. Ona nije samo pretpostavka moguće komunikacije, već se odnosi i na predmetno i tematski dostupne „kondenzante jedinstva” koji se mogu ugraditi u smisaoni svet samo pomoću jezika, u kome „pojam simboličke generalizacije samoodnošenja smisla zamenjuje pojam znaka koji je do danas vladao teorijskom tradicijom”. Svakako, ne možemo osporiti, gde se reči poput stvari mogu upotrebljavati kao znaci, što upućuje na nešto što postoji nezavisno od jezika. Pa ipak sam jezik ne možemo shvatiti „kao puko omrežavanje znacima jer on ni u kom slučaju nema samo, čak ni pretežno, ovu funkciju ukazivanja na nešto postojeće. Jezik nije ni samo sredstvo komunikacije jer on fungira u psihičkim sistemima i bez komunikacije. Njegova istinska funkcija nalazi se u generalizaciji smisla pomoću simbola (...) Tek preko generalizacije, koja se fundamentalno nalazi u svakom smislu, može nastati samoreferencija, i tek preko generalizacije mogu da se istaknu lokalni „komadi smisla” kojima se čovek momentano prvenstveno okreće i koji sve dimenzije smisla procenjuju, ali ih primarno ne čine temom”.[519]

S druge strane, generalizacija smisla, dozvoljava nam, da sve logičke probleme rešimo praktično. Stoga i protivrečnosti i paradoksi jezičkog nacionalizma u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, posmatrano retrospektivno, imali su smisao. „Samo je tako”, da se poslužim Lumanovim iskazom, „logika uopšte moguća. Inače bi čovek kod prve protivrečnosti na koju naiđe pao u pukotinu smisla i u njoj iščezao”.

---

516 B. Jakšić, Nacionalizam i jezik, jedno balkansko iskustvo, *Filozofija i društvo*, XI, Beograd, 1997, str. 86, 83.
517 N. Ostler, *Carstva reči: jezička istorija sveta*, Geopolitika, Beograd, 2008, str. 632.
518 E. Kasirer, *Jezik i mit*, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci, Novi Sad, 1998, str. 54.
519 N. Luman, *Društveni sistemi*, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci, Novi Sad, 2001, str. 151-152.

3. Zaključak

Kao što postoji osećaj o nedodirljivosti, nadmoći i prestižu pojedinih jezika i jezičkih tradicija, isto tako postoji i strah od ugroženosti i iščeznuća pojedinih jezika u savremenoj džungli tehnologije, koje vrebaju stare opasnosti zamene nekim drugim jezikom, čiji govornici nisu nimalo sentimentalni. Budućnost, kao i prošlost jezičkog nacionalizma, nije lišena mnogih iznenađenja. Zato ne možemo ignorisati rezultate borbe među jezičkim nacionalizmima koji nude tako bogat repertoar izgovora: od svesno detinjaste upotrebe jezičkih oblika, preko paradoksalnosti, ironije, cinizma do zabrane javne upotrebe manjinskih jezika ('linguicide'). Čini se da problem izmiče svakom obuhvatanju u važeće forme obrade informacije čiji zadatak ne može biti rešen u skladu s činjenicama. Tim pre što rasprave o jeziku, teško je odvojiti od izviđanja savremenog društva, jer znamo da se upravo radi o njemu. Jezik, kao najznačajnija kulturna institucija društva, u jugoslovenskom slučaju, nije odolio zovu nacionalizma.

Literatura

Fishman, J. (et. al.) (1968.), **Languange Problems developing Contries**, New York

Hegel, F. W. G. (1975.), **Istorija filozofije III**, Beograd.

Hobsbaum, E. (1996.), **Nacije i nacionalizam od 1780**, Beograd.

Đukić, S. (1990.), **Slom srpskih liberala, tehnologija političkih obračuna Josipa Broza**, Beograd.

Jakšić, B. (1997.), Nacionalizam i jezik, jedno balkansko iskustvo, **Filozofija i društvo XI**, (Beograd) str. 83 – 93.

Kalve, Ž. (1995.), **Rat među jezicima**, Beograd.

Kasirer, E. (1998.), **Jezik i mit**, Sremski Karlovci. Novi Sad.

Keduri, E. (2000.), **Nacionalizam**, Podgorica.

Luman, N. (2001.), **Društveni sistemi**, Sremski Karlovci. Novi Sad.

Ostler, N. (2008.), **Carstvo reči: jezička istorija sveta**, Beograd.

Perović, L. (1991.), **Zatvaranje kruga, ishod političkog rascepa u SKJ 1971/1972**, Sarajevo.

Petranović, B., Zečević, M. (1987.), **Jugoslovenski federalizam – ideje i stvarnost II**, Beograd.

Smit, A. D. (1998.), **Nacionalni identitet**, Beograd.

Tivey, L. (ed.) (1980.), **The Nation – State**, Oxford.

Todorova, M. (1999.), **Imaginarni Balkan**, Beograd.

Tripalo, M. (1990.), **Hrvatsko proljeće**, Zagreb.

UDK 316.7(6)

Phalandwa Abraham Mulaudzi

THE ROLE OF AFRICAN CULTURE IN DEFINING MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY: IMPLICATIONS WITHIN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

Abstract: *This article argues that gender is a social construction that reflects the meanings a society confers on biological sex. These meanings are communicated through structures and practices of cultural life that pervade our daily existence, creating the illusion that they are natural, normal ways for men and women to behave. They also depend heavily on cultural values. These values are reflected in both verbal and non-verbal communication and examples will be cited from various African languages to illustrate their role in society. Important as they are in most African societies, these values pose a challenge to the present generation which feels that they lead to stereotyping of men and women. In addition, such stereotypes devalue women and segregate them from men. In conclusion, this article suggests that some cultural values should be reviewed in order to align them with the practice of human rights.*

Keywords: *masculinity; femininity; gender; cultural values; beliefs; verbal communication messages; non-verbal communication; Tshivenḓa or Venda; Xitsonga; isiZulu or Zulu; isiXhosa or Xhosa; Sesotho; Northern Sotho or Sepedi; Siswati*

1. Introduction

The definition of gender in most African communities is founded on a traditional African cultural world view. This world view has been reflected in African people's thinking and behaviour for many centuries. Some elements of the African cultural world view, such as values, norms, beliefs and religion, play an important role in the definition of gender in African communities. This is manifested in the meaning conferred on men and women by African communities. What gender means depends heavily on cultural values and practices; the way culture defines masculinity and femininity leads to expectations of how individual men and women should act and communicate in order to establish the meaning of gender that, in turn, influences cultural views. As a result, in most African communities, older girls as well as boys attend initiation school in order to be initiated into womanhood and manhood. Among the Venda people the initiation schools for girls are known as **vhusha** and **musevhetho**, while the Sotho language groups use the terms **byale** and **mosebetho.** Among the Xhosa people the initiation school for gilrs is known as **intonjane.** Older boys **a**mong the Sotho groups attend **koma** or **mophato;** if they are Venda, they attend **murundu** and **vhutuka**. Xhosa boys attend **ubukhwetha**. The purpose of these institution schools is to initiate boys into manhood and girls into womanhood. In other words, they are taught the secrets of life and how to take responsibility as adult members of their communities. It is at these schools that the roles of female and male are differentiated. Pitika Ntuli, in Odora Hoppers (2002:61) notes, "Both male and female initiation programmes sought to prepare youth to take control of their lives within the broader community." In almost all these schools, roles of males and females are prescribed and from their inception, indigenous languages have been used to impart the required knowledge about these roles. Unfortunately, the role these schools have played over many centuries in reflecting a traditional world view cannot easily be put aside and today they are regarded by African communities as posing a challenge to the present generation. In order to form a better understanding of how culture defines masculinity and femininity, the views of various scholars are discussed in the following section.

2. Being a man or a woman: a theoretical perspective

According to Wood (1994: 21), "We are born male or female - a classification based on biology - but we learn to be masculine and feminine. Gender is a social construction that varies across cultures, over time within culture…" Barriteau (1998) agrees that gender denotes a hierarchical division between men and women which is embedded in both social institutions and social practices.

The two definitions above indicate that the meaning of gender is inextricably linked to a society's values, beliefs and preferred ways of organising collective life. In other words, culture constructs and sustains meanings by investing biological sex with social significance. In order to promote this, young men and women are sent to initiation schools. It is not surprising to hear that during **ubukhwetha,** as each boy is circumcised, he boldly addresses **ingcibi** and the onlookers with the word "*Ndiyindoda.",* meaning *I am a man*. Reddock (2007:256) is unequivocal about the definition of men and women when she reiterates what other scholars have already pointed out. In addition, her definition reflects the perceptions of many African societies of how men and women should behave. Those men and women who do not conform to social behaviours, attitudes and mannerisms are regarded as outcasts because they do not fit neatly within the categories of "male" or "female" as prescribed by society.

The definitions discussed above can be better understood within the context of cultural theory as expounded by Janeway (1971). She believes that a cultural theory of gender is the concept of role and, specifically, of how society defines roles for men and women. According to Janeway (1971), a role is a set of expected behaviours and the values associated with them. There are two dimensions to roles. The first type of role is **external to individuals** and, as a result, a society defines it in general ways that transcend particular individuals. Roles are assigned to individuals by society as a whole and each member of that society is expected to fulfil certain roles.

In an illustration of this, Wood (1994) believes that women are regarded as caretakers. They are expected to provide the majority of care of infants, elderly relatives and others who are sick or disabled, keeping house, cooking etc. It is for this reason that some societies still believe that young men should marry women who will fulfil such roles. On the other hand, men are regarded as the breadwinners of the family. This is perhaps the most central aspect to present-day views of being a man. As a result, even today unmarried men do not accept the idea of marrying women who could act as breadwinners. In order to fulfil the masculine role successfully, a man must work and bring in an income; the feminine role does not require this. This has been the common belief in African societies for many centuries.

In addition, in South African society, the man is still regarded as the head of the family, even if his wife earns more than he does. The man is more often seen as a leader and is given more opportunity to lead than women. Hence, in Tshivenḓa it is said, "**Khuhu ya phambo a i imbi mutsho**", and in Sepedi or Northern Sotho, **"Ya etwa pele ke tsadi e wela leopeng",** meaning that *a woman cannot lead the community or society; if she does that society will lack vision*. This endorses the notion that men should be the leaders in all situations.

The second important dimension of role is the **internalised** (Janeway, 1971). In order for social specifications or preferred behaviours to be effective, the individuals must internalise them. In other words, they must accept them as part of who they are. Through communication with other people they discover how others see them. In most African societies, girls are expected to be polite, pleasant and caring while boys understand that they should take command and assert themselves. According to cultural prescriptions, individuals learn not only that there are different roles for men and women but also that unequal value is assigned to these roles. This type of prescription is frustrating for those individuals who are forced to conform to roles that do not suit their character. Examples to illustrate this phenomenon will be discussed in detail in the sections dealing with verbal and non-verbal communication.

3. The implications of being a man or a woman in an African society

In most African communities, meanings of gender are reflected in and promoted by social structures and practices. Verbal and non-verbal communication clearly illustrates this.

(a) Verbal Communication

According to Weedon (1987), communication in the form of verbal messages announces social images of gender and seeks to persuade individuals in order to assure them that these social images are natural, correct ways for men and women to be and to behave. From an early age, an African boy is taught to behave and think like a man and to participate in all activities prescribed for men. As a result, a boy is not expected to get involved in activities prescribed for girls. Boys who tend to listen to their mothers are labelled in Tshivenḓa as **muhwadzamai** and in isiZulu as **umnqolo.** On the other hand, there are no labels assigned to boys who obey their fathers. Furthermore, a boy who performs well is said to take after his father. The prescribed games for boys introduce them to the world of manhood. Boys who fail to observe prescribed behaviour, thinking or activities bring shame to their family and are regarded as unfit as men. A young man from a traditional African community is required to uphold what he has been taught from an early age. As a young adult, he is expected to propose to and marry the girl of his choice. In some instances, the young man's parents may propose to a girl of his choice or of their choice. These days, the youth, particularly in urban areas, do not adhere to these practices. It is quite acceptable to the community for young men to have multiple female partners and there are no labels to describe his lifestyle. Young men who remain single are called **khombe** in Tshivenḓa, **isigwadi** in isiZulu, **nghwendza** in Xitsonga and **molala** in Sesotho. On the other hand, a young woman from a traditional African community is expected to behave as she has been taught from childhood. She will be proposed to and marry. In some instances, a girl marries very young. Unlike the young African man, she may not have several lovers; if she does, she is cursed and stigmatised. For example, a woman who has several sexual partners is called **phiranawe** in Tshivenḓa, **isenqamgwaqo** in isiZulu, **dlakuta** in Xitsonga and **letekatse** in Sesotho (*the one who sleeps with every man*). In Siswati, such a young woman is known as **lijikamlente** *(one who just throws her legs open),* **umjendevu** *(a woman of loose morals)* or **libondza-lisuta** *(one whose system has become loose)* (Dlamini in Malherbe et al., 2000: 76). By contrast, if a young man of the Swati people dates more than one girl at the same time, he receives praise and is referred to as **inganwa**. This name places him above other young men who have only one girlfriend. Furthermore, Tshivenḓa proverbs such as "**Munna ndi nḓou ha ḽi muri muthihi"** meaning *men should use all available opportunities in order to survive,* and the equivalent in Northern Sotho, **"Monna ke selepe re lala re gadimana",** *a man should always be available to assist other members of the community,* are applied wrongly in many South African communities to encourage men to have many lovers.

In most African societies it is believed that only the man should marry *(u mala, ukulobola)* while the woman is expected to be married *(u malwa).* It is unacceptable for a woman to propose marriage to a man as the man is regarded as the head of the family, even though some wealthy women may be regarded as the heads of their families. In these communities, men may not be given away in marriage. Thus, men are active partners in a marriage, making choices and decisions, while women are passive and have to be given away or committed within the marriage arrangements. This illustrates clearly that women are regarded as belonging to a different social level than men.

A woman from a traditional African community should not give birth to a child who is not her husband's. This is seen as a serious offence and an insult to her parents. In Tshivenḓa, a child born out of wedlock is called **khangamutupo** *(a child whose origin* *is unknown)*. In Siswati, such a child is referred as **ligoya** (*wild cat)* or **livezandlebe** *(the one who protrudes and is seen by ears).* Such a child is referred as **sekhaupane** in Sesotho. In contrast, Dlamini in Malherbe et al. (2000: 74) says, "What is of interest is that when the husband has a child outside the marriage, by a mistress, that child is brought home to be accepted and cared for by the married wife."

All young women are expected to marry. If a woman does not marry, she is labelled **lefetwa** in Sesotho and Setswana and **mutshelukwa** in Tshivenḓa, meaning that she has witnessed the sunrise on several occasions but is now no longer sure whether hers will rise again

Culturally, a woman is required to live where she was married to her husband, even if the husband does not support her, and even if her husband ill-treats her. She is also expected to die where she was married. This is illustrated in the Tshivenḓa proverb **Vhuhadzi ndi ṋama ya thole, ya fhufhuma ri a fhunzhela,** and its equivalent in Northern Sotho, **Lebitla la mosadi ke bohadi,** which means *a married woman should be patient even if life is unbearable in the place where she is married*. In Siswati, this idea is expressed as **Umendvo uyancengwa.** This proverb emphasises the fact that a woman has to humble herself in marriage if it is to be a success. According to Dlamini in Malherbe et al. (2000: 74), these expressions are drummed into the head of a young woman in order to tame her and make her understand that she has to accept that she will be the secondary figure in the marriage. In addition, she says,

> The red clay **(libovu)** that is smeared on the face of the bride is significant in the Swati culture. It strongly believed that this clay cannot be used more than once on the same face. The implication is that a woman cannot be married more than once in her life time. The significance given to this **libovu** can be interpreted as a means of depriving women of the choice of moving out of marriage once they have entered it.

A woman who does not adhere to this practice and divorces her husband or deserts him is called **mbuyavhuhadzi** in Tshivenḓa, **xivuya** in Xitsonga, **umabuy'emndweni** in isiZulu and **umabuy'ekwendeni** in isiXhosa. These expressions mean *to leave her husband and go back to her parents*. These days this noun, **mbuyavhuhadzi** has been modernised by the youngsters in Venḓa communities and women who leave their husbands and return to their parents are called **returned soldiers.**

A woman who is sterile is referred to as **muumba** in Tshivenḓa, **moopa** in the Sotho languages and **mhika** in Xitsonga but nouns such as **ngoṅwa** in Tshivenḓa**, ngon'wa** in Xitsonga and **leqhalaha** in Sesotho, which describe men who are sterile, rarely occur among the Vhavenḓa, Vatsonga or the Basotho**.** Women are the ones who are blamed for an unproductive marriage. In the past, if members of the family discovered that a man was sterile, they would not tell him but would encourage his wife to get another man to impregnate her without her husband's knowledge. In this way, outsiders would not know that the husband was sterile.

In Venda, a woman who has recently given birth is referred to as **mudzadze,** and in Siswati as **umtedlane**. She is regarded as a defiled individual and is kept in confinement for a period of purification. Her husband may not see her during this time and her household chores such as cooking or collecting firewood and water are curtailed. In short, this woman is regarded as dangerous. Among Siswati-speaking people it is believed that if her husband sees her before the medicine man, it might result in the husband being afflicted with an eye disease. A woman who has given birth before getting married is called **umtalakanye** and she is regarded by society as a loose individual. Among Tshivenḓa-speaking people, a woman who has one child is called **muhandakaṅwe** but there is no equivalent noun which describes a man with only one child.

(b) **Non-verbal communication**

According to Mulaudzi (2005: 230), in most traditional African rural communities representations of gender are reflected in and promoted by non-verbal communication. In these communities, women should wear dresses and not trousers. Trousers are meant for men and those women who wear them are perceived as behaving like men. Such women are not marriageable As it is assumed that they will be arrogant bullies. Women should not wear very short dresses either because this type of dress is associated with prostitution. As Ndoleriire, in Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000:277) puts it, "...dress codes are also determined by culture",

Furthermore, men attending funerals should wear jackets and women long dresses and a hat, or at least cover their heads with a scarf to hide their hair. If they do not adhere to these dress codes, they are not allowed to attend the funeral because it is perceived that they have not paid appropriate respect to the deceased. In addition, widows of all nine official African language groups are required to wear a black dress and headscarf until the mourning period expires. The widower, on the other hand, is required to pin a piece of black cloth on the upper part of the shirt or jacket sleeve. This practice is also followed by other relatives of the deceased. If the widow, widower or relatives fail to show these signs of mourning, the community may infer that they have caused the death of the deceased.

A girl from a traditional African community is required to be humble, obedient, caring and hard working. She is expected to perform all household chores, learning these from her mother. The isiXhosa expression, **sezivele ngeempondo,** expresses appreciation of a growing girl and her ability to perform household chores. According to Ntshinga (1996: 16), the implication is that the young girl is approaching the point where she can be married off in return for cattle.

It is unacceptable for a wife to call her husband by his first name. She must use the clan's name if she wants the attention of her husband, and if she dares to call him by his first name she is showing disrespect. If she does so, the community will scold her. On the other hand, her husband can call his wife anything he likes, depending on his mood and the circumstances.

4. Conclusion

In most African societies, the meaning of gender is inseparable from a society's values, beliefs and preferred ways of organising collective life. As a result, the status of women is equated with that of children. In addition, cultural perceptions enhance the status of men, giving them license to perpetuate wrongdoings which do not benefit the society. This paper suggests that some cultural values should be reviewed and aligned with the practice of human rights. Besides this, cultural values should conform to the changing world. This will ease the tension brewing between the older generation and the youth children.

References

Barriteau, E. (1998) "Theorizing gender systems and the project of modernity in the twentieth century Caribbean", **Feminist Review,** No. 59, Summer, pp. 186-210.

Dlamini, S. (2000) "Reaction to patriarchal codes among emaswati", in Malherbe J., Kleijwegt M. and Koen E. (eds.) **A women, society and constraints: A collection of contemporary gender studies,** Pretoria: Unisa Press, pp. 72-76.

Janeway, E. (1971) **Man's world, woman's place: A study in social mythology,** New York: Dell.

Mulaudzi, P.A. (2005) "Intercultural Communication: Problem or Solution within the New South African Context", **The International Journal of the Humanities**, Vol.3, No.4, pp. 219-225.

Ndoleriire, O.K. (2000) " Cross-cultural communication in Africa", in Webb, V. and Kembo-Sure (eds.) **African Voices: an introduction to the languages and linguistics of Africa,** Cape Town: Oxford University Press, pp. 268-284.

Ntshinga, N.T. (1996) "Gender in Xhosa Proverbs: Women's New Expressions of Emancipatory Concerns", **Language matters studies in the languages of Southern Africa,** Vol. 27, pp. 7-22.

Ntuli, P. (2002) "Indigenous Knowledge Systems and the African Renaissance", in Odora Hoppers, C.A. (eds.) **Indigenous knowledge and the integration of knowledge systems,** Claremont: New Africa Books, pp. 53-61.

