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ČASOPIS ZA NAUKU O JEZIKU I KNJIŽEVNOSTI
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FOLIA LINGUISTICA ET LITTERARIA: Časopis za nauku o jeziku i književnosti
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Studije književnosti i kulture /
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RENESANSNE KONCEPCIJE ČOVEKA: VANVREMENSKA AKTUELNOST KONTROVERZE IZMEĐU MAKIJAVELIJA I MORA¹

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Apstrakt. Rad se bavi istraživanjem različitih renesansnih koncepcija čoveka i njegove uloge u društvu. Aktuelnost sukoba između političkih i ličnih vrednosti, legitimnosti i moralnosti, dužnosti i savesti, najjasnije se uočava u dvema suprostavljenim renesansnim definicijama čoveka o kojima govore Makijaveli i Mor, a kojima su se između ostalih bavili De las Kazas i Montenj, a kasnije Hobs i Ruso. Savremena komponenta ove renesansne kontroverze predstavljena je kroz osnovne uvide Hauarda Zina o dihotomiji kolonizatori/kolonizovani.

Ključne reči: jedinstveni senzibilitet, disocijacija senzibiliteta, stvarni/pravi čovek, kolonizatori/kolonizovani.

Kada govorи o engleskim metafizičarima, T. S. Eliot naglašava da njihova poezija zapravo predstavlja izraz „jedinstvenog senzibiliteta“, umetnost u kojoj dolazi do povezivanja, na prvi pogled, nespojivih entiteta:

Misao je za Dona predstavljala iskustvo; modifikovala je njegov senzibilitet. Kada je pesnikov um savršeno opremljen za svoj posao, dolazi do stalnog povezivanja, na prvi pogled, najrazličitijih iskustava; iskustvo običnog čoveka je haotično, nepravilno, fragmentarno. On se zaljubljuje ili

¹ Obrazlaganje raskola između Makijavelijeve i Morove koncepcije renesansnog čoveka u radu zasniva se na objedinjenim kritičkim uvidima ostvarenim prilikom istraživačkog rada autorke na magistarskom radu *Motiv Fausta u tragedijama Kristofera Marloa* (Kostić 2013), kao i na neobjavljenoj doktorskoj tezi *Sukob političkog i ličnog u Šekspirovim istorijskim dramama*. Naime, iščitavanjem Marloovih tragedija i Šekspirovih istorijskih drama postepeno se iskristalisalo mišljenje da su ovi renesansni umetnici bili duhovno povezani, jer su kroz svoja dela upozoravali na fatalne posledice „disocijacije senzibiliteta“ (Eliot 1921: 64, 66) oslikane u tragičnim izborima dramskih junaka o kojima su govorili. Naime, Marlo i Šekspir su u kulturi zapadne civilizacije uočili identičan destruktivni patrijarhalni obrazac, te su se kroz svoja dela zalagali za povratak morovski-utopijskim idejama autentičnog renesansnog humanizma, pri čemu su pasionirano ilustrovali i kritikovali opasne mutacije isključivo racionalističke, tj. makijavelistički-pragmatične vizije života.

čita Spinozu, ova iskustva nisu međusobno povezana, a nemaju nikakve veze ni sa zvukom pisaće mašine ili mirisom kuvanja; u pesnikovom umu, pak, ova iskustva stvaraju nove celine [...] stalno čujemo kako treba „pogledati u srce i pisati“. Ali to nije dovoljno duboko; Don je gledao mnogo dublje od srca: u cerebralni korteks, nervni sistem, digestivni trakt. (Eliot 64)²

Nažalost, tvrdi Eliot, veći broj velikih umetnika, pati od tzv. „disocijacije senzibiliteta“ (Eliot 64, 66), odnosno davanja prioriteta samo jednom aspektu života. Tako neki umetnici, poput Miltona i Drajdена, naglašavaju intelektualni aspekt čoveka, a samim tim njihovoј poeziji nedostaje emotivna komponenta, čiji se nedostatak, između ostalog, može videti i u formalnoj savršenosti stihova, ali, istovremeno, i u nedostatku jake emocije neophodne za stvaranje dobre poezije, smatra Eliot. S druge strane, romantičari isuviše naglašavaju emotivnu komponentu života i često rizikuju da se izgube u svojim internalizovanim fikcijama i imaginativnim svetovima. To je i razlog zbog kojeg T.S. Eliot smatra da je poezija metafizičara ideal kome treba težiti: posle njih, usledila je disocijacija senzibiliteta od koje se umetnici nisu oporavili do danas.

Koren ove podeljenosti može se, između ostalog, potražiti i u različitim renesansnim konцепцијама čoveka i njegove uloge u društvu. Sukob političkih i ličnih vrednosti, legitimnosti i moralnosti, dužnosti i savesti, se tako možda najbolje i najjasnije uočava u dvema suprostavljenim definicijama čoveka o kojima govore neki od najcitiranjih renesansnih mislilaca danas, Nikolo Makijaveli i Thomas Mor.