Weedon, C. (1987) **Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory**, New York: Basil Blackwell.

Wood, J.T. (1994) **Gendered lives: communication, gender and culture,** Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

UDK 811.163.4'271.1

Tatjana Samardžija Grek

YOU AND THOU: RUDE OR RESPECTFUL? (V/ T FORMS OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS)

"In the majority of cases, when humans are polite, it's in order to be left alone[520]."
Amélie Nothomb, *Hygiène de l'assassin*

Abstract: *The paper examines the alternation of the familiar ("T form") and the polite ("V form") forms of personal pronoun in Serbian-Croat (Sg. Ti vs. Pl. Vi), German (du vs. Sie) and French (tu vs. vous), within the theoretical framework of Politeness theory (BROWN and LEVINSON, 1987; LEECH, 1983; MILLS, 2009) as well as of both versions of Prototype Theory (G. KLEIBER, 1987; T. GIVON, 1986; J. RUBBA, 1986). In addition, the T/V opposition is correlated with the personal zones of Edward T. HALL's "Proxemics" (*The Hidden Dimension, *1966), belonging to our "body language" (A. PEASE, 1981). We analyze several cases where T form is positive and V, negative. According to whether the speaker and the listener expect closeness or distance, the use of these forms can be interpreted as threatening or not.*

Key words: *Politeness, Facework, Personal Pronouns, Proxemics, Dialogical Principle*

1. Introduction

Let us start with some commonly accepted statements on 2nd person Singular and Plural personal pronouns[521]:

V FORMS prototypically stand for PLURAL.
T FORMS prototypically stand for SINGULAR.
V FORMS are therefore non-prototypical for SINGULAR.
V FORMS seem to have become prototypical for POLITENESS.

On the basis of these evident truths, we have two basic questions:

1° Are then, by negative definition, T FORMS prototypical for RUDENESS?

[520] "Dans l'immense majorité des cas, quand les humains sont gentils, c'est pour qu'on leur fiche la paix. » (Nothomb, 1992 : 25)

[521] Among the languages analyzed, German represents a different development of the polite form: its V form originates not from the second, but from the 3rd person plural *Sie* like in *Setzen Sie sich bitte*. See Metcalf (1937), who cites Andreas Schmeller: "Den Schon ums Jahr 1683 vorkommenden Höflichkeits-Plural *Sie* haben wir Deutche vermutlich dem ellipsierten Euer Gnaden zu verdanken." A. Schmeller (1828), *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, II, 679. Still, the pragmatic rules of use do not seem to be affected by this difference of person at the source of the polite form.

2° Does RUDENESS mean being too close or too distant to a person[522]?

Since, prototypically, V form is taken as polite and thus positive in most social groups and communities (family, job, army, school) and in most situations (private or public), it is our aim to shed some light also on the cases where T form is the one to be understood as polite.

As, in English, Serbian/Croat or French, the primary grammatical meaning of a T form is "singular", and that of a V form, "plural", the derived use of a V form for singular is already a pragmatic fact because it can only be interpreted as such in a particular communicative context (with deixis joining a Signifier of "plural" and a Signified of "singular") where plural interpretation is cancelled.

So, the first question being: "Is this plural really plural (prototype of plural) or a non-prototypical singular?", the second one is: "Can a context require/recommend/ forbid the plural of politeness?"

The answer to this second question must take into consideration more than just the forms (morphology) that a community disposes of to express politeness (which was the answer to the first question). It is well established now that changes and variations in space and time (cultural variations) combine in defining V/T alternations with respect to the following parameters of choice: community, family, workplace (or school, army, university), gender, etc. To all these parameters should be added that of time: diachronically, V form tends to lose ground in most of these groups. Some of these groups are organized in concentric circles, while some intersect.

Each of these groups represents a parameter that can decide on the final T/V choice in each particular communicative situation. This politeness calculation is actually twofold: we insist that both the speaker and the listener have their **calculus of politeness**, so that the choice between T and V forms must answer the three following questions:

a. **Who are you**? The speaker identifies the listener as regards the latter's belonging to some of the above mentioned communities (family, staff, nation, village, town);
b. **Who am I?** The speaker identifies his/her own membership in all these social groups;
c. **Who are we to each other?** The speaker calculates the correlation between himself/herself and the hearer according to the facts in a. and b.

To resume, the use of the 2nd person singular personal pronoun depends on the multiple social relation between the speaker and the hearer.

[522] These questions are also tackled in MILLS (2009), as mentioned further in the text.

2. T form: positive intimacy

Ti in rural populations of Central Dalmatia

Our personal interest in this interaction of multiple social parameters involved in T/V alternation comes from a short, but instructive dialogue we overheard in 2008 while on holidays in central Dalmatia, Croatia. The dialogue involved two persons meeting for the first and last time in a local bus, and separated socially in many, but not in every way: a sixty-year-old man and a well aged lady of some eighty or more, the two living, respectively, in rural Orthodox Serb and Croat Catholic communities of this post-civil-war region.

The man took a seat near the front door of the bus, not far from the driver. An hour later, the lady, a local peasant woman in her 80s, got on the bus. As soon as she got in, she addressed the man sitting near the front door in a typical accent of this region:

- Pošto karta? *How much (is) the ticket?*

The man answered briefly:

- Pitaj (T) vozača, reći će ti (T) on. *Ask (T) the driver; he'll tell you (T).*

Now, was the man rude talking like that to a woman of an age to be his mother? Was his answer a face-threatening act (FTA)? Otherwise, is his use of T form a sure sign of disrespect to a multiple stranger? One would automatically think of it because of all the prominent parameters implying negative face and calling for a V form. Let us consider the correlation of their social characteristics:

Parameter	**The man**	**The old lady**
Gender	Male	Female
Age	Younger	Older
Religion – Nation	Orthodox Serb	Catholic Croat
Interpersonal	They have never met before	
Geographic	They live in the same region	
Social	They are both peasants	
Situational	They are both travellers in the bus	

Bearing in mind the three basic questions (*Who are you? Who am I? Who are we to each other?*), all these features must be processed in the politeness calculus, vertically (the face, i.e. identity of each participant in the conversation as seen by himself/herself) and horizontally (their interpretation of the other's identity/face defining the facework). With two very different social profiles whose interaction presents a high risk of face-threatening acts (FTA), their facework must be a subtle one; it would be most probable for both to choose the negative and the off-record strategies as the most polite ones. These strategies imply V form, which, as we shall see, invokes spatial distance. Moreover, village communities impose more communication rules on their members. Why then T form?

In this case, the resultant doesn't depend on the strongest parameters: in spite of all the differences invoking V form, the village cultures of both communities still share most of their properties. With the same core culture[523] defining their basic values, the speakers do belong to that same culture where speaking *ti* is the sign not of insult, but of familiarity with someone from the village, most probably a relative. Here we recognize a "positive politeness culture[524]". In these circumstances, speaking in a V form would be highly awkward among their members: even very little children use T form (*ti*) with their grandfathers and grandmothers, as well as with all aged persons. The old lady has the age to be the mother of the man she addresses, so, in this case, *ti* also implies kindness and solicitude. Using *ti* in spite of all negative aspects that oppose them on the conscious level of their respective cultures, should be interpreted as a confirmation of their belonging to the same core culture and to its rules of social behaviour. To the question "Who are we to each other?" the man answers by a powerful sign of solidarity in a larger community with a high level of integration of individuals. *Ti* means the right to be close to the other[525]. With this tribal attitude, *Vi* is said only to people outside the community, of whom we do not expect to follow these directions.

To resume, in a context of adjacent rural communities, where social differences of religion and nation are underlined by the same primary culture level, V form would only confirm or underline the threats existing in the pragmatic context, while T form strengthens community's ties and alleviates the threats. In this respect, the familiar form can be positive and desirable if the interlocutors aim at closeness.

German *Ich/Du* in the thought of Martin Buber

This polite T form corroborates the basic ideas in *Ich und Du* by the philosopher Martin BUBER[526]. The opposition of *Du* and *Sie* in German is highly relevant[527].

According to Buber's "Dialogical Principle" (*das Dialogische Prinzip*), there are two confronted types of an individual's attitude to others and to the world: *I-Thou* and *I-It*. *I-Thou* is a relation of subject-to-subject, while human beings are aware of each other as having a unity of being.

---

523 Or "the primary level culture" (PLC), in the wording of E.T. HALL who, in the introductory chapter of his *Dance of Life* (1983), defines it as a "hidden cultural grammar" which "defines the way in which people view the world, determines their values, and establishes the basic tempo and rhythms of life" and which is unconscious and resistant to conscious changes.

524 Several judgments on positive and negative politeness societies are presented by MILLS (2009).

525 This accounts for André Gide's famous sentence: "Familles, je vous hais!" ("I hate you, families!"). A. Gide criticized this aspect of family cohesion because of the right of such a community to a part of its member's privacy.

526 *Ich und Du* (1923), Frankfurt-am-Main, Translations in English: *I and Thou* (1937), by Ronald Gregor Smith, Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark; *I and Thou* (1970), by Walter Kaufmann, NY, Scribner's Sons

527 Differents from the other analyzed languages, German is the only one where T and V forms are opposed in number (singular vs. Plural) and inperson (2nd person singular vs. 3rd person plural): the familiar *du heißt* corresponds to the polite *Sie* **heißen.**

- In the *I-Thou* relationship[528],
- The speaker opens up personally to the hearer as to his equal;
- The speaker sees the hearer as a whole being;
- The *boundary* between individuals disappears and they are *whole* and *boundless* at the same time;
- Communication of beings develops a *personality* and makes him/her know the world.
- On the contrary, in the *I-It* relationship,
- The hearer is an object, something – "*It"*;
- There is no real personal communication;
- The hearer insists on the *external limits of human beings as entities*: therefore the hearer is considered from outside, in space, but not from inside, as a person;
- Humanity is a sum of persons-objects surrounding the entrenched *I*.

The *I-It*[529] relation is the cognitive process of perception of the world from outside: "The world of *It* is set in the context of space and time", asserts Buber, but, "The world of *Thou* is not set in the context of either of these", because the *I-Thou* relation is "to know" the person – it is penetrating someone's inner self.

Our question is: does Buber's *It* correspond to the use of the German V form, which happens to originate from the 3rd person, *Sie*? Does V form insist on *boundaries*? Does it treat persons as things? Could we say that V form is a verbal shield protecting us from those whose closenness is unwelcome? In other words, can a prototypical form of politeness be a form of ignorance ? How can Politeness theory read into these lines?

When I use *Thou* meaning closeness, but without the hearer's consent, this *Thou* is unidirectional and means "I want *thou* to be *thou* for me". Thus this verbal assault threatens the hearer's face. To persist in this verbal *I-Thou* assault means actually *I-It*, because I do not know the person and I ignore the person's reaction and treat her/him as an object of my knowing, my desire. The only difference with the Buber's definition of *I-It* is that here **the speaker does not respect boundaries**.

Thus T form corresponds to positive politeness when based on factual, i.e. mutual closeness, but is rude and false when this closeness is imposed and not accepted. This is why any verbal expression of closeness, intimacy or sexual desire, if seen as an FTA by a hearer, can be reckoned equivalent to rape.

V forms as a sign of respect of others and of self-defence
Vous* and *tu* in French. Amelie Nothomb's *Sulphuric Acid

The importance of V/T opposition in French is consecrated by two standard verbs in their own right, *tutoyer* and *vouvoyer*, denotating "to say *tu* to" and "to say *vous* to".

The category of person in general is one of the first verbal instruments to address a person and therefore also to express humiliation, contempt, hatred, disrespect. The

[528] "I become through my relation to the *Thou;* as I become *I*, I say *Thou*. All real living is meeting."
[529] Interesting enough, Buber's *Ich und Du* was published the same year as Freud's *Das Ich und das Es*.

overt sense of V/T manipulation in two directions finds its excellent illustration in the controversial novel entitled *Sulphuric Acid* (2005)[530] by the reputed Belgian writer Amélie Nothomb. Here, in a perverted version of a reality-show named *Concentration*, candidates, randomly picked up in a roundup, are shut into a modern concentration camp, tattooed, guarded and tortured by sadistic kapos under the pitiless eyes of hundreds of TV-cameras, until they are executed by vote, one after another. "Candidates" have lost names and now wear codes on their sleeves. Moreover, kapos, while surveying and mistreating them in every possible way, speak to them using only T form (*tu*). This *tu* is one of the ways to show kapos' right to dispose of them and their human dignity: this familiar form is interpreted and intended to accompany and reinforce physical torture. Such use of T form is clearly negative, accounting for an actual *I-It* treatment.

On the other hand, prisoners in barracks create a deeply different atmosphere, such as in their everyday life prior to captivity: they use proper names, exchange encouragements and scarce food, they introduce themselves and fight against the beastly treatment of the kapos. In the beginning, most of them use T form *tu*. Now, T form is perfectly normal nowadays in casual conversations among the French, especially in cities since the cultural revolution of the 60es. The detainees' use of *tu* in the beginning reflects this cultural feature of the nowadays' France. It means that, in the beginning of the *Concentration*, the T form of the prisoners definitely reflects positive face.

This will change under the sway of events outside the barracks. The beautiful and witty CKZ 114, by the real name of Panonnique, undertakes to organize resistance. One of the first means is for the captives to stop saying *tu* to each other:

« A young woman with the prisoner number MDA 802 said to Panonnique:

- That's good; you stand up to her [to a female kapo] pretty well.
- If you don't mind, I'd rather we don't use the familiar form *tu*.
- I thought we were friends.
- Precisely. Let us leave the familiar form to those who wish to hurt us.
- It won't be easy for me to say *vous* to you.
- The kapos are of the same age as us. Which means that, after childhood, the same age can no longer be a common point.
- Do you think that this formality will help?
- Naturally, whatever distinguishes us from the kapos is indispensable. As well as whatever shows that, contrary to them, we are civilized persons.

This attitude spread around. Soon not one prisoner was to be found speaking familiarly with others.

[530] P. 43 and 44 of the original *Acide sulphurique* (2005), Albin Michel, Paris

Such general use of the polite form *vous* had some consequences. There was no less love among the prisoners, no less privacy, but so much more respect instead. This deference was not formal: they had more esteem for each other[531]."

In any culture, an individual oscillates between the need to preserve one's personal liberty and individuality and the need for others. T form is subject to this relation game. From a casual, direct and friendly *tu* (corresponding to the "bald on record strategy" of Politeness Theory) among people who do not suspect threats from each other, and which MDA 802 finds natural for peer persons, prisoners switch to the form *vous*, reacting to the threatening *tu* of their brutal torturers. Such facework shows that the two forms are highly interdependent and subject to constant recoding with respect to changes of pragmatic contexts. So, the *vous* among peers, unnecessary and snobbish in everyday life, now expresses personal dignity and respect of others. Still, how then "this didn't make them love each other any less"?

3. Conclusions

All the communicational contexts analyzed in the paper bring us to the following conclusion: according to the dominant parameter in the pragmatic context and to the resultant of the politeness calculus in the relationship of the interlocutors, we may be polite to persons accepted into our intimate space (close or expecting closeness) by using a T form (*thou, Du, ti, tu*), whereas for persons external to our intimate zone, whether colleagues, acquaintances or strangers, with whom a certain respectful distance is a part of the group code, a V form (*vous, Sie, Vi)* is polite because saving the negative face of both the speaker and the hearer (Protect & Respect formula).

- [531] « Une jeune femme qui portait la matricule MDA 802 dit à Panonnique:
- C'est bien, tu lui tiens la dragée haute.
- Si vous n'y voyez pas d'inconvénient, je préfère le vouvoiement.
- Je pensais que nous étions amies.
- Précisément. Laissons le tutoiement à ceux qui nous veulent du mal.
- Il me sera difficile de vous vouvoyer. Nous avons le même âge.
- Les kapos ont également notre âge. C'est la preuve que, passé l'enfance, un âge identique ne suffit plus à constituer un point commun.
- Croyez-vous que ce vouvoiement servira à quelque chose ?
- Ce qui nous différencie des kapos est forcément indispensable. Comme tout ce qui rappelle que, contrairement à eux, nous sommes des individus civilisés.

Cette attitude se propagea. Bientôt il n'y eut plus aucun prisonnier pour en tutoyer un autre.

Ce vouvoiement généralisé eut des conséquences. On ne s'aima pas moins, on n'en fut pas moins intime, mais on se respecta infiniment plus. Ce n'était pas une déférence formelle : on avait plus d'estime les uns pour les autres. » (p. 43-44)

T POSITIVE Desirable closeness I – THOU RELATION (M. Buber) POSITIVE FACE Bald on record strategies Access to the hearer's intimate space	V POSITIVE Desirable distance I-IT RELATION NEGATIVE FACE Off-record strategies Respect of the limits of hearer's social or public space
T NEGATIVE Undesirable closeness I-IT RELATION FTA (Face Threatening Acts): Transgression of hearer's intimate space VERBAL VIOLENCE	V NEGATIVE Undesirable distance I-IT RELATION SPACE BOUNDARIES=ISOLATION HUMANS AS THINGS

Literature

Brown, P. & Levinson, S. (1987), **Politeness: Some universals in language usage**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Buber, M. (1937), *I and Thou,* (transl. by Ronald Gregor Smith), Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

Givon, T. (1986), "Prototypes: between Plato and Wittgenstein", **Noun Classes and Categorization** (ed. C. Craig), Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 77-102.

Hall, Edward T. (1966), **The Hidden Dimension**, Doubleday: New York.

Langacker, Ronald W. (1999), **Foundations of Cognitive Grammar**, Stanford: Stanford University Press, vols. I et II (516 et 590 pp.).

Metcalf, George J. (1937), "The Origins of Modern German Polite Sie-Plural with Particular Reference to the Works of Christian Weise", **PMLA**, vol. 52, No 4, pp. 1204-1213 http://www.jstor.org/stable/458514.

Milosavljević, B. (2007), **Forme učtivosti u srpskom jeziku**, Belgrade: Učiteljski fakultet u Beogradu.

Mills, S. (2009), „Impoliteness in cultural context", **Journal of Pragmatics**, No 41, pp. 1047-1060.

Pease, A. (1981), **Body Language. How to Read Others' Thoughts by Their Gestures**, London: Sheldon Press.

Polovina, V. (1984), „Upotreba jednine i množine ličnih zamenica u obraćanju sagovorniku u srpskohrvatskom jeziku" ["Communication with singular and plural personal pronouns in Serbo-Croat"], in: **Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane 13/I**, Belgrade, pp. 185-195.

Rubba, J. (1986), “Prototype Effects in some Psychological Studies in Grammar”, **Papers from the 22th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society**, p. 312-334
The World Atlas od Language Structures Online. Chapter 45: Politeness Distinctions in Pronouns http://wals.info/feature/description/45.
LINGUIST List 7.599, Tue Apr 23 1996. *Sum: Thou and You.*
Nothomb, A. (2005), **Acide sulfurique**, Paris : Albin Michel.
Nothomb, A. (1992), **Hygiène de l‘assassin**, Paris : Albin Michel.

7.
PREVODILAŠTVO
TRANSLATION STUDIES

UDK 811.163.4'373.45(497.16)

Igor Ivanović

ANGLICIZMI RAČUNARSKOG REGISTRA KROZ PERSPEKTIVU PREVODNIH EKVIVALENATA I PURIZMA

Apstrakt: *Ovaj rad se bavi prijemom leksičkih elemenata iz engleskog jezika u crnogorski. Polje interesovanja smo ograničili na računarski registar gdje je i pomenuto pozajmljivanje najočiglednije. U izradi ovog rada pomogla nam je teorija adaptacije anglicizama Rudolfa Filipovića. Centralni dio predstavlja obrada korpusa gdje smo dali statistički prikaz odnosa između prevedenica, prilagođenih i direktnih anglicizama. Na kraju rada pružili smo ukupnu statistiku i tako prikazali aktuelni jezički momenat u kojem se crnogorski jezik nalazi kada se radi o kompjuterskom registru.*

Ključne riječi: *anglicizmi, prevedenice, leksičko pozajmljivanje, računari, kontaktna lingvistika.*

1. Uvod

Informatička revolucija koja se odigrala u XX vijeku odvela je svijet u jednu sasvim novu dimenziju koja će u potpunost definisati njegov dalji razvoj. Samim tim, promjenila je ljude pa i čitave kulture, potiskujući ono što nije u skladu sa njom, podstičući ono što jeste. Uvela je mnoge nove standarde, a preko svoja dva najočiglednija predstavnika, Interneta i računara, značajno uticala na izgled današnjeg svijeta. Koliko je ova promjena korijenita može se vidjeti po tome što je informatička revolucija stvorila svoju sopstvenu stvarnost koja sve više funkcioniše nezavisno od „naše" stvarnosti. Da je to po srijedi, svjedoči i to da ta nova, virtuelna stvarnost ima svoje zakonitosti koje su veoma često u suprotnosti sa standardima fizičkog svijeta koji nas okružuje.

Naš rad baziran je na hipotezi da je crnogorski jezik preuzeo veliki broj leksičkih elemenata koji su direktno vezani za polje računara. Neki od tih elemenata su prošli proces primarne ili sekundarne adaptacije, a neki su zadržali oblik koji imaju i u engleskom jeziku.

2. Teorijske osnove

Dva zapažanja djeluju gotovo nevjerovatno u kontekstu današnjeg uticaja engleskog jezika. Prvo zapažanje se odnosi na to da je leksikološki uticaj engleskog prije 1900 bio prilično skroman. O tome nam govori i Sapir (1921: 207):

„...it is a little disappointing to learn that the general cultural influence of English has so far been all but negligible. The English language itself is spreading because the English have colonized immense territories. But there is nothing to show that it is anywhere entering into the lexical heart of other languages...“.

Drugo zapažanje (Afanasieva, 1999: 46)je interesantno jer:

„Ironically, even the name of the English capital originates from Celtic **Llyn** + **dun** in which **llyn** is another Celtic word for "*river*" and **dun** stands for "*a fortified hill*", the meaning of the whole being "*fortress on the hill over the river*“

Shodno tome što su novi proizvodi većinom nastajali u zemljama u kojima se govori engleski jezik ili su primali engleski kao svoj standard, upravo te nazive prenijeli su u jezike primaoce. Razlika se javila u tome što su različiti jezici reagovali na različite načine i do različitog stepena su primali engleske nazive. Tako nam je engleski jezik „ponudio“ ogroman broj novih leksičkih jedinica, ili jedinica koje su tokom vremena dobile nove semantičke karakteristike koje su im bile neophodne u novonastalom okruženju. Pod ovom konstatacijom podrazumijevamo to da su neke od riječi, koje se danas direktno vezuju za računare, postojale i ranije, ali su u informatičkom svijetu dobile drugačiju semantičku obojenost, dakle proširile su svoj semantički sadržaj. Jedan od očiglednijih primjera gdje se ovaj proces može vidjeti jeste riječ *driver* - vozač (onaj koji upravlja). Današnja upotreba tog termina u kompjuterskom registru jeste *driver* – upravljački program (računarski program koji upravlja). Prema tome, raniji semantički sadržaj koji je obuhvatao samo osobu [+ živo] koja ima kontrolu nad nekim vozilom se proširio na računarski upravljački program koji upravlja nekim uređajem u okviru računara [- živo]. Ovaj prijelaz se desio poštujući dodirnu tačku koja je u ovom slučaju glagol upravljati. Ove riječi su se prenijele i u crnogorski jezik i stvorile određenu vrstu kompjuterskog žargona, odnosno „jezika u malom“.

Bugarski (2003: 9) kaže:

„Žargonom se može nazvati svaki neformalni i pretežno govorni varijetet nekog jezika koji služi za identifikaciju i komunikaciju unutar neke društveno određene grupe – po profesiji, socijalnom statusu, uzrastu i slično – čije članove povezuje zajednički interes ili način života, a koja uz to može biti i teritorijalno omeđena“.

Bugarski takođe dodaje:

„Kompjuterski žargon je, na primer, nov. Ako oslušnete razgovor dvoje mladih ljudi koji mnogo vremena provode za kompjuterom, koji teče normalno, on je prožet kompjuterskim žargonom toliko da je potpuno nerazumljiv nekome ko ne radi sa kompjuterima".[532]

Može se iz ovog teksta zaključiti da su računari doveli do ogromnih promjena u okviru raznih jezika, pa i u crnogorskom jeziku, do te mjere da ljudi van računarskog svijeta imaju problema sa razumijevanjem onih koji su u tom svijetu. Tu je stvoren računarski žargon koji je prilično zaokružio svoju autonomiju u odnosu na leksički sistem i kao takav posjeduje svoju energiju koja mu omogućava opstanak. Ovo raslojavanje uzrokovano je potrebom jednog broja govornika da i kroz leksičke signale pokažu da su upoznati sa najnovijim dešavanjima, da poznaju rad na računaru i da, samim tim, imaju prednost u odnosu na one koji nemaju takve vještine. Rad na računaru je postao novi oblik pismenosti.

Crnogorski jezik je tokom vijekova svoga razvoja posuđivao različite leksičke elemente ne samo iz engleskog već i iz drugih jezika. Tokom davnih vremena to su bili grcizmi i latinizmi (koji su postali opšte poznati cijelom svijetu, i kao takvi su postali poznati pod nazivom internacionalizmi). Neosporan je uticaj i romanskih jezika (najviše italijanskog i francuskog jezika) na crnogorski jezik. I jedni i drugi su se nalazili na teritoriji Crne Gore i posuđivanje iz ta dva jezika je bilo neizbježno. Pored toga, Italija je najbliži prekomorski susjed Crne Gore, tako da je i to ostavilo traga, naročito u južnom dijelu naše države. Nije potrebno naglašavati koliki su uticaj imali turcizmi na crnogorski jezik zbog opšte poznatih istorijskih prilika. Takođe, ne smijemo zaboraviti germanizme, rusizme i mnoge druge pozajmljenice koje su ostavile svoj trag u crnogorskom jeziku. Informatička revolucija i razvoj modernih tehnologija, naročito tokom posljednjih četrdesetak godina, uslovili su da od svih tih pozajmljenica anglicizmi postanu najzanimljiviji većini naučnika za proučavanje zbog svoje dominacije.

Koliko je crnogorski bio otvoren za prijem stranih riječi prikazaćemo sljedećom listom:

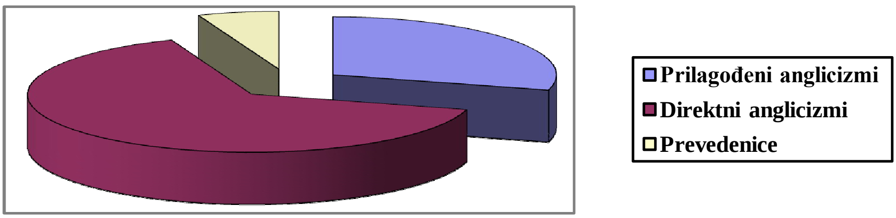
1. **bohemizmi** - riječi koje su u crnogorski jezik došle iz češkog jezika: časopis, povod, spis, uloga;
2. **germanizmi** - riječi iz germanskih jezika: buter, ceh, farba, lajtmotiv, madrac, majstor, moler, vaga, pegla, šraf, lozinka, šalter, šine, šminka;
3. **grcizmi** - riječi iz grčkog jezika: hiljada, drum, gips, ikona, manastir, hor, hlor, filolog;
4. **hungarizmi** - riječi iz mađarskog jezika: soba, ašov, lopov, varoš, cipele, gulaš, subota, salaš;
5. **romanizmi** - riječi iz romanskih jezika (u vezi sa crnogorskim jezikom posuđivanje iz latinskog (kao osnove modernih romanskih jezika) i italijanskog je bilo najučestalije, ali ne treba zanemariti posuđivanje riječi i iz francuskog i španskog): avenija, formula, akcija, kompot, literatura, opera, nacija, doktor, tenor, balkon, mašina;

[532] Bugarski, Ranko, 2008, *Kompjuterski žargon*, 25.05.2008., http://arhiva.glas-javnosti.co.yu/arhiva/2003/12/28/srpski/I03122701.shtml

6. **rusizmi** - riječi koje su nam došle iz ruskog jezika: zapeta, kružok;
7. **turcizmi** - riječi iz turskog jezika: boja, buregdžija, čamac, čitluk, kundak, top, kavgadžija, megdan, džezva, oluk, kalup.

3. Analiza

U našem radu na 2563 strane korpusa, od ukupnog broja anglicizama, 64,89% predstavljaju direktni anglicizmi, odnosno engleske riječi, koje nijesu saobražene pravilima crnogorskog jezika, tj. zadržale su većinu ili sve karakteristike jezika modela (1148 riječi); 29,28% (predstavljaju anglicizmi koji su makar djelimično prilagođeni pravilima crnogorskog jezika (primarna adaptacija) i već su postali, ili će vjerovatno postati, odomaćenice (518 riječi). Preostalih 5,82% su prevedenice, koje su nastale kao kreativna reakcija govornika crnogorskog jezika na uticaj jezika modela, u ovom slučaju engleskog (103 riječi).



Grafikon 1: Ukupan udio anglicizama u korpusu

Sa grafikona se može pročitati da su skoro dvije trećine anglicizama onih koji su direktni, dakle, predstavljaju preslikane engleske riječi. Smatramo da je taj procenat visok i da bi se realno mogao ili morao kretati na nivou od oko trideset procenata. U skladu sa rečenim, smatramo da bi broj prevedenica, odnosno proces sekundarnog posuđivanja, trebalo da se poveća za makar petnaest procenata, što bi služilo kao zamajac ka daljem razvoju kreativnog i usklađenog prevođenja, ka stvaralačkom odnosu prema jeziku modela. Vidimo da prevagu odnose direktni anglicizmi, što smo i očekivali, jer je to „radni jezik“ modernih tehnologija.

Nakon pružanja ove opšte slike, pružićemo i tabelu od pet najčešćih anglicizama, kako direktnih tako i prilagođenih.

Anglicizam	Broj ponavljanja
Processor (direktni anglicizam)	2363
Memorija (prilagođeni anglicizam)	2022
Grafička kartica (prilagođeni anglicizam)	1680
Monitor (prilagođeni anglicizam)	1472
Hard disc (direktni anglicizam)	1439

Možemo lako da zaključimo da su ovih pet najčešćih anglicizama osnovni djelovi računara, pa će, samim tim, prirodno biti i najviše pominjani.

Kao što smo naveli na početku zaključka, najveći dio našeg korpusa činili su neprilagođenih anglicizama. To, znači da je u našem korpusu, na svakih deset anglicizama bilo oko šest neprilagođeni anglicizmi, koji se ni po čemu nijesu razlikovali od modela. Ova tip anglicizma ne ispunjava niti jedan od naših kriterijuma koje smo dali u početnom dijelu ovog rada. Ako već ne možemo da nađemo prevod za određeni broj engleskih riječi, onda treba pristupiti njihovom prilagođavanju u skladu sa pravilima crnogorskog jezika. Ponekad se uz direktne anglicizme nalazi i crnogorski termin u vidu objašnjenja što može biti dobra jezička praksa ako već odgovarajući prevodni ekvivalent ne postoji. Treba napomenut da smo u našem korpusu našli i veliki broj skraćenica koje su postale dio planetarnog leksičkog blaga i njih ne treba prevoditi. Prirodan ishod našeg istraživanja je bio i taj da smo uočili različit broj anglicizama u različitim izvorima. Stručna literatura sadrži veliki broj anglicizama, ali smo našli i određen broj prevedenica. Cjenovnici imaju ubjedljivo najveći broj direktnih anglicizama, uputstva više teže ka prilagođenim anglicizmima, dok katalozi sadrže izrazito veliki broj prilagođenih anglicizama i jedan dio prevedenica. Jedan od mogućih razloga za ovu pojavu jeste, vjerovatno, i to što se u pripremu kataloga uloži znatno više vremena nego što je to slučaj sa cjenovnicima. Ono što svakako mora da brine jeste i činjenica da govornici crnogorskog jezika veoma teško prihvataju neologizme u domenu računarskih termina. Jasno je da neologizme ne treba kovati i ubacivati po svaku cijenu, ali ovaj proces je toliko malo zastupljen da je otišao u jednu drugo krajnost, a to je gotovo nepostojanje. U stručnoj literaturi smo prirodno pronašli veliki broj anglicizama, i njihova upotreba je većinom vođena strukovnim razlozima, jer se, svakako, očekuje od nekog stručnjaka za informatiku da je upoznat sa *asemblerima* i *kompajlerima*. Kao sto smo već pomenuli, ta literatura je namjenjena čitaocima koji prilično poznaju odgovarajuću oblast, pa im prevođenje i nije potrebno. Jedan dio direktnih anglicizama se u stručnim radovima i morao naći iz razloga što je engleski jezik radni jezik ogromne većine programa, pa samim tim, prevođenje na crnogorski ne bi bilo praktično rješenje.

Engleski jezik prilično lako stvara nove riječi ili postojećim daje nova značenja, što je između ostalog jedan od razloga njegovog nevjerovatnog širenja. Na ovim poljima crnogorski jezik mora da se unaprijedi kako bi održao korak sa, za sada, dominantnim engleskim jezikom.

Osvrnućemo se još ukratko i na stanje koje vlada, u vezi sa anglicizmima, u državama susjedima Crne Gore koje pripadaju jedinstvenom jezičkom sistemu. Na osnovu proučavanja njihovih publikacija možemo zaključiti da je situacija sa anglicizmima gotovo ista kao i kod nas. Dakle, radi se o „poplavi“ nesistematično primljenih anglicizama. Postoji veliki broj direktno preuzetih anglicizama koji unose haos u standardne jezike. Stiče se utisak da su mediji i loši prevodi glavni krivci zašto se direktni anglicizmi opiru usklađivanju sa normama jezika. Shodno tome postoji veliki broj autora koji svojim publikacijama upozoravaju na takvo stanje i daju rješenja kako da se promjeni odnos prema svom jeziku. Ono što je svakako pozitivno jeste i to što su ekstremni puristički elementi, koji se slobodno mogu izjednačiti sa lingvističkom ksenofobijom, uzrokovanom ratnim dešavanjima na ovim prostorima devedesetih godina, izgubili na snazi. Tako sa sada o tuđicama, odnosno u našem slučaju, o anglicizmima (njihovoj potrebnosti ili nepotrebnosti, prilagođavanju i prevođenju) raspravlja, prije svega, sa naučnog aspekta, čime lingvistika sa ovih prostora dobija na kvalitetu. U svim ovim zemljama sve je više publikacija na temu anglicizama i načina njihovog odomaćivanja. Sve te publikacije govore o tome da ne smije da postoji pasivan odnos prema sopstvenom jeziku i da se anglicizmi moraju shvatiti kao neizostavni dio leksičke realnosti.

Takođe, sve jače se čuju ideje o osnivanju posebnih tijela koja bi pratila kvalitet jezika i reagovala tamo gdje je to potrebno. Sve više sazrijeva svijest o neophodnosti saradnje stručnjaka iz različitih oblasti sa jezičkim stručnjacima kako bi se došlo do kvalitetnih prevoda, knjiga, kovanica, prevedenica itd. Samo na taj način će stihijsko jezičko posuđivanje biti pretočeno u sistematsko preuzimanje leksičkih elemenata iz drugih jezika, naročito iz engleskog. Dakle, ne postoje suštinske razlike između stanja u kojem se nalaze, kako okolni jezici, tako i crnogorski.

4. Zaključak

Na kraju, možemo zaključiti da je upotreba anglicizama u računarskom registru veoma izražena. Takvo stanje se može obrazložiti sljedećim činjenicama:

1. Većina računara radi pod nekom verzijom operativnog sistema koji su na engleskom;
2. Veliki dio ljudi koji aktivno učestvuju u računarskoj trci, kao i kompanije u kojima rade, sa engleskog su govornog područja ili im je engleski jezik radni jezik;
3. Stanje u računarskom svijetu se toliko brzo mijenja da crnogorski jezik nema dovoljno vremena da se prilagodi novonastalim okolnostima;
4. Dakle, riječi velikom brzinom nastaju i nestaju, što otežava proces primarnog ili sekundarnog prilagođavanja; međutim, ovo ne smije biti izgovor za nemaran odnos prema sopstvenom jeziku, tako što će se nesistematski i u što većem broju prihvatati direktni anglicizmi.

Smatramo da crnogorski jezik ima potencijal da na sistematičan način odgovori zahtjevima 21. vijeka u pogledu ove i drugih izazova koji će, gotovo sigurno, biti postavljeni pred crnogorski jezik tokom njegovog daljeg razvoja. Na nama je da iskoristimo taj potencijal kako bismo na pravi način odnjegovali specifičnost našeg jezika u dobu u kojem se dešavaju velike jezičke promjene. Svi živi jezici se mijenjaju protokm vremena, a lingvističke promjene su oduvjek privlačile mnogo pažnje kroz odobravanje ili kritikovanje takvih pomjena. Tako su nastale i dvije struje čija podjeljenost traje i do današnjih dana. Naime, mnogi lingvisti podržavaju promjene i posmatraju ih kroz prizmu potrebnosti i neminovnosti. Druga struja, koja je oličena u purizmu, umjerenijem ili radikalnijem, nije naklonjenja jezičkim promjenama jer ih vide kao nešto loše što „razvodnjava" jezik. Da bi se zaustavile promjene u jeziku moraju se zaustaviti i sve ostale društvene i kulturološke promjene, što svakako nije cilj društava koja žele da se razvijaju.

Literatura

Afanasieva, O. V., Antrushina, G. B. and, Morozova, N. N. (1999) **English Lexicology**, Moscow: Publishing House „Дрофа"

Ajduković, J. (2004) **Uvod u leksičku kontaktologiju – teorija adaptacije rusizama**, Beograd: Foto Futura

Bugarski, R. (2003) **Žargon**, Beograd: Čigoja štampa

Bugarski, R. (1975) **Lingvistika o čoveku**, Beograd: Čigoja štampa

Bugarski, R. (1996) **Jezik i lingvistika**, Beograd: Čigoja štampa

Dragićević, R. (2007) **Leksikologija srpskog jezika**, Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva

Filipović, R. (1986) **Teorija jezika u kontaktu. Uvod u lingvistiku jezičnih dodira**, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb: Školska knjiga

Filipović, R. (1990) **Anglicizmi u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku: Porijeklo - Razvoj – Značenje**, Zagreb, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti: Školska knjiga

Panić-Kavgić, O. (2006) **Koliko razumemo nove anglicizme**, Novi Sad: Zmaj

Pešikan, M. (1970) „Leksičko blago našeg jezika i normativni odnos prema njemu", **Naš jezik**, XVIII, str. 80-92

Pešikan, M. (1970) **Naš književni jezik na sto godina poslije Vuka**, Beograd: Izdavačko društvo za srpskohrvatski jezik i književnost

Prćić, T. (1997) **Semantika i pragmatika reči**, Sremski Karlovci – Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića

Prćić, T. (1998) **Novi transkripcioni rečnik engleskih ličnih imena**, Novi Sad: Prometej

Prćić, T. (1999) „Sinonimi u teoriji i praksi: isto ali ipak različito", **Jezik danas**, 9, str. 14-20

Sapir, E. (1921) **Language**, New York: Harcourt Brace & Co

Šipka, D. (1998) **Osnovi leksikologije i srodnih disciplina**, Novi Sad: Matica srpska

Škiljan, D. (1998) „Tuđice i tuđinci", **Interkulturalnost versus rasizam i ksenofobija**, str. 39

UDK 81'25

Jasna Vidić

PREVOD STRUČNOG I NAUČNOG TEKSTA U SVETLU INTERPRETATIVNE TEORIJE PREVOĐENJA

Apstrakt: *Šta prevodimo, jezik ili smisao? Razumevanje smisla stručnog teksta iskazanog diskursom jednog jezika, njegova deverbalizacija i pismena reformulacija na drugom jeziku, nužnost pripremene faze i stručne pomoći, značaj vanjezičkih znanja i opšteg obrazovanja prevodica, nivo poznavanja stranog i maternjeg jezika, odnos korespondencija i ekvivalencija, sloboda u prevođenju i određeni metodološki pristup jesu neki od osnovnih postulata interpretativne teorije prevođenja o čijoj potvrdi i primeni će u ovom radu biti reči sa stanovišta prevodioca, a na osnovu iskustva stečenog prevođenjem dela iz oblasti teorije i estetike filma sa francuskog na srpski jezik.*

Ključne reči: *traduktologija, stručni diskurs filma, interpretativna teorija, korespondencije, ekvivalencije*

1. Uvod

Interpretativna teorija prevođenja polazi od stava da je prevođenje rad na prenošenju poruke, drugim rečima smisla. Bilo usmeno, pismeno, književno, naučno ili stručno, prevođenje je operacija koja se uvek sastoji iz dva dela: razumevanja određenog sadržaja iskazanog na jednom jeziku i njegovog reformulisanja na drugom jeziku. Ove dve operacije povezane su fazom deverbalizacije sadržaja, odnosno formiranja mentalnih slika u svesti prevodioca.

Danica Selesković i Marijana Lederer koje su postavile, žučno branile i širile ovu teoriju uspele su da objasne način na koji funkcioniše proces prevođenja i dokažu koliko je on prirodan i svojstven svakom čoveku, pa samim tim i primenljiv na bilo koji par jezika. Reč je o uvek istom procesu u kojem se međusobno razlikuju samo predmeti prevođenja. Proizišla iz prakse simultanog prevođenja, postavljena kao teorija usmenog prevođenja, interpretativna teorija je za kratko vreme stekla je mnoge pristalice i među traduktolozima i prevodiocima koji su se bavili pisanim prevođenjem.

2. Faze prevođenja

Postupak prevođenja odvija se u tri osnovne faze: razumevanje (*compréhension*), deverbalizaciju (*déverbalisation*) i reformulaciju (*reformulation*) ili reverbalizaciju (*reverbalisation*).

Rad na prevođenju teksta prevodilac počinje čitanjem i razumevanjem za šta mora posedovati savršeno poznavanje jezika sa kojeg prevodi. Međutim, to nije dovoljno. Za razumevanje teksta neophodna su i široka opšta znanja. Ove dve vrste znanja čine kognitivni «prtljag» (***le bagage cognitif***), odnosno sumu svih znanja stečenih iskustvom ili učenjem, dugotrajno upisanih u memoriju prevodioca u obliku jezičkih kompetencija, mentalnih slika, iskustva, emocija, opšte kulture, teorijskih i praktičnih manje ili više stručnih znanja.

Pored ovih za uspešno razumevanje smisla neophodna su znanja koja prevodilac stiče čitanjem originalnog teksta, a koja se u tom trenutku upisuju u kratkotrajnu memoriju i bez kojih on ne može pravilno da protumači sadržaj i poruku samog teksta. Ova latentna i deverbalizovana znanja zahvaljujući kojima shvatamo nizanje verbalnih sekvenci jesu kognitivni kontekst (***le contexte cognitif***), govorna i misaona celina u okviru koje date reči poprimaju određeni smisao ili značenje. Reč je o deverbalizovanoj informaciji koju prevodilac dobija iz teksta. Iako kratkotrajna, ova znanja, akumulirana u memoriji traju dovoljno dugo da omoguće razumevanje celine teksta.

Za uspešno okončanje faze razumevanja smisla prevodilac mora da poveže kognitivni «prtljag» i kognitivni kontekst, tačnije svoje znanje stranog jezika, sumu svojih najrazličitijih ranije stečenih znanja i znanja koja izviru iz saznajnog konteksta samog teksta.

Faza deverbalizacije predstavlja saznajni proces tokom kojeg u svesti prevodioca dolazi do pretvaranja materijalne forme teksta u dematerijalizovana znanja, odnosno mentalne slike ili ideje. Prevodilac odbacuje materijalnu, leksičku, gramatičku, sintaksičku formu jezika sa kojeg prevodi i otkriva smisao značenja kraćih ili dužih diskurzivnih jedinica.

Šta je smisao? Govoreći o književnom delu Sartre kaže: *«(Tako) već od samog početka, smisao više nije sadržan u rečima, pošto je, upravo suprotno, on taj koji omogućava razumevanje značenja svake od njih; (...) stoga se stotinu hiljada reči nanizanih u nekoj knjizi jedna do druge mogu pročitati, a da pri tom iz njih ne proizađe nikakav smisao; smisao nije zbir reči, on je njihova organska celina*.» (1985: str.50-51) Dok Danica Selesković, govoreći o objektivnosti smisla i njegovom određenju smatra da je «*Smisao jedne rečenice ono što autor namerno želi da kaže, a ne razlog zbog kojeg to govori, niti smisao mogu biti uzroci ili posledica onoga što kaže.(...) Prevodilac pisanog teksta koji sebe pretvara u egzegetu ili simultani prevodilac koji od sebe činiu hermeneuta prekoračuju granice svoje funkcije*». (1984: str.269)

Faza deverbalizacije smatra se najvažnijom za dobijanje adekvatnog prevoda, jer u njoj prevodilac od primaoca postaje pošiljalac poruke u kojoj mora biti sačuvan smisao prvobitne poruke.

U fazi reformulacije ili reverbalizacije smisao otkriven u prethodnoj fazi prevodilac pretače u novu jezičku formu, ideje u reči jezika na koji prevodi. Za postizanje uspešnog prevoda prevodilac mora svršeno poznavati svoj maternji jezik i prevodilačku metodu koju će u prevođenju primeniti. Ako se opredeli za interpretativnu, prema nama jedino ispravnu metodu, njegov zadatak je da kroz ekvivalentnost forme prenese identičnost sadržaja. Cilj dobrog prevoda treba da bude uspostavljanje globalne ekvivalencije između originalnog i prevedenog teksta.

Interpretativno prevođenje je prevođenje putem ekvivalencija, lingvističko prevođenje je prevođenje putem korespondencija.

Ekvivalencije su uspostavljuju između dva teksta, dakle, na nivou diskursa, korespondencije između elementa jezika, reči, sintagmi i sintaksičkih formi, odnosno na nivou jezika.

Korespondencije zadovoljavaju konkretnu potrebu prenošenja određenog značenja reči, one su veze koje postoje između dva jezička znaka od kojih svaki pripada drugom jeziku. Njihova značenja su stalna i nalazimo ih u raznim tipovima opštih i specijalizovanih rečnika. Prave korespondencije bi po pravilu morale biti monoreferencijalne, imati isti referent u realnosti, bez obzira da li se posmatraju kao izolovana reč ili u sklopu određenog konteksta u rečenici ili tekstu.

Korespondencije su neodvojivi deo prevoda putem ekvivalencija. Međutim, njihovom sistematskom upotrebom dobija se isključivo doslovan prevod, što se ne može smatrati uspešnim prevođenjem, već pre prostim transkodiranjem.

Treba reći da što su dva jezika udaljenija leksičke i sintaksičke korespondencije postaju sve nedolotvornije u prevođenju tekstova.

Dakle, osnovna postavka interpretativne teorije prevođenja je da rešenje leži u uspostavljanju ekvivalencija. Naime, nesumnjivo da svaki prevod sadrži korespondencije između termina i reči dvaju jezika, ali prevod postaje tekst tek zahvaljujući uspostavljanju ekvivalencija.

«Da bi čitalac bez muke pratio određeni tekst, on mora biti saglasan navikama govornika jezika na kojem je napisan.» (Lederer, Seleskovitch, 2001: 31) «Šta se dešava kad želimo nešto da kažemo? Pokušavamo to da objasnimo izražavajući se kroz one forme koje svi prihvataju. Smisao je pojedinačan, ali su forme društvene; mi možemo da kažemo šta god želimo, ali kalup u koji ćemo ubaciti smisao našeg iskaza mora odgovarati uobičajenim formama izražavanja.» (Lederer, Seleskovitch, 2001: 34)

«Dakle, problem s kojim se prevodilac suočava je dvojak: on mora poznavati okruženje svakog segmenta teksta da bi razumeo njegov smisao i mora biti sposoban da na jeziku na koji prevodi adekvatnom sinegdohom označi istu afektivno-kognitivnu celinu, koja će stvoriti ekvivalent originalne sinegdohe» (Lederer, 1994: 62).

3. Prevođenje stručnog i naučnog teksta

Često se smatra da je, za razliku od prevođenja književnih tekstova, funkcija pismenog prevođenja naučnih i stručnih tekstova uvek informativna i gotovo nikad estetska. Stoga, prevođenje naučnih i stručnih tekstova zahteva jasnoću i preciznost. Prevodilac je samo posrednik čiji je zadatak da prenese poruku koju jedan stručnjak upućuje drugom. Dakle, prevodilac mora koristiti adekvatnu i preciznu terminologiju. Ako se tekst prevodi radi objavljivanja, on mora biti potpuno čitljiv svakom potencijalnom čitaocu. Međutim, prevodilac često ne raspolaže dovoljnim kognitivnim «prtljagom» koji bi mu omogućio da isprva shvati tekst. Dakle, sama logika teksta ne pruža mu dovoljan oslonac, jer je vezana za posebnu oblast znanja koju on ne poznaje. Jednostavno poznavanje značenja izolovanih reči od male je pomoći ako ne možemo da otkrijemo njihovu vezu s određenom realnošću ili određenim poljem znanja. Problem nije toliko u iznalaženju terminologije koliko u nedovoljnom pozavanju pojmovne suštine određenih termina, što prevodica onemogućava da pravilno rezonuje i shvati smisao teksta koji treba da prevede.

4. Prevod knjige Žaka Omona *Estetika filma* – lično iskustvo

Estetika filma (Omon, 2006) je delo iz oblasti teorije filma. Žak Omon, jedan od najuglednijih francuskih teoretičara filma, kao i koautori knjige profesori su univerziteta. Delo je udžbeničkog tipa, koncipirana kao sinteza različitih teorija o pojedinim aspektima filma kao najmlađe umetnosti, kao umetničkog dela i kao institucije, namenjena prvenstveno studentima filmskih studija, ali i širokom krugu francuskih filmofila. Reč je dakle o načno-didaktičkom diskursu.

5. Faze razumevanja i deverbalizacije

Već nakon prvog čitanja dela bilo je jasno da će za dobar prevod biti neophodna mnoga vanjezička znanja kako iz oblasti teorije filma, tako i iz mnogih drugih srodnih naučnih oblasti. Naime, kako je film je relativno mlada umetnost, teorija filma se okrenula preuzimanju čitavih konceptualnih sistema iz humanističkih nauka, pre svega iz teorije književnosti, naratologije, lingvistike, semiologije, psihologije i psihoanalize, ali i slikarstva i muzike, kao umetnosti srodnih filmu. Osim toga antropološka i društvena dimenzija filma zahtevala je njeno nužno ukrštanje s ostalim društvenim naukama.

Kognitivni «prtljag» prevodioca iz oblasti teorije filma bio je nedovoljan za potpuno razumevanje smisla, drugim rečima, uprkos poznavanju izolovanih značenja reči, smisao je na pojedinim mestima izmicao, što je onemogućavalo povezivanje kognitivnog «prtljaga» i kognitivnog konteksta, pa samim tim i dobar prevod.

Dalji rad pretpostavljao je upoznavanje s osnovnim teorijskim sistemima pojedinih autora na koje se su autori knjige pozivali i rad na terminologiji, ne toliko na jezičkom, koliko na pojmovnom nivou. Konsultovana je sva raspoloživa referentna literatura: filmske enciklopedije, stručna i didaktička literatura, specijalizovani rečnici nauke o jeziku, moderne lingvistike, književnih termina, psihologije, brojne web stranice, specijalizovani glosari, terminološki rečnici i baze podataka dostupne na Internetu. Veliki problem bio je i nedostatak stručne literature iz oblasti filma na srpskom jeziku, jer prethodnih dvadesetak godina dela iz ove oblasti gotovo da i nisu prevođena.

Međutim, dragocena pomoć prevodiocu bila je saradnja i neprestana konsultacije s teoretičarkom filma, prof. dr Nevenom Daković sa FDU u Beogradu koja je ujedno bila i recenzent prevoda knjige.

6. Faza reverbalizacije

Prema interpretativnoj teoriji prevođenja očekivalo bi se da se u stručnom i naučnom prevodu zbog ustaljene terminologije i uskospecijalizovanog žargona javlja mnoštvo korespondencija, što vodi transkodiranju, relativnoj sputanosti i manjoj kreativnosti prevodica, ali i lakšem prevodu. Osim toga smatra se da je suštinska odlika naučnog ili istručnog teksta informativnost, za razliku od književnog gde je primaran estetski doživljaj. Međutim, stručni i naučni tekst nikako ne može biti prost zbir termina. U našem slučaju bio je to tekst koji je sobom nosio jasnu poruku, diskurs čije je suštinsko obeležje bilo izlaganje pojedinih konceptualnih sistema, a to je podrazumevalo kombinaciju deskriptivnog i argumentativnog diskursa u čijem prevodu su u velikoj meri učestvovale ekvivalencije.

Jedna od zajedničkih odlika teorijske i stručne literature pisane na francuskom jeziku jeste visok jezički registar koji se odlikuje dugačkom, sintaksički izuzetno složenom rečenicom, pažljivim izborom reči i termina, preciznim struktuiranjem teksta i koji predstavlja odraz želje autora za potvrdom svog stručnog autoriteta i kroz jezičku formu teksta, što prevodiocu nameće težak zadatak uspostavljanja stilske ekvivalentnosti prevoda.

Na nekoliko primera pokušaćemo da pokažemo svu složenost kombinovanja korespondencija i ekvivalencija u cilju dobijanja identičnog smisla.

7. Stručni termini: korespondencije ili ekvivalencije?

a) *Film*, *kinematografija*

cinéma [sinema] n. m. (grč. *kinêma*, *-atos*, pokret): filmska umetnost, stvaralaštvo, ali i bioskop; *film* [film] n. m. (engl. opna, membrane): 1. traka za fotografski aparat, filmska celuloidna traka perforirana po ivicama ; 2. Film kao kinematografsko delo snimljeno na filmsku traku ; *cinématographie* [sinematografi] n. f. : kinematografija ; filmska umetnost, delatnost vezana za tu umetnost;

Kako u francuskom jeziku postoje tri osnovna pojma *cinéma*, *film* i *cinématographie*, a u srpskom samo dva, film i kinematografija, već na početku smo bili suočeni s pojavom jezičke praznine, odnosno nemogućnošću potpune korespondencije, što je iziskivalo poseban oprez. U francuskom jeziku većina pojmova, njihovih izvedenica i složenica nastalih u vreme rađanja filmske umetnosti ima prefiks *ciné-*, dok pojmovi nastali kasnije, s prevlašću američke kinematografije nose prefiks *film-*. U srpskom jeziku javljaju se reči s četiri prefiksa : *kino-*, *kine-*, *sine-* i *film-*. Ne ulazeći dublje u etimologiju, niti razloge zašto je francuski prefiks *ciné-* u srpski prenošen kao *kino-*, *kine-*, *sine-*, želeli bismo pre svega da ukažemo na oprez pri uspostavljanju naizgled korespondentnih termina koji zapravo nisu prave korespondencije jer referenti u realnosti dve govorne sredine nisu isti.

U teoriji filma filmsko je ono što pripada filmu kao delu i kao tekstu, a kinematografsko ono što obuhvata produkciju, eksploataciju i tehniku. Međutim, u kolokvijalnom govoru teorije filma terminološka praksa je mnogo složenija. (Daković, 2006: 291-303). Kako je u francuskom *cinématographique* i kinematografski i filmski, a u teorijskom tekstu razlika veoma bitna, na prevodiocu je bilo da iz konteksta odredi pravo značenje, pri čemu se još moralo voditi računa i o tome da pridev *filmique* najčešće znači filmičan, a samo izuzetno filmski.

Dalje, velika razlika je i između *cinématographie*: kinematografija i *filmographie*: filmografija, odnosno liste filmova izdvojenih po određenom kriterijumu. *Cinémathèque* je kinoteka, ustanova u kojoj se čuvaju filmovi, prostor u kojem se oni projektuju i zbirka svih ikad snimljenih filmova, a *filmothèque* filmoteka, zbirka na određen način klasiranih filmova ili mikrofilmova. Prva pomisao je bila da *ciné-club* prevedemo kao kino-klub, ali je to u našem tekstu postao klub ljubitelja filma, zato što na srpskom pojam kino-kluba podrazumeva osim gledanja i rasprava o filmovima i njihovu produkciju, što u francuskoj sredini nije slučaj. *Cinéma-œil* je kino-oko, odnosno filmska teorija Dzige Vertova, a *cinéma-vérité* film-istina, odosno filmski žanr. *Cinéaste* se može prevesti kao sineast, ali je to najčešće reditelj ili scenarista. *Cinémanie* prevodimo kao sinemanija, ali *cinéphilie* kao filmofilija.

Prevodilac, dale, mora analizirati smisao i značenje termina u oba jezika i ne sme ih u jezik prevoda prenositi prostim kalkovima, već samo uz konsultovanje stručnjaka.

b) *Kadar, plan*

cadre, n. m.: okvir slike kada je reč o fotogramu, kadar (izuzetno retko)

plan, n.m.: kadar, plan; ***plan général, d'ensemble, moyen, américain, rapproché, gros plan*** : široki total, total, srednji plan, ameriken, srednje krupni plan, krupni plan

champs, n. m.: kadar, polje; ***hors-champs, contre-champs***: izvan kadra, kontra-kadar

Iz navedenih primera vidi se da smo bili suočeni kako s pojavom jezičkih praznina u srpskom, tako i s višeznačnošću francuskih termina. Na primer, najveća greška bi bila da smo povedeni korespondencijama učinili ono što se na prvi pogled činilo najlogičnijim, francusku reč *cadre* prevesti kao *kadar*. Osim toga u srpskom nismo mogli da uspostavljamo razliku u upotrebi francuskih reči *plan* i *champs* budući da nam je raspolaganju bila samo jedan reč, kadar.

c) *Rez, rakord*

coupe, n. f.: rez; ***cut,*** n. m.: rez; ***raccord,*** n. m.: rakord, rez

Kad se govori o montažnom postupku u srpskom se za spoj dva kadra uglavnom koristi reč *rez*, dakle u svesti govornika je ideja presecanja trake. U francuskom je u tom smislu u našem tekstu uglavnom korišćena reč *raccord* koja u opštem jeziku znači spoj. U srpskom , međutim, postoji i pojam rakord: rakord na pogled, rakord na pokret, tako da je samo kontekst određivao koji će termin na srpskom biti upotrebljena.

d) *Dijegeza, dijegetički*

diégèse, n. m. : dijegeza; ***diégétique***, adj.: dijegetički

Termini, ključni za poimanje dvojne prirode filmskog iskaza koji se ne javljaju ni u jednom od standardnih francuskih jednojezičnih rečnika, niti u dvojezičnim francusko-srpskim ili francuko-hrvatskim rečnicima. Našli smo ih samo na dva mesta, u *Filmskoj* *enciklopediji*, JLZ-a i kod teoretičara filma D. Stojanovića. Ovim primerom želeli smo da ukažemo koliko je za prevodioca važno da razvije sposobnost iznalaženja stručne litarature u cilju razumevanja i prenošenja pojedinih stručnih termina u svoj materji jezik.

e) *Priča, pripovedni iskaz, narativ, naracija na filmu*

histoire, n. f. : priča (označeno, narativna sadržina koju pripovedni iskaz prenosi gledaocu); ***récit***, n. m. : pripovedni iskaz (označitelj, vizuelno-auditivno-grafički iskaz koji svet priče prenosi gledaocu, odnosno narativni tekst); ***narratif***, n. m. : narativ, narativno (predmet proučavanja naratologije, označava pripovedni iskaz, priču i naraciju, prema Robertu Stamu) ; ***narration***, n. f. : naracija, čin pripovedanja

Histoire i *récit* se često bez razlike prevode na srpski jezik kao priča. Međutim, u našem tekstu one su se odnosile na označeno i označitelja, tako da smo dosledno morali da koristimo termine filmska priča i filmski pripovedni iskaz. Dakle, ono što je prihvatljivo u opštem jeziku, nije i u prevodu stručnog teksta.

Kako je prevod rađen za izdavačku kuću Clio i bio namenjen širokom krugu poštovalaca filmske umetnosti, ali i kao obavezna literatura za studente FDU, a rad na terminologiji i poimanju i prenošenju značenja pojedinih termina bio do te mere složen, javila se potreba da se u izdanje na srpskom jeziku u vidu dodatka uvrsti i «Pojmovnik» u kojem Nevena Daković šire objašnjava razvoj značenja i smisao pojedinih stručnih termina.

8. Zaključak

U zaključku bismo pomenuli još samo dva bitna elementa kojima se odlikuju dobri književni, stručni ili naučni prevodi, a kojima interpretativna teorija pridaje veliki značaj, savršeno poznavanje maternjeg jezika i slobodu u prevođenju.

Često se zanemaruje činjenica da prevodilac mora savršeno vladati svojim maternjim književnim jezikom i veštinom pismenog izražavanja, što će mu pomoći da izbegne svaku interferenciju sa stranim jezikom. Prevodilac stručnih i naučnih tekstova, ne sme svoje eventualno neznanje ili nedovoljno poznavanje pojmovne suštine termina da krije kalkovima i tuđicama. On je dužan da zamoli za pomoć stručnjaka za datu oblast. Nema neprevodivih reči ako se shvati njeno značenje u određenom kontekstu.

Pitanje slobode u prevođenju odavno stoji otvoreno, ali na njega još uvek nema pravog odgovora. Uvek će biti onih koji će se zalagati za slepu odanost originalnom tekstu i onih drugih koji će prevod prilagođavati duhu jezika na koji prevode. Ali, sloboda u prevođenju ne znači prepričavanje ili adaptacija originalnog teksta. Prevodilac je dužan da postigne identičnost sadržaja. Slobodu izražavanja on stiče tek apsolutnim poznavanjem teme dela koje prevodi, što je posebno važno kod stručnih i naučnih prevoda. Nema prave slobode bez širokih i dobrih vanjezičkih znanja. Sloboda se ogleda u uspostavljanju ekvivalencija, našoj kreativnosti i reformulisanju originalnog teksta u duhu jezika na koji se prevodi.

Literatura

Daković, N. (2006) „Pojmovnik teorije filma”, u Omon, Bergala, Mari, Verne, **Estetika filma**, Beograd: Clio, str. 291-303

Desmet, I. (2005) „**Variabilité et variation en terminologie et langues spécialisées : discours, textes et contextes**“, http:/perso.univ-lyon2.fr

Israël, F. (2005) „Principes pour une pédagogie raisonnée de la traduction. Le modèle interprétatif“ u ***La théorie interprétative de la Traduction*, *III. De la formation...à la pratique professionnelle***, Cahiers Champollion, Paris: Caen lettres modernes Minard

Lederer, M. (1994) **La traduction aujourd'hui**, Vanves: Hachette F.L.E.

Mirić, M. (2009), „Interpretativna teorija i nastava prevođenja“ u **Jezik struke – teorija i praksa**, Beograd: Univerzitet u Beogradu, str. 110

Sartre, J.-P. (1985) **Qu'est-ce que la littérature?**, Paris: Gallimard

Seleskovitch, D. i Lederer, M. (2001) **Interpréter pour traduire**, Paris: Didier Erudition

Omon, Ž, Bergala, A., Mari, M., Verne, M. (2006) **Estetika filma**, Beograd: Clio

Aumont, J., Bergala, A., Marie, M., Vernet, M. (1999) **Esthétique du film**, Nathan: Nathan Université

UDK 81'25

Slobodanka Kitić

KO SE SELI, TAJ SE BAŠ VESELI
- Nagovor na projekte prevoda –

Apstrakt: *Prevod je čudo! A prevodilac - čudotvorac! Tragač za bojom, mirisom i ukusom. Čarobnjak iz Jezika – koji od različitih sastojaka iz različitih jezika uspe da dobije iste boje, mirise i ukuse. Cilj ovog rada jeste da prenese neke profesionalne izazove koje su studenti imali prevodeći 10 Selindžerovih novinskih priča. Kako je to izgledalo preseliti se u (1) drugo vreme – vreme Drugog svetskog rata, u (2) drugi prostor – u zapadne krajeve i, ono što je najteže palo, (3) preseliti se iz stranog u sopstveni jezik na način da i to vreme i taj prostor zadrže iste čari kojima ih je Selindžer darivao – to će biti tema ovog rada.*

Ključne reči: *prevođenje, greške prevođenja, engleski, srpski, Selindžer, studentski projekti*

1. Uvod

Naravno, valjalo bi krenuti sa pitanjem: **Zašto Selindžer**?

Odgovor bi mogao biti formulisan na nekoliko načina. Npr. „faktografski"- zato što ga obožava predmetni nastavnik, zato što ga vole i saradnici na predmetu engleski jezik III i zato što ga vole i studenti anglistike. Ili, „akademski", mogli bismo reći da je uspešna recepcija Selindžera proverena već u nekoliko generacija studenata anglistike u Nišu. Ili, „jezičko-programski" - Selindžer je već nekoliko godina obavezna lektira na kursu iz engleskog jezika III (neko od njegovih objavljenih dela, *The Catcher in the Rye*, ili *Franny and Zooey)*. Ili „senzibilno" - njegov senzibilitet, njegov pogled na svet, njegov jezik, njegov sleng tako je blizak studentskoj populaciji.

Ili bi odgovor mogao biti gotovo poetski...

Zato što Selindžer spaja generacije naših roditelja i nas. Nas i naše dece. Naše dece i njihove dece. Kako to inače nasleđe čini...

Zato što Selindžer govori o bolu odrastanja a da to ne boli ili, makar, ne tako da se predajemo...

Zato što kod Selindžera nailazimo na razumevanje za nepristajanje na svet odraslih. Ili barem ne po svaku cenu...

Zato što je Selindžer opisao bol življenja u lakrdijaškom svetu sitnih životnih prevaranata – na način nama razumljiv...

Zato što je Selindžer simbol bunta protiv besmislenog sveta rata i nepravednog sveta mira.

Zato što je Selindžer simbol duha, ili tačnije simbol bunta duha, ili simbol duha bunta koji razumeju oni u kojima se duh makar jednom pobunio. I, premda pobuna može biti ugašena, preostalom ugarku dobrodošla je srodnost po vatri i osećaj da nije usamljen...

Zato što kada čitamo Selindžera pomalo plačemo, a pomalo se smejemo, tuđe nam je bolno, naše nam je smešno...

Zato što njegov suptilni humor tuge i tuga humora najbolje pokazuju svu čudesnost sveta kome pripadamo...

Zato što njegove knjige govore iznuđenim optimizmom na koji smo osuđeni životom na ovoj planeti i ne pristaju na usud pesimizma na koji nas upućuje bespoštedna prolaznost i obaveznost smrti.

Da, Selindžer. Diskretan i delikatan. Suptilan i nežan. Poeta i pripovedač.

Da, on - koji ima jezik kao niko drugi. On - koji ne koristi tuđe reči i kovanice, već u sopstvenoj kovačnici pravi blago za buduća pokolenja - srebrnjake i zlatnike kojima okiva svoje ideje, svoja osećanja, svoje svetove i svoje očaje. Okiva nadošla značenja. Misli u spletu i njihovu setu. Nade u nagoveštaju, beznađa u oproštaju. Hvatajući zov sveta nekrštenog, rečima nerečenog. I vrcavi duh koji se veseli i humorom seli u svetove nove.

Da, Selindžer, jer njegova iskrenost i autentičnost pleni i mlade i one koji su to davno bili, i stare i one koji će to uskoro biti, i od kultnog pisca prošlih generacija pravi kultnog pisca novih generacija, ne posustajući pred vremenom i naletom novih naraštaja, imunih na štošta, ali, kao što se i pokazalo, ne i na Selindžera, *Lovca u žitu*... Nekoliko generacija studenata III godine anglistike pokazalo je da obavezna literatura na kursu iz savremenog engleskog jezika ne mora obavezno biti i namet.

Selindžer, zato što nema nikog drugog ko bi mogao bolje da razume jade mladog naraštaja.

Selindžer, jer nema nikog drugog ko tako iskreno vapi za utehom koju bi mu mogla pružiti jedino generacija mladosti.

Selindžer, jer neumoljiva mladost duha duh mladosti traži.

2. A zašto prevod Selindžera?

Zato što kada otkrijete nešto tako lepo, nešto tako vredno, kao što je to Selindžer u američkoj kulturi – vi istovremeno imate i potrebu da to podelite sa svojim najbližima, sa svojim prijateljima, sa svojim sunarodnicima, naravno, i sa onima koji ne znaju jezik na kome je on pisao. I to sa radošću činite.

3. A zašto deset novinskih priča?

Jednostavno, zato što su neodoljive, a niko ih do sada nije preveo. Čak nisu ni prikupljene, ni integralno objavljene ni u zavičaju gde su ponikle. Možda ponajpre zbog osobenjačke prirode samog pripovedača koji je živ i zdrav i uspešno nosi svojih 90 godina, negde duboko u zabitima Amerike, daleko od svojih revnosnih čitalaca, radoznalih kritičara i znatiželjnih novinara kojima nije dao intervju od 1974. godine. A nije se nigde javno pojavio niti išta javno objavio još od 1965. godine. Često se osećao prevarenim i izdanim od svojih obožavalaca koji su hteli da svoju radost druženja sa njim podele sa javnošću. Ili da obelodane dogovore. Ili plod dogovora. Tako se i poslednji put, pre nekoliko godina, Selindžer na tren uključio, a potom brzo povukao iz gotovo sklopljenog sporazuma o objavljivanju knjige na osnovu priče "Hapworth 16, 1924".

Dakle, reč je o novinskim pričama koje su nastale u periodu od decembra 1940. do decembra 1946. godine i objavljene u časopisima i novinama (*Collier's*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *The New Yorker*) – koje se, takođe, mogu naći na internetu – a koje pokrivaju različite teme – od ratnih do ljubavnih. No, ma koliko raznovrsne, nisu teme te koje ovog pisca, kao i ma kog drugog, razlikuju od ostalih, već ponajpre *način* na koji su teme obrađene, kao i *jezik i stil* pripovedača – originalan, razigran, maštovit. Ili, kao što bi rekao Sabato: "Nema malih i velikih tema: ima malih i velikih pisaca." (Razgovori: 111) Tako je i Selindžer, slikajući male ljude i njihove dileme, zaista stvorio nezaboravne priče... Dakle, zbog načina, jezika i stila koji je autor koristio, zbog činjenice da verovatno u čitavoj američkoj književnoj tradiciji ne postoji veći prevodilački izazov od Selindžera – izbor je pao baš na Selindžera.

4. Kako je tekao projekat prevoda?

Kratak odgovor bi bio: „Svakako, ali nikako kao po loju". Što ne znači teško, već pre izazovno i beskonačno zanimljivo.

Od novembra 2006. do maja 2007. godine, na ideju Nine Lazarević, saradnice anglistike u Nišu, okupili su se nastavnici sa saradnicima (Tatjana Paunović i ja, Nina Lazarević, Milica Savić i Ljiljana Marković) i organizovali dobrovoljno prijavljene studente III i IV godine anglistike u Nišu, njih dvadeset i jedno (Nataša Čorboloković, Irena Ilić, Ivana Knežević, Milena Kocić, Branka Lazarević, Julija Milošević, Nikola Mitić, Maja Nikolić, Aleksandar Pejčić, Ljubica Petković, Marija Rajković, Vesna Simić, Dušan Stamenković, Zoran Stamenković, Marija Stavrov, Ivana Stanković, Marija Stanković, Nikola Tatar, Mile od Umu, Ivana Vlajković i Bojana Vučković) da, *van* redovnih nastavnih obaveza, prevedu deset Selindžerovih priča koje je naša prijateljica Sanja Jovović iz Beograda našla za nas na internetu. U tom smislu ispunjena su tri značajna uslova da prevod uspe: (1.) da se voli to što se radi, (2.) da onaj ko prevodi i voli da čita, kako na maternjem, tako i na stranom jeziku i (3.) spremnost da se i po cenu sopstvenog sna upusti u avanturu prevoda sa neizvesnim ishodom.

Nakon sedam meseci rada - rada čitavog tima, rada po grupama, rada „po pričama", koordinatori, nastavnici i saradnici su, naravno, bili uključeni u celokupan prevod, a kao mentori zaduženi u četiri slučaja za po dve priče i u jednom slučaju za jednu, najdužu, dvostruko dužu priču od drugih – projekat je uspešno završen. Projekat je, svakako, odobrilo Nastavno-naučno veće Filozofskog fakulteta u Nišu, a finansijski podržao Američki savet i EAC, te je uz svesrdnu podršku nezaobilazne Sanje Ignjatović, iz beogradske kancelarije Američkog saveta, 500 primeraka knjige prevoda pod nazivom „Studentski prevod – 10 Selindžerovih novinskih priča“ ugledalo svetlost dana jula 2007. godine. Dragovoljni recenzenti i radočitači Selindžera - Boban Arsenijević i Terens Mekini dali su svoj osobeni doprinos našem projektu.

5. Serenata Džeromija Selindžera

Kao i Danilo Kiš, koji u svojoj *Serenati Miloša Crnjanskog*, predivnom eseju govori o prevodilačkim mukama i zadovoljstvima koje je imao prevodeći pesmu *Serenata* sa grupom studentkinja slavistike Univerziteta u Bordou, dakle, „baveći se poezijom kao poetičnošću u senci procvalih devojaka“ (Kiš, 1999: 217), i ja sam, poput njega, donosila gotove prevode na čas, zbog sebe, zbog studenata, zbog Selindžera. Razumljivo, inicijativu, ideje i sugestije za prevod su davali studenti, a moj se gotovi prevod predavao zavodljivim čarima spontanog prevodilaštva.

Deleći isto inicijalno iskustvo, epilog naše „prevodilačke pesme“ je knjiga prevoda koja je više autentičan rad samih studenata. Naravno, sa svojim studentima smo, kao nastavnici, podelile svoje bogato iskustvo i znanja iz teorije prevođenja i intervenisale „navođenjem“ onda, kada i tamo, gde je to zaista bilo neophodno. Dakle, utoliko nadahnuto prevedene priče zaista nose lični pečat svakog od prevodilaca.

6. Seobe, seobe, seobe

Radeći na prevodu, naši mladi prevodioci su poput pravih avanturista bili prinuđeni na selidbu.

a) Kako bi selidba u *prošlost* bila uspešna, mi smo svoje studente uputile da pročitaju druge priče i romane koji govore o tom periodu, da pogledaju filmove iz tog doba i slično, i da to učine kako na srpskom, tako i na engleskom jeziku, što je 4. uslov dobrog prevoda. Razumljivo, da bi ušli u jezik pisca kojim se bave, uputile smo ih i da pročitaju druga dela Selindžera, kako u originalu, tako i u prevodu, da bi mogli da zadrže duh, dušu, ritam teksta, što je 5. uslov dobrog prevoda. A problemi su bili trostruke prirode: (1) bilo je situacija kada se nije razumela reč na engleskom jer se nije mogla naći u prvom rečniku, npr. *emory board...*; (2) ili se nije razumela reč na engleskom jer je koncept koji označava bio nepoznat, pa se nije razumeo ni ponuđeni prevodni ekvivalent na srpskom, npr. *newsreel*, *ili chaise loungue*, zašto je i bilo neophodno upoznavanje sa istorijskim, društvenim i kulturnim kontekstom naših priča; (3) sličan, mada drugačiji tip problema bio je vezan za reči koje su u upotrebi i danas, ali u drugom značenju, npr. reči *robe*, koju su studenti razumevali u savremenom značenju, trebalo je dati malo arhaičnosti u smislu *penjoar*, što je, novoj generaciji, potpuno nepoznata reč; odnosno, bilo je i izraza i reči koje su se lepo razumele, ali je trebalo na srpskom iskoristiti one izraze koji su se četrdesetih i pedesetih godina koristili, a ne današnje, te su, ovog puta *night's cream jars* adekvatno prevedene, pomalo arhaično kao *teglice od noćnih* *pomada*, a ne *krema*, kako se to danas kaže; i (4) bilo je problema sa Selindžerovim idiolektom, (a) bilo zato što se nije razumeo koncept koji fraza označava (npr. *combat bootless*) ili (b) zato što je razumljive kovanice, idiolekt i specifičan jezik i stil Selindžera zaista bilo teško prevesti na adekvatan način, npr. a *boy-meets-girl story.*

Zapravo je na srpski trebalo prevesti sve Selindžerove *jezike* koje on koristi kao sredstvo za oslikavanje svojih likova, njihovog senzibiliteta i identiteta. Ti jezici nose u sebi leksičke, morfološke i sintaksičke osobenosti.

Dakle, bio je problem preseliti se u prošlost.

(b) Ništa lakše nije bilo ni preseliti se u *nove prostore i kulture*. Npr. da li je prevod *Pet centi je pet centi* baš pravi za izraz *A nickel's a nickel, after all*, ili treba reći: *Ma, kinta je kinta* ili *Ni kintu ne bi dali za džabe*, ili *Ni para se ne daje za džabe*, ili *Ali se o svakom dinaru vodi računa?* Zatim, ništa manje nije iz naše kulture odsutan fenomen konjskih trka, pa je izraz *horsey-set guy* preveden kao sintagma *konjasti tip*, a ne *tip koji se pali na konje i konjske trke*.

(c) I, naravno, možda je najtačnije reći da su brojni problemi nastali u preseku promene vremena i prostora/kulture, poput onog kako prevesti nazive starih radio-emisija ili drama, kao u rečenici *and listened to the Lux Toilet Soap radio-drama* sa brojnim premodifikatorima koji ne znače mnogo današnjem svetu. Kakve su to radio-drame koje su „sponzorisali" pojedini proizvođači? Kako to izraziti srpskim? Da li je moguće *Lux Toilet Soap* povezati sa našim *Bejbi sapunima*, na primer? Šta dobijamo, a šta gubimo? Dakle, ubedljivo najteže je bilo sa svim tim vremenskim, prostornim i kulturološkim problemima ući, preseliti se, useliti se u sopstveni jezik. Ovde smo se suočili sa dva očigledna problema, jednim većim - (1) problemom prevodnih ekvivalenata u srpskom (poput ovog upravo navedenog), i jednim manjim - (2) problemom odvajanja srpskog od srpskohrvatskog jezika. U ovu drugu grupaciju problema spada, na primer, i pogrešan osećaj studenata prevodilaca da je *cura* pozajmljenica iz hrvatskog, te otuda neadekvatni ekvivalent za *girl.* Ovaj poslednji fenomen, kao posledica nedavnih promena u istoriji našeg jezika, najbolje ilustruje i uslove u kojima žive naše mlade generacije - izolacija, nedovoljna upućenost u sopstveni jezik, nedostatak međugeneracijske komunikacije i slično. Znači, još jednom se pokazalo da jezik mnogo više govori o nama no što bismo mi to želeli. I to *ne* uvek u našu korist. Bilo je, očigledno, i da neki studenti čitaju više na engleskom no na srpskom, a retko, ili gotovo nikako, na srpskohrvatskom. Imajući u vidu da su istorijska, kapitalna dela svetske literature prevedena na srpskohrvatski, a mnoga od tih dela još uvek nisu stigla da budu prevedena i na srpski, postavlja se pitanje da li su naši studenti upoznati i, u kolikoj meri, sa svetskom književnom baštinom?

7. I šta su nam freške naših studenata pokazale?

Ako je cilj ma kog učenja smanjivanje grešaka koje pravimo (što bi moglo da se odnosi i na strani jezik, ali i na maternji, na fiziku, hemiju, biologiju, ali i kulinarstvo i krečenje podjednako), što je teza koju zastupam, onda su greške samo najbolji pokazatelj slabosti u znanju i najbolji učitelj učitelju. One nam, nepogrešivo, ukazuju na čemu bi to trebalo još da poradimo. One nam definišu ciljeve budućeg nastavnog i pedagoškog rada.

Naravno, nećemo se baviti formalnim korespondentima koji postoje na planu jezičkih sistema, već samo prevodnim ekvivalentima na planu komunikacijskih situacija. U tom smislu, greške koje su naši studenti pravili pri prevodu sa engleskog na srpski pokušala sam da podelim u nekoliko kategorija, pri čemu je ostalo i dosta problematičnih mesta jer se tipovi grešaka međusobno nemilosrdno preplíću.

(1) Ortografske greške

I premda smatram da bi u nastavi i podučavanju prednost trebalo dati komunikacijskim greškama nad lingvističkim, npr. zapeti koja odvaja restriktivne od nerestriktivnih odnosnih rečenica, ipak sam ostala zbunjena nad elementarnim ortografskim i interpunkcijskim greškama studenata. Izuzimajući propuste nastale u brzom pisanju i radu, nesistemske nepravilnosti, ili takozvane omaške, ipak je broj sistemskih, ponovljenih nepravilnosti bio prilično velik, što, pre svega, ukazuje na nemaran odnos prema formalnim zahtevima jezika. Dakle, reč je o:

- formalnim greškama obeležavanja novih paragrafa, koji su najčešće bili mešavina američkog i engleskog stila, što je ukazivalo na odsustvo osećaja da je reč o značajnoj formalnoj grešci kojom se valja pozabaviti;
- korišćenju engleskih/američkih, umesto srpskih navoda;
- nekorišćenju zagrada i sl. onde gde original to zahteva;
- izostavljanju praznog prostora posle zareza, tačke, dve tačke i slično;
- neoznačavanju kurzivom istih značenjskih nosilaca u srpskom, onako kako su oni označeni u engleskom originalu;
- izostavljanju zapeta pri nabrajanju, ili suprotno, u korišćenju i zapeta i veznika *i*;
- korišćenju velikog slova iza tačke-zapete i onde gde se ono ne koristi;
- pisanje zapeta, umesto tačke, iza broja koji označava hiljade, pod uticajem engleskog, npr. *100,000.*
- korišćenju velikog slova u pisanju prideva koji završavaju na – *čki, –ski* i *–ški*;
- u nepravilnom pisanju negacije, npr. *nemogu*, *ne će*, itd.
- u greškama spojenog i odvojenog pisanja reči, npr. *ne uobičajen*, i slično.

(2) Morfosintaksičke greške

Morfosintaksičke greške u srpskom jeziku u prevodu naših studenata mogle bi se klasifikovati u dve grupe: (a) one koje su nastale pod uticajem engleskog jezika, pa naši studenti uporno prevode *njegova glava, njena ruka, njena kosa*, itd. Ili interferentni prevod sintagme *U toku vremena predviđenog za rekreaciju.* Potom, nepodudarnost modala i nivoa formalnosti u srpskom i engleskom priča je za sebe, tako da umesto *Da li mogu*, studenti, u nameri da budu ljubazniji, prevode sa *Da li bih mogao*. Ili na primer rečenicu *Come to see me some Saturday afternoon* naši mladi prevodioci su pod negativnim transferom engleskog preveli sa *Dođi da me vidiš jednog subotnjeg* *popodneva.* Takođe, što spada u red sintaksičkih grešaka transfera ciljnog jezika, jeste činjenica da je srpski prevod sadržao često neprimereni broj relativnih rečenica i sadašnjih participa, umesto ličnih glagolskih oblika.

(b) Drugu grupu morfosintaksičkih pogrešaka čine greške koje su plod posebnosti Selindžerovog stila. Npr. a *boy-meets-girl story*, tj. *priča u kojoj momak-sreće-devojku* je samo jedan od primera kompleksnih premodifikatora kojima se Selindžer vešto služi u svojim pričama, što je lako bilo prepoznati, ali je jako teško bilo preneti u srpski jezik.

(c) Treću grupu grešaka čine greške koje su plod delimične ekvivalencije engleskog i srpskog. Jedna od takvih podgrupa jeste nekorišćenje prednosti raspoloživih sintaksičkih sredstava maternjeg jezika za izražavanje emfatičnosti, npr. red reči u rečenici, rečenice sa subjektom i jakim, naglašenim oblikom pomoćnog glagola. Npr. *Ja jesam dobar štamparski pomoćnik, ali to je sve* umesto *Dobar sam štamparski pomoćnik, ali to je sve.*

No, to nije sve. Druga podgrupa tiče se vremena. Od onih gde je sleng originala prevođen formalnim oblicima formalnih vremena u srpskom, npr. umesto *Išao si* naši prevodioci su koristili *Beše/bejaše išao da čuješ neku devojku kako peva...*? pa do kompleksnijih problema. Iako je mnogo vremena posvećeno distribuciji i distinktivnim osobenostima prošlih vremena (aorista, imperfekta, perfekta, pluskvamperfekta) u srpskom u odnosu na korespondirajuća vremena u engleskom – sadašnje trajno vreme, sadašnje prosto vreme i prezent perfekt u engleskom - problemi su bili brojni. Npr. naši mladi prevodioci su često, umesto aorista koristili imperfekat ili perfekat u srpskom, čime su značajno usporavali dinamiku priče. Ili su koristili perfekat umesto pripovedačkog prezenta u prevodu - kao što je bilo i u originalu – čime su menjali život priče. Istovremeno, problem vremena u kombinaciji sa stilskom komponentom prevodiocima je zadavao dodatne muke, jer su naši studenti ispuštali iz vida činjenicu da različitom upotrebom vremena, npr. aorista, perfekta ili imperfekta u srpskom može da se prenese dinamika običnog i trajnog perfekta u engleskom. Potom, Selindžer koristi različita vremena za svoje junake i to je, kao književno oruđe autora, valjalo preneti na odgovarajući način i u naš jezik. Naime, trebalo je za usporene junake koristiti, npr. imperfekat, ili preterit tamo gde je trajni perfekat u engleskom, a za one koji su okretni i i od akcije aorist, tamo gde je obični perfekat, kao u priči *Idi da se vidiš sa Edijem*, i dati ritam i priči poigravajući se svršenim (*He sat up... He picked up that...*) i nesvršenim aspektom *(She was brushing her thick red hair...)*.

Na kraju valja pomenuti i primere lažne ekvivalencije, poput rečenice tipa *Helen's room was always straightened while...* koju su naši prevodioci, bez izuzetaka, prevodili pasivom, *uvek bi soba bila nameštena pod konac dok...*, umesto ekvivalentnom strukturom u kojoj je očigledno da je neko drugi to za nju uradio... *uvek bi joj namestili sobu pod konac dok...*

(3) Leksičke greške

„Delimična ekvivalencija je najčešći odnos koji postoji između leksema dva jezika“ (Kremzer, 1981: 109) i otuda brojne greške u prevodu baš na ovom nivou. Naši prevodioci su često pokazivali da nedovoljno znaju maternji jezik, nedovoljno znaju sinonime, kolokacije i sl. u srpskom jeziku. Tako je studentima isto značenje *reaguje hitro* što i *reaguje brzopleto*, a *sagnuti i poljubiti* nije prepoznata kolokacija, no se koristi *savije se i poljubi (?)* itd. Potom, fenomen divergencije engleske reči *cuticle* u srpskom završio je formalnim izrazom *kutikula*, ili *kožasta opna* u neformalnom kontekstu, umesto prevodnim ekvivalentom *zanoktica*. I ne mali problem su predstavljali idiomi, fraze, komparacije, metafore, narodne izreke, i sl. Npr. *You know how to turn on the ice when you want to* koja je prvedena izrazom *umeš ti sa ljudima kada se potrudiš,* a ne *znaš ti da se odbraniš, kada ti odgovara*. No, svejedno, čak ni savršeno „lingvistički dosledno prevođenje ... ne garantuje odgovarajući umetnički efekat prevoda“ (Sibinović,1981: 32).

(4) Stilske greške

I evo nas kod još jednog velikog korpusa grešaka o kojima je bilo reči i u prethodnim grupacijama. Naime, veliki problem pri prevodu sa engleskog na srpski uvek je i nivo formalnosti, gde ne postoji ekvivalentnost nivoa, niti registara, i gde je sleng danas sve više stvar pozajmljenica iz engleskog no ičeg drugog. Dakle, trebalo je prevesti različite varijetete urbanog supstandardnog jezika, što je specifična sociolingvistička pojava. Čini se da je našim mladim prevodiocima ponekada, pored ostalog, bilo i neprijatno da spuste registar. Tako se scena tuče u zatvoru odigrava po svim pravilima formalnog jezika: *„Ma kako da ne”, rekao bi Sekač, dok bi bacao na pod Horgenšlagovo oskudno sledovanje hrane.* Ili, na primer, brat mafijaš se obraća svojoj sestri književnim jezikom: *Oh, for Chrissake, Helen... Ah, pobogu Helen.* Kao da je bilo neprijatno u ovako profanoj literaturi, koristiti profanije izraze! O problemu uzvika da ne govorimo!

A sada dolazimo i do tačke usijanja. Kao da ukrštanju selidbe u vreme Drugog svetskog rata, selidbe u nove prostore i kulture - Zapadna Evropa i Amerika, i prebacivanje svega toga na naš, maternji srpski jezik nije bilo dovoljno komplikovano – u sve to se uključio Selindžerov idiolekt, naravno, uz pripovedački postupak koji ni sam nije jednostavan i koji, pored ostalog, sadrži i skazam, sa nekoliko vrsta pripovedačkog monologa. Za ilustraciju autorovog idiolekta mogli bismo da uzmemo samo jednu rečenicu: *Late in October you could window-write, and now, before November was through, Valdosta, New York, was white, run-to- the- window white, take-a-deep-breath white, throw-your-books-in-the-hall-and-get-out-in-it white.*

Pored onog poznatog mišljenja da „autorska pozicija u delu i autorski govor zahtevaju duboko poznavanje estetičkih, filozofskih, etičkih i društvenih pogleda autora“ (Stojnić, 1981: 61), što je bilo jako teško obezbediti, ogroman problem bio je Selindžerov jezik. Svojevrsni primer ekspresivne posebnosti - sa stilskim obeležjima slenga, žargona, argoa tog vremena – Selindžerov jezik je nametnuo tri krupna pitanja: (1) Da li imamo pravo da prošlost predstavljamo sadašnjošću - jer je sleng, kao jezičko obeležje jednog vremena i jednog društva promenljiva kategorija i ono što je sleng sadašnje generacije nije bio sleng njihovih baka i deka? (2) Ko nam je ciljna grupa, od koga očekujemo da čita naše priče, kome je naš prevod namenjen? Da li kao naše čitaoce očekujemo samo generaciju naših studenata, ili i generaciju njihovih roditelja? Ili je naša ciljna grupa i najstarija čitalačka generacija? (3) Da li pri prevodu slenga imamo pravo da koristimo naše lokalizme, specifične za nišku govornu regiju, odnosno šta bismo dobili, a šta izgubili ukoliko bi niški lokalizmi bili uključeni u prevod?

Dakle, imajući na umu sve ovo – značaj istorijske komponente, kontekst druge kulture, publiku kojoj je knjiga namenjena, posebnost Selindžerovog žargona, sociolekatske razlike u varijetetima koje različite generacije osećaju kao prihvatljive u ciljnom tekstu, te dijalekatska ograničenja i zavodljivost lokalizama, naši mladi prevodioci su prihvatili sugestiju koordinatora za srednje vrednosti. Na primer, za rečenicu *You're damned good, boy!* nije izabrano prevodno rešenje *Vrh si, brate* - najbliže po tonu prevodiocima, niti *Super si, brale*, što pripada više niškom, no nekim drugim krajevima, čime se u priču unosi neodgovarajuća kulturološka konotacija - već neutralnije, kolokvijalno, žargonsko rešenje šireg dijalekatsko-sociološko-generacijskog opsega: *Sila si, čoveče!*

(5) Kulturološke greške

I, zaista, mnogo puta se postavilo pitanje „kako se može postići jednakost u različitosti, tj. preneti isti sadržaj iz jednog jezičkog ruha u drugo, kad je nesporno da između forme i sadržaja u jeziku postoji tesna veza, i da su mnogi jezički oblikovani sadržaji uz to još izrazito kulturno uslovljeni“ (Bugarski, 1981: 18)? I ovde bi valjalo pohvaliti naše mlade prevodioce koji su se potrudili da sve kulturološke razlike daju najčešće u fusnotama, olakšavajući čitaocu snalaženje kroz značenjske lavirinte do te mere da se povremeno može učiniti da smo razmazili, a možda čak i potcenili čitaoca. Npr. ako se u fusnoti daje objašnjenje Vilme Pričard (Wilma Pritchard), da li bi isto trebalo učiniti i sa Fredom Asterom? No, da li je *Keystone Circulating Library* zaista *kistonska pozajmna biblioteka*, ili je to *klub čitalaca petparačkih romana*? Da li *pozajmna* uopšte nešto znači kod nas, kada se i kako koristi ovaj termin? Uz to se pitanje zadržavanja engleskih mera - *a nickel's a nickel*, *after all*, stope, *foot*, ili funte, *pound* - kao mera u srpskom jeziku i kulturi takođe postavljalo u više navrata i, nadamo se, uspešno razrešilo. U suštini, ovi su prevodilački problemi bili najbrojniji. Neki od njih su se ticali svakodnevne kulture, običaja i navika, neki pak vojnih običaja i navika, neki lokaliteta, kako geografskih tako i onih za izlaske, zabavu, i slično, i oni su dvostruko bili udaljeni od naših prevodilaca - i vremenski i kulturno-civilizacijski, i u suštini „problem nije bio toliko jezički koliko je bio kulturni“ (Eraković, 2002: 71).

8. Zaključak

Da, „prevođenje kao učenje“ (Danojlić, 1981: 252), mogao bi da bude naziv ovog našeg projekta iz koga smo izašli bogatiji za nekolika saznanja:

- Prvo, čini se da su projekti ove vrste i poželjni i neophodni kako bi sami studenti imali priliku da prepoznaju neke svoje talente, naravno, uz pomoć svojih mentora. Većina studenata se prvi put oprobala u „pravom“ prevodu i imala zadovoljstvo da doživi, iskusi i prođe čitav proces pretvaranja izvornog teksta u ciljni tekst.
- Drugo, studenti su u ovaj prevod uložili mnogo svog slobodnog vremena, mnogo truda i napora i pokazali znatan napredak u veštini prevođenja u periodu od početka do kraja projekta prevođenja. Dakle, naučili su mnogo o samom prevodu radeći prevod za „spoljašnju“ upotrebu.
- Treće, bilo je očigledno da su naši studenti kompetentni u ciljnom, odnosno stranom jeziku i da su savladali veštinu korišćenja glavnih i pomoćnih izvora pri prevodjenju- od klasičnih rečnika, preko rečnika sinonima, do elektronskih izvora, pretraživača i slično.
- Četvrto, greške su nam nedvosmisleno pokazale da naši studenti nedovoljno čitaju i nedovoljno razmišljaju o svom maternjem jeziku. Pitanje je da li, kada i kako, mi to od njih tražimo. Vežbe sinonima i bogaćenja rečnika kao da su vezane samo za engleski jezik, a ne i za srpski jezik, gde, nažalost, do današnjeg dana, za razliku od engleskog, postoji samo jedan rečnik sinonima iz 1974. godine (Lalević, *Sinonimi i srodne reči srpskohrvatskoga jezika*, Leksikografski zavod, Sveznanje, Beograd). Čini se da se ne neguje i ne razvija jezička kompetencija u maternjem jeziku paralelno sa onom u engleskom jeziku. Ovde, takođe, treba postaviti i pitanja nastave srpskog jezika na anglističkim departmanima – pre svega svrhe, potom dužine i sadržaja ponuđenih kurseva maternjeg jezika koji naši studenti imaju kao obavezne predmete. Da li su uopšte, kako i koliko kursevi srpskog jezika u funkciji opšteg nastavnog plana i programa anglistike?
- Peto, iskustvo studenata na ovom projektu prevoda je takođe pokazalo da za srpski jezik ne postoji dovoljno valjane literature (jednojezičnih rečnika, rečnika kolokacija, rečnika antonima i sinonima, idioma, rečnika struke) kao što ih ima za engleski jezik. Još uvek je, nažalost, jedini enciklopedijski rečnik srpskohrvatskog jezika u izdanju Matice srpske i Matice hrvatske iz 1967. godine (*Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*,1967, Matica srpska, Novi Sad i Matica hrvatska Zagreb.) Nema enciklopedijskog rečnika srpskog jezika. Takođe se primećuje i odsustvo elektronskih izvora u srpskom jeziku, za razliku od engleskog, što, pomalo paradoksalno, čini da imamo osećaj da smo kompetentniji govornici stranog no maternjeg jezika – jer obilje jezičkih neodoumica možemo sa lakoćom proveriti i elektronskim putem (www.google.com i www.en.wikipedia.com). Malobrojni dostupni izvori - *Transkripcioni rečnik* Prćićev, *Frazeološki rečnik* Kovačevićev, *Rečnik slenga* Hlebecev, *Srpski jezički savetnik* Feketov, ili *Srpski jezički priručnik* Ivićev,

Rečnik jezičkih nedoumica Ivana Klajna, ili *Rečnik novih reči* Jovana Ćirilova - retki su svetli primeri u mraku pomoćne literature za naše prevodioce.

- Šesto, posebno značajno jeste da se na ovakvim projektima uče mnoge veštine (timski rada, saradnja, pregovaranje, argumentacija) kojima se u našem vaspitanju i obrazovanju ne posvećuje dovoljno pažnje, a koje su više no neophodne u životu i radu uopšte, a posebno u budućoj profesionalnoj karijeri naših studenata.
- Na kraju, ono što je takođe važno jeste da na ovakvim projektima podjednako uče studenti od svojih nastavnika, kao i nastavnici od svojih studenata. Naši mladi prevodioci su naučili da se prevod nikada ne završava, da nakon zadovoljenog minimalnog zahteva gramatičko-leksičke tačnosti sledi estetsko-poetski zahtev – da prevod bude lep, što traži kako kreativnost, tako i posebne veštine prevodioca, ako ne i značajnu inspiraciju. A zajedno smo se uverili da je prevođenje divno i doživeli ga onako kakvo prevođenje uistinu jeste: *zavodljivo, kreativno i uzbudljivo.* Jedino se tu veselimo svim selidbama jer su one po svojoj prirodi samonagrađujuće – i selidbe u prošlost kao i seobe u druge kulture i povratak u maternji jezik.

Literatura

Bugarski, R. (1981) „Teorija prevođenja kao naučna disciplina“, u Rajić, Lj. (ur.) **Teorija i poetika prevođenja,** str. 7-26, Beograd: Prosveta

Ćirilov, J. (1991) **Novi rečnik novih reči: reči, izrazi i značenja preuzeti iz drugih jezika ili nastali u srpskohrvatskom jeziku posle drugog svetskog rata**, Beograd: Bata

Danojlić, M. (1981) „Pesnik kao prevodilac“, u Rajić, Lj. (ur.) **Teorija i poetika prevođenja,** str. 243-260, Beograd: Prosveta

Eraković, B. (2002) **O prevođenju urbanog američkog supstandarda,** Novi Sad: Pokrajinski sekretarijat za kulturu, obrazovanje i nauku

Fekete E., Ćupić D. i Terzić B. (2005) **Srpski jezički savetnik**, Beograd: Službeni list Srbije i Crne Gore, Srpska školska knjiga

Hlebec, B. (2004) **Englesko-srpski, srpsko-engleski rečnik slenga**, Beograd: Beogradska knjiga

Ivić, P., Klajn I., Pešikan M. i Brborić B. (2004) **Srpski jezički priručnik**, Beograd: Beogradska knjiga

Kiš, D. (2003) **Najlepši eseji Danila Kiša,** Beograd: Prosveta

Klajn, I. (2005) **Gramatika srpskog jezika**, Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva

Klajn, I. (2006) **Rečnik jezičkih nedoumica,** Beograd: Cigoja

Kremzer, N. (1981) „Semantičke relacije na intra- i inter-lingvističkom planu“, u Rajić, Lj. (ur.) **Teorija i poetika prevođenja,** str. 101-118, Beograd: Prosveta.

Pešikan M., Jerković J. i Pižurica M. (2006) **Pravopis srpskoga jezika**, Novi Sad: Matica srpska i Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva

Prćić, T. (1998) **Transkripcioni rečnik engleskih ličnih imena**, Novi Sad: Prometej

Razgovori (Luis) Borhes i (Ernesto) Sabato (1988) Gornji Milanovac: Dečje Novine

Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika (1967) Novi Sad: Matica srpska i Zagreb: Matica hrvatska Zagreb

Sibinović, M. (1981) „'Stvaraoci' i 'teoretičari'“, u Rajić, Lj. (ur.) **Teorija i poetika prevođenja,** str. 27-44, Beograd: Prosveta

Simić R., Stanojčić Ž., Ostojić B., Ćorić B. i Kovačević, M. (1993) **Pravopis srpskog jezika sa rečnikom**, Beograd i Nikšić

Stevanović Mihailo i Ljudevit Jonke (1960) **Pravopis srpskohrvatskog jezika**, Novi Sad: Matica srpska i Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska

Stojnić, M. (1981) „Teorija ili metodologija prevođenja“, u Rajić, Lj. (ur.) **Teorija i poetika prevođenja,** Beograd: Prosveta, str. 45-66

UDK 821.133.1:81'25

Sonja Špadijer

KRITIČKA ANALIZA PREVODA FRANCUSKOG ROMANA „OSVAJANJE PROSTORA“, AUTORA ŽANA EŠNOZA, SA ELEMENTIMA MORFOSINTAKSIČKE, SEMANTIČKE I STILISTIČKE ANALIZE

Apstrakt: *Rad se bavi kritičkom analizom prevoda francuskog romana „ Osvajanje prostora“, autora Žana Ešnoza, (Occupation des sols, Jean Echenoz, 1988). Autorka pokušava da odgovori na dva često postavljana pitanja kada je o prevođenju riječ: šta prethodi, konkretan prevod ili teorijska misao* i *kakva je uloga ponovljenih prevoda odnosno prevodilačkog niza. Analiza se oslanja na teme poput: uloge prevodioca u procesu prevođenja književnog teksta, neophodnosti prethodne pripreme za prevođenje književnog teksta, prenošenja pojedinih narativnih i stilskih postupaka prilikom prevođenja. Kritika se oslanja na morfosintaksičku, semantičku i stilističku analizu originalnog teksta i prevoda.*

Ključne riječi: *kritička analiza prevoda - ponovljeni prevodi - stilistički eksperiment - stil originala – dvoglasje - signali koji nagovještavaju promjenu govornog subjekta - stilistički nemarkirani i stilistički markirani elementi u naraciji - sintaksičke i leksičke odlike dvoglasja - uloga interpunkcijskih znakova - ekvivalentnost prevoda.*

1. Uvod

Predmet ovog rada je analiza i kritika prevoda. Za analizu ćemo koristiti dio književnog materijala prevedenog u okviru prevodilačke radionice u organizaciji časopisa za književnost, kulturu i društvena pitanja ARS i Francuskog kulturnog centra iz Podgorice. Prevodi su objavljeni u časopisu ARS, 5-6 '03, pod zajedničkim naslovom „*Antologija savremene francuske priče*“. Odlučili smo se za roman Žana Ešnoza „*Occupation des sols*“ koji je prevela autorka ovog rada, a u saradnji sa uređivačkim odborom koji je priredio konačnu verziju. Opravdanost analitičke kritike prevoda moguće je objasniti činjenicom da su često istraživači u nemogućnosti da se na adekvatan način bave analizom stila originala zbog nedovoljnog poznavanja jezika na kojem je djelo nastalo, pa stoga često pribjegavaju komparativnoj analizi stilističkih elemenata originala i njihovih stilističkih ekvivalenata u ponovljenim prevodima. Dakle, jedan od osnovnih ciljeva ovakvih istraživanja jeste pokušaj da se na pravi način razumije autorov jedinstveni i neponovljivi umjetnički stilističko-sintaksički postupak kojim se poslužio kako bi izrazio određene ideje.

2. Teorijske i metodološke osnove

Prije nego što otpočnemo sa analizom prevoda Ešnozovog romana, pomenućemo neke teme kojima se bavi teorija književnog prevođenja.

Prva se odnosi na pitanje: šta treba da prethodi, konkretan prevod ili teorijska misao, odnosno da li treba ići od pojedinačnog ka opštem ili od opšteg ka pojedinačnom.

Druga se tiče prevodnog niza odnosno ponovljenih prevoda jednog istog književnog djela i pitanja na koji način vremenska distanca utiče na kvalitet kasnijih prevoda. U vezi sa time kritičari smatraju da prvi prevod ne može u cjelosti da otkrije stil originala.

Tu se nadovezuje i treća, veoma bitna tema, koja objedinjuje prethodne dvije a odnosi se na način otkrivanje stilotvornih originalnih elemenata nekog književnog djela, upravo kroz proces prevođenja i analizu prevoda. Analiza prevoda pomenutog Ešnozovog romana poslužiće kao pokušaj da odgovorimo na prvo pitanje i da damo naše viđenje druge i treće teme. Smatramo da će se tokom čitanja ovog rada odgovori sami nametnuti.

Čitajući literaturu koja se bavi književnim prevođenjem, pažnju nam je privukla jedna izuzetno zanimljiva tema. Naime, riječ je o fenomenu *tuđeg govora, dvoglasja odnosno višeglasja* u narativnom postupku. Pomenuta tema nas je već od samog početka podsjetila na neke nedoumice koje smo moje kolege i ja imali tokom prevođenja Ešnozovog romana, a koje je tek sada, nakon tih novih saznanja, moguće sagledati mnogo jasnije i u novom svijetlu. Pokušaćemo da objasnimo šta je to višeglasje. U tome će nam djelimično pomoći Čovićeva „*Poetika književnog prevođenja*" i primjeri iz ruske književnosti koje on navodi, kao i stilistički i narativni prosede u djelu Žana Ešnoza. Riječ je o narativnom postupku kojim se u kontekst uvode „tuđi glasovi" kao tragovi subjektivne svijesti junaka. On omogućava promjenu tačke gledišta sa pripovjedačeve narativne, objektivne i stilistički nemarkirane intonacije na subjektivnu, stilistički markiranu intonaciju, izraz doživljaja samih junaka. Dvoglasje se dakle sastoji iz dva različita intonacijska dijela u okviru jedne rečenice, što zapravo znači da dolazi do promjene govornog subjekta. Uloga i cilj ovakvog postupka je da se uvođenjem tuđe tačke gledišta postigne veća objektivnost i sugestivna snaga kao i dinamika slike.

Citiraćemo objašnjenje ovog narativno-stilističkog postupka: "Takva sintaksičko-stilistička konstrukcija je uvijek dvoglasna: s formalnog stanovišta (3. gramatičko lice zamjenice i glagola) govori autor (u našem slučaju , kako rekosmo, onovremenski, kazivač), a prema karakteru iskaza, po izboru leksike, po morfološkim i sintaksičkim osobenostima – govori junak. To dovodi do sinteze dva glasa – narativnog i junakovog, oba su vešto zamaskirana. Ovim se stilističkim postupkom postiže objektivnost više vrste – iluzija autentične priče:.. Međutim, signali za delimitaciju dva glasa ostaju karakteristični za kolokvijalni jezik eliptične konstrukcije, rečenice bez razvijenih glavnih delova (nominativne i impersonalne), prošarane obiljem modalnih reči, uzvika, reči subjektivne ocene i najzad, čitava skala raznovrsnih intonacijskih modulacija - upitne, imperativne i uzvične“ (*Čović, 1994: 79*). To su takozvana „ostrvca subjektivne svijesti“ koja se intonacijski izdvajaju crtom, ili zarezom i crtom, to može biti i uzvičnik kao i tačka zarez ili dvije tačke. Treba istaći semantičko-stilistički značaj znakova interpunkcije u književnom djelu i posebno na njih obratiti pažnju prilikom prevođenja. Najčešće ih treba zadržati jer znakovi originalne autorove interpunkcije utiču na semantiku datog konteksta. „To je najčešće mesto gdje započinje metaforičan zaplet (.......) ili kad se vrši stroga delimitacija u dvoglasnoj konstrukciji tzv. nepravog upravnog govora (...).“ (*Čović, 1994: 140*).

Pripremajući se za analizu i kritiku ovog prevoda smatrali smo da je neophodno najprije analitički iščitati original, nakon toga potražiti objavljene kritike o pomenutom ili o nekom drugom Ešnozovom romanu i posebno pažljivo propratiti one ideje koje se odnose na autorov narativni postupak i stilističke karakteristike njegovih tekstova. Zatim ćemo uporedo kritički iščitavati original i prevod i izvoditi zaključke koje ćemo razmatrati u okviru sledeće dvije etape.

U sljedećoj fazi, na osnovu saznanja koja smo stekli o višeglasju, provjerili bismo da li sintaksičko-leksičke karakteristike tog stilističkog fenomena nalaze svoju potvrdu u originalu.

Naposlijetku, želimo da utvrdimo da li prevod predstavlja funkcionalno-stilistički ekvivalent originala i da li je na adekvatan način prenio jedinstveni autorov narativni postupak.

3. Analiza

Treba napomenuti da, usljed vremenske i organizacione ograničenosti rada prevodilačke radionice 2003. godine, slične pripreme nije bilo moguće realizovati. Izostajanje naknadne realizacije ove izuzetno značajne etape u procesu prevođenja uskratilo nas je za dragocjena saznanja u vezi sa odlikama Ešnozovog stila i narativnog postupka. Te važne informacije odnose se na karakterističan narativni postupak, i u vezi sa time, na upotrebu i značenje vremena u tom postupku kojim se postiže efekat višeglasja, kao i na važnost uloge izbora leksike i znakova interpunkcije u tom postupku. Sve ovo naknadno pronalazimo u književnoj kritici koja se odnosi na roman „*Osvajanje prostora*“ a koju ovdje citiramo.

„... l’atmosphère s'impose dès la première phrase: “***Comme tout avait brûlé*** <u>*– la mère, les meubles et les photographies de la mère -*</u>, ***pour Fabre et le fils Paul c'était tout de suite beaucoup d'ouvrage*** <u>*: toute cette cendre et ce deuil, déménager, courir se refaire dans les grandes surfaces.*“</u> (*www.remue.net/cont/echenoz.htm, Lebrun, 1988)*

Već na početku, ovaj prvi pasus ukazuje na narativni prosede koji uvodi više glasova:

- pripovjedača :“*Comme tout avait brûlé – .... -, pour Fabre et le fils Paul c'était tout de suite beaucoup d'ouvrage : ....“*

- **sina** kao jednog od protagonista ove priče: „........– *la mère, les meubles et les photographies de la mère -,......*"
- **oca** kao drugog junaka u priči: "...... *: toute cette cendre et ce deuil, déménager, courir se refaire dans les grandes surfaces.*"

Književna kritika je uočila taj umjetnički postupak još u Ešnozovom romanu "*Au piano*".(*www.remue.net/cont/echenoz.htm).* Naime, ona objašnjava da smjena istorijskog plana (preko aorista, pluskvamperfekata i imperfekata) i diskurzivnog plana iskazivanja vremena (preko prezenta; imperativa), treba da naglasi pojedine sugestivne i emotivno obojene sekvence. Njihova smjena razdvaja naraciju od dijaloga, u nedostatku drugih oznaka kojima se obično bilježi prelazak na dijalošku formu. Kada je riječ o romanu „*Osvajanje prostora*", od leksičko-gramatičkih elemenata karakterističnih za višeglasje, odnosno sekvence u kojima je prisutna promjena tačke gledišta sa objektivne stilistički nemarkirane naratorove na subjektivnu stilistički markiranu junakovu – konstatujemo: upotrebu prezenta, imperativa, participa prezenta i eliptične forme uz izostavljanje glagola, kao i uzvike, riječi subjektivne ocjene, uzvičnu i imperativnu intonacijsku modulaciju. Prezent i u ovom romanu ima funkciju obilježavanja trajanja, ponavljanja *(„... On gratte, on gratte et puis...*"), ali i opštih istina *(„Il suffit d'un objet pour enclencher une chaîne, il s'en trouve un toujours qui scelle ce qui le précède, colore ce qui va suivre – au pochoir, -* ...."). Osim toga, prezent i imperativ su oznake dijaloške forme u romanu. Roman „*Osvajanje prostora*" potvđuje svojom sintaksičko-leksičkom formom prisustvo višeglasja: drugi glas se uvodi crtom, zarezima, pomoću dvije tačke, tačke i zareza. Ovakva saznanja su nas mogla osloboditi nedoumica i dilema tokom prevođenja pojedinih segmenata u kojima je na primjer, prisutna neodređena lična zamjenica ***on***, i uputiti nas na pravi put i ekvivalentan izbor prilikom njenog prevođenja.

I mada smo čitajući i prevodeći ovaj roman, na pravi način osjećali višeglasje i emotivnost teksta, o čemu svjedoče i pribilješke na marginama teksta originala, upravo zbog nepoznavanja gore navedenih činjenica, nismo u potpunosti uspjeli da realizujemo stilistički ekvivalentan prevod kao ni da u potpunosti prenesemo piščevu ideju i stil. Kasnije se ispostavilo da je taj prvi utisak zapravo bio dobar i trebalo je da nas odvede do ekvivalentnog prevoda. Međutim, u onom trenutku, kada se trebalo odlučiti za jedno riješenje, prevagnula je odluka koja će se kasnije pokazati manje uspješnom. Prihvaćeno riješenje ne prenosi u potpunosti autorovu ideju i stilistički postupak, već bi ga prije mogli definisati kao interpretaciju pomenutih djelova teksta. Treba ipak konstatovati da je višeglasje prisutno i kod prevoda iako ne u onolikoj mjeri u kojoj je to autor učinio u originalu. U pojedinim, veoma značajnim sekvencama, drugi glasovi su se stopili sa neutralnim naratorovim pripovijedanjem. Da bismo ublažili negativnu ocjenu ove kritike, još jedanput ćemo pomenuti mišljenje teoretičara prevođenja po kojem prvi prevod gotovo nikada ne može da razotkrije original.

U dijelu rada koji slijedi, proučićemo samo uvodni i završni dio romana kao reprezentativne segmente koji u sebi sadrže višeglasje, kao i njihov manje ili više uspio prevod.

Prvi pasus: Kao što smo već pomenuli, u prvom pasusu imamo sve bitne odlike višeglasja, karakteristične znake interpunkcije: povlaka ili crta (le tiret), dvije tačke, zatim tu je i elipsa kao i riječi subjektivne ocjene. Pogledajmo originalni tekst:
“Comme tout avait brûlé – la mère, les meubles et les photographies de la mère -, pour Fabre et le fils Paul c'était tout de suite beaucoup d'ouvrage : toute cette cendre et ce deuil, déménager, courir se refaire dans les grandes surfaces.“ (*www.remue.net/cont/echenoz.htm, Lebrun, 1988)*

Prevod glasi: „*Kako je sve izgorelo - i majka, i stvari, i majčine fotografije - Fabr je sa svojim sinom Polom bio prinuđen da se odmah pobrine o mnogim stvarima: koliko samo pepela i tuge, a uz sve to selidba, jurnjava po robnim kućama i magacinima da bi se ponovo i na brzinu skućili.”*

Dakle, ovdje je najvjerovatnije slučajnom omaškom izostavljen zarez posle druge povlake u prvom redu čime se ipak umanjuje efekat uvođenja drugog glasa, mada se ne gubi s obzirom na to da su ostali znaci interpunkcije sačuvani. Međutim, u drugom dijelu uočavamo glagol koji je preveden u trećem licu množine :”da bi se skućili” umjesto da prenese Fabrovu reakciju koji govori o užasu tih prvih dana posle tragedije i svega onog što je morao da uradi kako bi sinu i sebi obezbijedio minimum uslova za život, i koji kaže u prvom licu monžine: *“ da bismo se ponovo skućili”.*

Izgubilo se višeglasje i došlo je do izjednačavanja govora jednog od protagonista priče sa pripovedačevim govorom, čime se formalno gubi efekat koji je pisac u originalu želio da naglasi.

Četrnaesti pasus: I u ovom pasusu prisutna su tri glasa, u prvoj rečenici pripovjedačev, u drugoj Polov glas koji govori o ocu, i nakon dvije tačke u eliptičnom obliku, rečenica koju izgovara otac. Dovde je sve u redu kod prevoda, međutim, kao i ranije u drugoj rečenici, nakon tačke i zareza imamo ponovo zamjenicu *on* koju je trebalo prevesti prvim licem množine jer ponovo Pol opisuje događaje, pa je prevod umjesto “... ; *pričali su samo o nekim*...“, trebalo da glasi: “... ; *pričali smo samo o nekim*...“ ; dakle, i ovaj put je izgubljen efekat višeglasja koje se stopilo sa naratorovim pripovijedanjem. Sve to možemo uočiti čitajući nardene redove:

1. *Pripovjedač: Il rassembla des affaires et revint samedi soir.*
2. *Sin: Le père avait fait quelques courses :*
3. *Otac: un autre bloc de mousse, quelques outils, beaucoup de yaourt et de pommes chips, beaucoup de nourriture légère.*
4. *Pripovjedač:Nul ne raconta rien de ces dernières années, rien ne s'évoqua sous l'ampoule nue ;*
5. *Sin: on discourut juste de la nécessité, puis de la couleur d'un abat-jour.*
6. *Pripovjedač:Fabre était un peu plus disert que Paul, avant de s'endormir il se plaignit doucement, comme pour lui-même, du système de chauffage par le sol.*
7. *Otac: Regarde un peu le soleil qu'on a, dit-il aussi le lendemain matin“.*

Na primjeru prevoda pete rečenice jasno možemo pratiti kako se pojedinačni glasovi pretvaraju u neutralno pripivijedanje izraženo trećim licem množine:

1. Prikupio je svoje stvari i vratio se u subotu.

2. Otac je bio kupio još ponešto :

3. još jedno parče sunđera, nešto alata, jogurta i čipsa kao i mnogo druge lagane hrane.

4. Nijesu pomenuli bilo šta što bi se odnosilo na nekoliko proteklih godina, nijedno sjećanje nije prizvano pod svjetlošću gole sijalice ;

5. pričali su samo o nekim neophodnim stvarima, a zatim o boji jednog abažura.

6. Fabr je bio nešto razgovorniji od Pola, a prije nego što će zaspati tiho se, kao za sebe, žalio na sistem podnog grijanja.

7. Pogledaj samo kako je sunčana ova prostorija, reče narednog jutra".

Petnaesti pasus: U narednom odlomku možemo pratiti kako je svuda uvedeno treće lice množine umjesto prvog lica množine, a na jednom mjestu izostavljena je jedna umetnuta rečenica, ono „ostrvce subjektivne svijesti" izdvojeno zarezima, a izraženo prezentom čime se još eksplicitnije označava dijaloška forma.

1. C'était dimanche, dehors les rumeurs étouffées protestaient à peine, parvenant presque à ce qu'on les regrettât.

2. Ainsi que tous les jours chaumés, les heures des repas tendaient à glisser les unes sur les autres, on s'entendit pour quatorze heures –

3. - ensuite on s'y met. Un soleil comme celui-ci, développa le père de Paul, donne véritablement envie de foutre le camp.

4. Ils s'exprimèrent également peu sur la difficulté de leur tâche qui requierrait, c'est vrai, de la patience et du muscle, puis des scrupules d'égyptologue en dernier lieu...leurs mâchoires broyaient la durée, la mastication n'était qu'horlogère. D'un tel compte à rebours on peut, avant terme, convoquer le zéro.

5. Alors, autant s'y mettre, autant gratter tout de suite, pas besoin de changer, on a revêtu dès le matin ces larges tenues blanches pailletées de vielle peinture, on gratte et des statues de plâtre se suspendent au soleil, piquetant les fronts, les cafés oubliés.

6. On gratte, on gratte et puis très vite on respire mal, on sue, il commence à faire terriblement chaud".

Pogledajmo postojeći prevod:

1. *Bila je nedjelja, spolja je jedva dopirao prigušeni žamor, gotovo da im je nedostajao.*
2. *Kao i uvijek neradnim danima, uobičajeno vrijeme obroka bi se poremetilo /,/ pa su se složili da ručaju u četrnaest sati –*
3. *odmah nakon toga počinju sa radovima. Zbog ovakvog sunca, razmišljao je Polov otac, čovjek naprosto dobije želju da sve ostavi i ode.*
4. *Malo su razgovarali i o težini posla koji će od njih zahtijevati /, ... ,/ strpljenje i snagu, a naposletku i preciznost egiptologa. ...vilicama su naprosto drobili vrijeme,*

žvačući jednolično u ritmu kucanja sata. Toliko jednolično da bi mogli da odbrojavaju unazad i stignu do nule.

5. *Treba što prije da otpočnu sa poslom, treba da počnu sa struganjem, nema potrebe da se presvlače, jer su još od jutros u onim širokim bijelim radnim odijelima poprskanim sasušenom farbom; i tako oni stružu dok oblačići gipsane prašine lebde na suncu peckajući čela i padajući po zaboravljenim kafama.*
6. *Nastavljaju da stružu, dišu sve teže, znoj počinje da ih obliva, postaje užasno toplo".*

Evo kako je trebalo da glasi prevod:

1."*... gotovo da nam je nedostajao."*

2. "..., složili smo se da ručamo u četrnaest sati –.."

3. "... - a onda (ili a sad) na posao.", ovdje je uveden očev glas.

4. ".. , slažem se, ili istina je ili drugo rješenje...." (izostavljena rečenica koju uzgovara Pol)

5. „Treba što prije da otpočnemo sa poslom (ili: nema nam druge, bolje da što prije počnemo, ili: bolje da ne gubimo vrijeme i da počnemo da radimo ili neko drugo rješenje...) , *treba da počnemo sa struganjem, nema potrebe da se presvlačimo ,..."*, ponovo govori otac.

6. "Nastavljamo da stružemo, dišemo sve teže, znoj počinje da nas obliva,...", Pol preuzima pripovijedanje

Tekst se završava dijaloškom formom i prezentom u direktnom govoru posle zareza, rečenicom kojom najvjerovatnije Pol, iz svoje tačke gledišta izražava sopstveni subjektivni doživljaj konkretne situacije, odnosno višeglasjem kojim se postiže izuzetna sugestivnost slike i naglašava emotivna obojenost ovog segmenta teksta.

4. Zaključak

Kao odgovor na ranije postavljena pitanja, nameće se logičan zaključak da prevodilac mora prethodno detaljno da se pripremi za prevođenje književnog djela, zatim da je upoznat sa teorijskom mišlju o prevođenju i najčešćim problemima, nedoumicama kao i mogućim odgovorima na aktuelna pitanja iz te oblasti.

Međutim, moramo dodati da bez konkretnih prevoda teško da bi se mogle provjeriti osnovne postavke teorije. Isto tako, budući da je ovu kritiku radila sama prevodilica književnog djela o kojem je bilo riječi, slažemo se sa onima koji zastupaju mišljenje da prvi prevod ne odslikava u pravom svijetlu ideju originala. Branimir Čović govori o paradoksu koji se ogleda u činjenici da se osobenosti originala odgonetaju tek prilikom prevođenja. Budući da analiza prevoda podrazumijeva s jedne strane, stilističku analizu stilotvornih elemenata originala, a s druge strane uporednu analizu stilističkih ekvivalenata tih istih elemenata u ponovljenim prevodima, smatramo da bi eventualni drugi prevod ovog Ešnozovog romana svakako trebalo da uvaži ova nova saznanja o stilotvornim elementima originala. Stoga zaključujemo da su ponovljeni prevodi potrebni i da svaki naredni prevod nosi u sebi kvalitet više. Na kraju, trebalo bi istaći neke bitne odlike dobrog prevoda u vezi sa obrađenom temom. Takav prevod mora da prenese smisao, duh i stil originala dok izlaganje mora biti prirodno kako bi se postigao efekat stilističke ekvivalentnosti. Osnovni uslov koji mora biti ispunjen da bi se kvalitetno preveo književni tekst jeste da prevodilac dobro poznaje jezik originala, da posjeduje analitički i kritički duh i kao što smo prethodno zaključili, da posjeduje odgovarajuće teorijsko znanje iz oblasti književnosti, stilistike i traduktologije.

Osnovna uloga prevodioca u procesu prevođenja je da otkrije onaj bitni originalni elemenat u djelu koji je nosilac umjetničkog i da ga prenese čitaocu. Zaključiću citirajući Branimira Čovića: „Prevođenje je uzajamno obogaćivanje, kada svaki novi prevodilački akt označava korak bliže među raznim i različitim kulturama, posle čega nijedna od njih nije više ono što je bila. To su uvek novi i moćni izvori čovekova saznanja". (*Čović, 1994:*26)

Literatura

„Antologija savremene francuske priče", Časopis za književnost, kulturu i društvena pitanja ARS, 5-6 '03, Podgorica

Ašić, T. Stojanović, V. (2006) **Semantika i pragmatika glagolskih vremena u francuskom jeziku**, Kragujevac: Filološko-umetnički fakultet

Čović, B. (1994) **Poetika književnog prevođenja**, Beograd: Narodna knjiga

Echenoz, Jean, (1988) **Occupation des sols,** Editions de Minuit

Krstić, N. (2001) **La contrastive et la traduction**, Beograd: Vedes

Krstić, N. (2005) **Prilozi uporednoj francusko-srpskoj leksikologiji,** Novi Sad: Zmaj

Književna kritika sa internet stranice: www.remue.net/cont/echenoz.htm

Kovač, M. (1993) **Stilistika i gramatika stilskih figura**, Podgorica: Kantakuzin

Vučković, P. (1995) **Ogledi iz semantike i pragmatike**, Beograd: Savremena administracija

Vuković, N. (2000) **Putevi stilističke ideje**, Nikšić: Univerzitet Crne Gore, Jasen

UDK 811.111'25

Vesna Bulatovic

MASTERING LEGAL ENGLISH FOR LEGAL TRANSLATION PURPOSES[533]

Abstract: *The papers looks at methodologies employed in teaching a postgraduate course in Advanced Legal English Translation in the Institute of Foreign Languages, Podgorica, University of Montenegro. Like any other translation, legal translation is based on good writing. The process of learning to write in Legal English is particularly dynamic and evolutionary. In Part I, I briefly discuss distinct features of English legal texts from cross-linguistic perspective. In Part II, I analyze student translation and levels of mastery achieved and then go on to bring this into correlation with the type of text translated. In Part III I outline a number of recommendations for methodology.*

Key words: *Legal English, legal terms, comparable corpora, Bank of English*

1. Introduction

Legal English is a language of its own. That is why it is taught even to English native speakers trained to become lawyers. Legal Writing is a mandatory course in all law schools and a host of textbooks on this skill warn future lawyers that ‘they must use language with all the precision of any surgeon handling a scalpel’ (Neumann, 2001:51). Just think why it is that native speakers trained to become doctors, economists, or physicists are not offered similar courses.

A student trained to translate from and into Legal English is learning a set of deeply intertwined and mutually supportive skills. At this level, the student is expected to have already acquired advanced translation skills. Further training in legal translation is a superstructure comprising the following layers: a) understanding the legal concepts, doing additional work to fill the gaps; b) doing research of comparable corpora for terms and phrases; c) (re)creating the source text in the target language in such a way as to make it resemble to the greatest extent possible the comparable corpora.

The essence of this process is very similar to what is often called today an ‘integrated language and content instruction’. In legal translation, the end text can differ a lot from the source. This is mainly due to the distinct features of Legal English which call for different methodologies in different types of text.

[533] The original title of my conference presentation on which this paper is based was “LE Visa and Master Cards to be Issued by Bank of LE Only”

1. Distinct features of Legal English

Of the many specific features of Legal English, I will focus here on those that pose as the stumbling blocks for most students during the course, namely word order, legal phrases, and legal terms.

1.1. Word order

In spite of the decades of 'plain English for law' movement, legal English does not seem to have changed much. Of the many and widely discussed reasons for such a condition, I will mention the firm traditions followed in basic legal training, which is based mainly on precedent documents and textbooks written by authors who are part of the same tradition (see also Haigh, 2004:159). Critics say they use complex language deliberately so that no one can understand them, not even their clients, and lawyers say complex language is necessary to avoid ambiguity in the use of language.

Since most legal documents are still written in this complex style, my approach is to help students master that style.

The text style strikes students first with its unusual word order:

(1) The provisions for termination hereinafter appearing
(2) Such information as the buyer is required by law to provide
(3) Neither party may assign its rights hereunder without the prior written consent of the other party

Within a course period, students generally improve the word order and learn to use it to avoid ambiguity. For example, in (1) above, the unusual postnominal modification of '*provisions for termination'* by '*hereinafter appearing'* serves the function of a restrictive relative clause '*which appears later in this document'*. Its purpose is to avoid ambiguity and repetition.

To give students more chance to practice this in isolation, I sometimes prepare exercises where they are asked to turn simplified, often longer, sentences into their more condensed 'legal' versions. For example, (3) above serves as the target sentence for

(4) Neither party has the right to assign the rights that it has under this agreement unless it has previously obtained a consent of the other party in writing

Students agree that these condensed versions are more precise and leave no room for ambiguity. Indeed, keeping modifiers close to the modified, like *prior written* to *consent,* seems to emphasize that it is a rule that must be obeyed absolutely.

Ironically, I also use exercises from textbooks supporting 'plain English movement'. However, instead of asking the students to make the sentences simpler, I ask them to make the simplified versions sound more legal, which usually means more complex. Here is an example from Wydick (1998:63):

(5) The defendant International Business Machines Corporation is here called "IBM."

(5a) Said defendant International Business Machines Corporation is hereinafter referred to as "IBM."

The same author (1998:26) offers excellent exercises that teach students to replace excessive nominalizations with base verbs and I use them for the same purpose. Students agree that nominalizations *commencement* and *consideration* in (6) below illustrate well lawyers' verbosity which does not add to either accuracy or precision of expression. The verb *commence* is formal enough:

(6) Commencement of discovery is not dependent on the judge's consideration of the motion.

(6a) Discovery can commence before the judge considers the motion.

1.2. Legal phrases

Legal terms and phrases has almost become a set phrase mentioned in all literature on the subject and it is not easy to distinguish between the two. In my opinion, both legal terms and legal phrases are specialist terms and it would be more correct to use legal terms as an umbrella name for both legal words and phrases. It would be wrong to draw the line between them based on the number of words used. For example, it would be wrong to consider *assignment* a legal term and *statute of limitations* a legal phrase just because the latter is a noun phrase composed of three words.

I use the term 'legal phrase' to refer to those phrases typical of legal discourse in general and not of any particular type of legal text. Their number is huge and even mastering only the most frequent among them is often one of the most difficult stages in the process. Many frequent legal phrases form part of (1-3) above. Here are some more examples:

(7) Notwithstanding sections 134-138 above...

(8) ...unless otherwise stipulated by this act...

(9) ...as per Schedule A attached hereto...

(10)... where the applicant has appointed an agent or agents...

(11) ...the Parties hereto have undertaken to ...

I believe that much of formality of legal texts is due to exactly these phrases. They by far outnumber the legal terms in most texts and so should be devoted much time in any teaching/learning process. Not knowing their correspondents in the target language, students tend to translate such phrases from Montenegrin literally. For (7-11) above, their literal translation would be as follows:

(7a) Exceptionally from sections 134-138 above...
(8a) ... unless this act regulates it differently...
(9a) ...as shown in Schedule A, which is attached to this agreement...
(10a) ...if the applicant has appointed an agent or agents...
(11a) ... the Parties to this agreement have accepted the obligation to ...

Another obstacle could be modern legal dictionaries and glossaries that tend to focus almost exclusively on legal terms. Legal phrases may seem obvious to those compiling them, but I believe that for students this is one of the most challenging skills to master. In my opinion, it is the key ingredient of the formality of legal styles. If legal texts were processed statistically, I am sure legal phrases would by far outnumber the legal terms.

In addition, formal style is not what students were exposed to much while at university. This transition from informal to more formal language and style is difficult and may be considered as one of the "most dramatic shifts" in language learning (Swales and Feak, 1994: 15).

1.3. Legal terms

Legal terms may be one word or multiple word terms. They stand for concepts that have specific meaning within the legal system operating in the given language. From learner's perspective, they can be classified into the following three broad categories:

The first category are pure legal terms, i.e. terms that are used in legal contexts only, such as: *estoppel, heritable bond, forfeiture, notice of claim, contravention, wilful and malicious damage, testator,* etc. These are terms that students mostly have not met before. It is crucial in this stage to understand to the best extent possible the concepts behind them. Students of legal translation are not law practitioners but still must make an effort to understand law to be able to produce meaningful legal translation. For this they are offered assistance in the form of comparable corpora and are guided to do independent research on the subject of the text.

The second category includes legal terms also found in everyday speech, such as: *negligent, title, law*, *interest,* etc. The central difficulty with these seemingly simple terms is to distinguish among their various senses and to learn their collocates. For example, the sense of *negligent* in

(12) At trial, the jury found the Olin Corporation grossly negligent in failing to post a flagman to direct traffic.

is different than that of

(12a) He waved his hand in negligent gesture.

The same is true of the following:

(13) In property law, the title owner is the one holding the greatest number of rights.

(13a) The Company published twenty new titles every year.

An additional difficulty is the fact that when used in their 'legal' senses, these words often have different collocates than those in their 'general English' senses. For example, having *interest in property* may support one's other interests, such as *interest in horse riding,* and if one's *interest on principal* grows, one may even buy some horses too.

Students must also learn that where a single word may combine with a number of collocates in their source language, for each collocation in the target language they may use different collocates every time. For example *nezakonit* in Montenegrin, is a collocate to all of the following: *djelo; ponašanje; pretresanje; prihod; dijete*. Their translations into English are: *unlawful act; wrongful conduct; illegal search; illicit proceeds; illegitimate child.* In other words, *nezakonit* has five different correspondents depending on the collocate that they are combined with. I do not encourage students to learn these lists of collocations in isolation just because they are interesting and require caution by a Montenegrin speaker. Instead, and as with other distinct features above, I encourage them to extensively read comparable corpora[534] provided and expand it further with their own research.

Comparable corpora contain texts in source language and target language that are comparable in subject matter and text type (Olohan, 2004:172). It is important to note that these texts are not translations but authentic texts that have subject and/or discourse in common. The 'authenticity' guarantees that it is the actual language used by members of the legal community in the two respective linguistic communities. Reading comparable corpora, students learn more about the subject, may underline legal terms and phrases, and tune in to a legal style of the text in question. What they extract from it is their key tool for recreating their source text into a translation. Because legal styles of Montenegrin and English are different in many more ways than

[534] For more details on my application of comparable corpora see Bulatovic, V. (2009) "Comparable corpora in legal translation training", in Vuco, J., Ignjacevic, A. and Miric, M. (eds.) **Jezik struke. Teorija i praksa**, Beograd: Univerzitet u Beogradu, pp. 313-320.

in their word order, or concepts behind their terms and phrases, the English translation must be dynamic, imaginative, and yet clear and accurate. As the course progresses, students' work evolves to reach a very high competence in Legal English.

2. Student translation

In this part I will look at very short excerpts from students' translations submitted during the course to give the reader a flavour of the class and home work. I hope to show a gradation in levels of complexity of their assignments as well as in their progress towards a very high level of competence in legal translation. The course includes twelve weeks of training and three weeks for introduction to the course and midterm or final tests. I will classify excerpts by the week in which they were done, and, where possible, add a model sample for comparison.

2.1. Week one

Student A:

Provisions of the Law on obligatory relations shall be applied on all the issues which are not specified in this Agreement.

All possible disputes related to this Agreement, the contractual parties shall try to resolve in a peaceful manner, if not, the Court in Podgorica shall have the local jurisdiction.

Student B:

Provisions of the Law on contractual relations shall be applied to all matters that have not been specified by this Agreement.

All possible disputes over this Agreement shall be resolved peacefully by the signatories. Otherwise, the case shall be put under the jurisdiction of the court in Podgorica.

Model:

Any issues not regulated by this Agreement shall be subject to the Contracts Act.

The parties hereto shall make every effort to resolve any disputes arising from this agreement in an amicable way. Where no such agreement is possible, disputes shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the court in Podgorica.

Student A shows knowledge of terms (*provision, specify, disputes, parties, jurisdiction)* but also many weaknesses: in punctuation (capitalization in the name of law), lexicology (*apply on* instead of *apply to; all* instead of *any*), but also fears to depart from the word order of the original. The translation is stiff and sounds like a translation. Student B makes some similar errors (*all possible* instead of *any*; unnecessarily long sentences) but has much better word order and takes more liberty to cut sentences for greater clarity. Understandably for week one, neither student has captured the legal phrases from the corpus. They both use literal or near-literal translation of Montenegrin phrases instead of *shall be subject to; the parties hereto, disputes arising from; where no such agreement is possible,* etc. In this type of text, legal phrases occupy much more space than the legal terms and impact the text style more that the terms. For this reason, students are instructed to pay more attention to the legal phrases of the corpus and not just to the key legal terms.

2.2. Week four

Student A:

1. Offender shall be deprived of money, valuable items and any other proceeds of crime attained by criminal offence; if the deprivation is not possible, the offender shall be obliged to pay an amount corresponding to the attained proprietary benefit/proceeds of crime.

2. Persons to whom the proceeds of crime were transferred shall also be deprived of them without compensation or with a compensation corresponding to the real value.

Student B:

(1) Money, objects of value and any other proceeds of crime shall be seized from the offender. If seizure is not possible, the offender shall pay the amount corresponding to the value of the proceeds of crime.

2) Proceeds of crime shall also be seized from persons to whom they have been transferred without compensation or with a compensation which clearly does not correspond to the actual value.

Model:

(1) Money, valuables and any other proceeds of crime shall be confiscated from the offender and where confiscation is impossible, the offender shall pay the amount corresponding to the proceeds of crime acquired.

(2) Proceeds of crime shall also be confiscated from persons they have been transferred to without compensation or with compensation which obviously does not correspond to the actual value of such proceeds.

Student A has obviously not made an effort to analyze comparable corpora well. As a result, wrong legal terms are used (*deprived of* instead of *confiscate; proprietary benefit* for *proceeds of crime*; *real value* instead of *actual value*). The translation is a literal translation of the source text and not the legal translation of a legal text. Student B shows knowledge of the relevant terms, with the exception of the term *seize.* Namely, this part of procedure is not about ‘temporary seizure’ but about confiscation, or permanent forfeiture. Otherwise, the translation is clear and reads well. There are not many legal phrases in this text and the terms are rather straightforward. However, the concepts standing behind most terms require understanding of law. For example, students must be informed of the difference between pre-trial and trial procedures and different powers the authorities have with regard to *seizure* and *confiscation* of assets. In addition, they need knowledge of *expanded confiscation*, i.e. possibility to confiscate assets from persons not directly involved in the commission of crimes. For this, they are instructed to read extensively on the subject in both languages.

2.3. Week nine

Student A:

This Law shall define the rules by which the court proceeds in enforcement of judicial decision for the discharge of obligation as well as for the security for a claim.

Provisions of this Law shall be applied to the enforcement of the decision reached in administrative and infringement procedure, which refer to the fulfilment of monetary obligation as well as to the security of monetary claim, which has been decided in the administrative or the infringement procedure, unless the Law defines the competence of other body for that enforcement or security.

Student B:

This law sets forth the rules under which a court acts for the purpose of securing a claim or enforcing a court decision related to fulfilment of obligation.

The provisions of this law shall be applicable to the enforcement of a court decision passed in administrative or misdemeanour proceedings related to fulfilling a monetary obligation, as well as to securing a monetary claim ruled upon in administrative or misdemeanour proceedings, unless the enforcement or securing fall under the competencies of another body.

Model:

This Act shall set court enforcement rules governing settlement of debts and securing of claims.

The provisions of this Act shall also apply to the enforcement of judgement given in administrative or misdemeanour proceedings for settlement of a monetary claim and for security of a monetary claim pending in administrative or misdemeanour proceedings, save where said enforcement or security is placed within the jurisdiction of another authority by law.

Both translations read well. This text has many more legal terms than legal phrases in the sense described above. The students struggle to understand key concepts in the two languages. They stick to the terminology of the original and fail to notice that different phrases are used to refer to the same concept (*fulfil an obligation* is the same as *settle the debt; monetary obligation* is the same as *debt)* but they correctly interpret the concept of *security* to refer to *securing a claim* rather than *security* in general. Enforcement procedure is generally a very complex subject and literature and documents on this are very difficult to read. The language is dense and experts tend to shorten the sentences because they obviously know what they mean as well as to use a set of phrases interchangeably to refer to the same concept. The layman reader needs to read a lot to get the idea of who is who in the procedure and who does what. Accordingly, student translators need to immerse as much as possible in relevant corpora until they are able to fully understand the meaning behind and only then identify individual terms employed to render the legal relations into language. The phrase relevant corpora is used here to refer to not just similar texts (such as the act, in this case) but also texts about the subject where the subject itself is explained.

2.4 Week eleven

Student A:

As long as no security is provided, the party which has arrested the ship may detain the vessel until a judgement on the grounds of merits is delivered. When a judgement is delivered, a conservatory arrest becomes an enforceable arrest: a public sale of the vessel may start. It is up to the claimant to decide whether the arrest will continue to be effected: the court does not have an active role in the continuation of arrest.

Student B:

Before the security is deposited, the party that has temporarily arrested the ship has the right to detain the vessel until the judgment on the merits is delivered. Upon its delivery, arrest for conservation purposes turns into enforceable arrest: an auction for the vessel may then be held. The decision on whether to continue the arrest shall be taken by the creditor: the court has no say in the decision on the prolongation of arrest.

Model:

Until security is placed, the party which effected the arrest may detain the vessel until the judgment on the merits is given. When the judgment is given, conservatory arrest becomes enforceable: public sale of the vessel may take place. Claimant decides whether to continue the arrest: the court does not have an active role in the extension of arrest.

This too is an extremely technical and difficult subject. The procedure described is complicated and thus the language used must be very precise. One specific difficulty here is the Montenegrin corresponding phrases of the English terms, particularly because where Montenegrin has a whole phrase (*privremeno zadržavanje radi obezbjeđenja,* or, literally translated, *temporary detention of vessel to serve as security)*, English has just *arrest of vessel,* which comprises the idea of its purpose. In English texts on this topic, there are many more legal terms than legal phrases. It seems that such complex legal texts must focus primarily on content that there is little room left for any legal phrases. For this text too, students have to do a lot of research in addition to the basic comparable corpora provided to be able to understand the complex relations among the persons involved.

2.5 Extra work

At the end of the course students are exposed to texts that are extremely technical and condensed. The terms used are almost shorthand linguistic expressions of the concepts they represent and no translation is possible unless one thoroughly studies the subject in both languages. In addition, the assistance of a professional in the field is required for both understanding the concepts and revising the translation.

Example 1*: Life with Critical Illness Accelerated Benefit and Stand-Alone Critical Illness offered as a part of package for Group policies*

Translation*: Polisa životnog osiguranja u slučaju kritične bolesti sa ranijom isplatom naknade, kao poseban proizvod i kao dopunsko osiguranje paketu Grupne polise.*

The example above is a good example of idiomaticity and morphological syntheticity of English. *Life* stands for *life insurance policy* and *with critical illness accelerated benefit* stands for *earlier payment of benefit in the event of a critical illness*. The following is an example of similar difficulties:

Example 2: *The life business is composed of Individual and Group business. For individual business and smaller Groups the sum assured retained is a maximum of 10,000 Euros, which is 50% of 20,000 Euros. For any claim above 20,000 Euros the reinsurer covers the risk. For larger Groups there is a Free Cover Limit (50,000 Euros) but the same retention amounts apply per individual within the Group.*

Translation: *Životno osiguranje sastoji se od individualnog i grupnog osiguranja. Za individualno osiguranje i osiguranje za manje grupe maksimalni samopridržaj iznosi 10.000€, ili 50% od iznosa od 20.000€. Za sve zahtjeve preko iznosa od 20.000€ reosiguravatelj pokriva rizik. Za veće grupe postoji Granica slobodnog pokrića (50.000€), ali se na pojedinca u grupi primjenjuje isti iznos samopridžaja.*

Like with previous two stages in students' progress, here they must focus more on the content and concepts of comparable corpora and then do work on the terms and their correspondents.

3. Conclusion

I hope the paper has shown that the methodology of comparable corpora, together with extended research for more complex subjects, is reflected positively in the quality of student papers. In less technical and less complex legal texts (week 1, partly week 4) , students should focus on legal terms and particularly on legal phrases, both of which can be found in the comparable corpora provided in the course. The main body of the texts in these stages is still in General English. They need to make sure the level of formality is maintained in the target language, which they do by looking at the sentence structure and use of appropriate terms and phrases where necessary. Later, and with subjects that are more difficult to understand (under weeks 9, 11 and extra work), students need to make an additional effort and go beyond comparable corpora provided by the instructor. The texts work mostly with legal concepts that are part of a wider system or scheme. Understanding of these concepts is essential for quality translations.

Gradual improvement in the quality of student translations seems to prove that the methodology applied is good. As their instructor, I find the work extremely challenging and rewarding.

Legal translators today cannot afford to specialise in a number of areas only, and so students too are exposed to a great variety of texts throughout the course. They are encouraged to design glossaries for individual subjects. Another valuable tool on their journey could also be a Bank of Legal English. If established, such a data base could expand with each new generation to eventually serve as a quick and full support tool. I hope that with my assistance my next group of students will start this project.

References

Bhatia, V. (1994) “Cognitive structuring in legislative provisions”, in: Gibbons, J. (ed) **Language and the Law**, London and New York: Longman, pp. 136-156.

Haigh, R. (2004) **Legal English**, London: Cavendish Publishing Limited

Neumann, R.K. (2001) **Legal Reasoning and Legal Writing**, New York: Aspen Law & Business

Newmark, P. (1988) **A Textbook of Translation**, New York, London: Prentice Hall International

Olohan, M. (2004) **Introducing Corpora in Translation Studies**, London and New York: Routledge

Swales. J.M. and Feak C.B. (1994) **Academic Writing for Graduate Students: A Course for Nonnative Speakers of English**, Ann Arbor University of Michigan

Wydick, R.C. (2002) **Plain English for Lawyers,** Durham, California: Carolina Academic Press

CIP – Каталогизација у публикацији
Национална библиотека Црне Горе, Цетиње

ISBN 978-86-85263-10-1
COBISS.CG-ID 22529296

ISBN 978-86-85263-10-1
9 788685 263101 >