Makijaveli u studiji *Vladalac* (1513) obrazlaže ideje o svetovnom razumevanju političke moći kao mehanizma kojim se može realizovati i dobro i zlo, u zavisnosti od volje vladara. Poput većine renesansnih autora čiji je glavni cilj bio istražiti kakav je zaista čovek, umesto kakav čovek treba da bude, Makijaveli izražava svoje interesovanje za „stvarnog“ ili „realnog“ čoveka, kako ga naziva Suhodolski (v. Suhodolski 352): precizni i konkretni sekularni uvidi u ljudsku prirodu, po Makijaveliju, predstavljaju uslov za ostvarivanje svake održive političke teorije i dobre vladavine.

Međutim, koliko su zapravo precizni ovi uvidi na kojima Makijaveli zasniva svoju političku teoriju još uvek je diskutabilno. Makijavelijevo viđenje

² Sve navedene citate u tekstu prevela M.K.

“A thought to Donne was an experience; it modified his sensibility. When a poet’s mind is perfectly equipped for its work, it is constantly amalgamating disparate experience; the ordinary man’s experience is chaotic, irregular, fragmentary. The latter falls in love, or reads Spinoza, and these two experiences have nothing to do with each other, or with the noise of the typewriter or the smell of cooking; in the mind of the poet these experiences are always forming new wholes [...] sometimes we are told ‘to look into our hearts and write’. But that is not looking deep enough. Donne looked into a good deal more than the heart. One must look into the cerebral cortex, the nervous system, and the digestive tracts.” (Eliot 1921: 64)

„realnog“ čoveka je u potpunosti pesimistično i može se posmatrati kao svestrana verzija Avgustinove doktrine o urođenoj ljudskoj izopačenosti:³ po Makijaveliju, ljudi su pohlepni, prevrtljivi, egocentrični i pre svega zainteresovani za ostvarivanje i očuvanje političke moći i dominacije bez obzira na posledice. Prema tome, idealni vladar mora neizostavno da koristi represivne mere kako bi kontrolisao svoje podanike, tj. mora da koristi silu kako bi stvorio „idealno“ društvo koje bi se odražavalo u vlasti koja je u mogućnosti da zaštitи čoveka od sebe samog. Makijavelijevi idealni vladari su zato oni koji su uspešni, ne zbog svoje dobrote i blagosti, već zbog jačine, lukavstva i izdržljivosti. Politička neiskrenost je legitimna, tvrdi Makijaveli, iz prostog razloga što u moralno nesavršenom svetu, vladar ne može da bude moralno savršen, a da pritom ne prouzrokuje sopstveni politički krah. Iako bi bilo poželjno da vladar bude pun vrlina u očima svojih podanika, istorijski primeri vladara nas podučavaju da idealni vladar mora da pravi kompromise sa standardima dobrote i vrline kad god je to neophodno, te tako u političkom smislu predstavlja odličnu ilustraciju Eliotove „disocijacije senzibiliteta“ (Eliot 64, 66):

Čovek koji će se iskreno izjašnjavati u svim svojim delanjima mora i treba da ide u propast, među većinom koja je nepoštena. Nakon čega je potrebno da vladar, u želji da se sačuva, iskoristi iskrenost, ali i da je odbaci, kad god je to potrebno. (Machiavelli 58)⁴

Dakle, glavni makijavelistički moto – „cilj opravdava sredstva“ – obuhvata, pre svega, cinizam vladara pomoću koga on teži za prividom pravičnosti koju društvo vrednuje, a on sam ne mora, tako da kad god smatra da je neophodno primeniti otvorenu силу i surovost, može i mora da odbaci društveno vrednovani privid pravičnosti. I zaista, jedno od najvažnijih sredstava koje idealni vladar mora da koristi po Makijaveliju jeste surovost, jer ga se zbog toga ljudi plaše, što zadovoljava još jedan postulat iz Makijavelijevog vodiča za vladare – „mnogo je bolje da te se plaše nego da te vole“. Da rezimiramo, Makijavelijev idealni vladar mora da bude spremjan da koristi svakojake laži, prevare i obmane kako bi se za-

³ Sv. Avgustin, hrišćanski filozof i teolog iz V veka, rodonečelnik i glasnogovornik *Doktrine o prvočitnom grehu*. Osnovno načelo ove doktrine predstavlja ideja o urođenoj izopačenosti čoveka, koji poseduje slobodnu volju u određenoj meri, ali je ona kontaminirana instiktima i porivima grešnog tela. Zbog toga, put spasenja, po Avgustinu, ne može da se nađe izvan religioznih institucija. Treba napomenuti da je Avgustin poznat po kontroverzi sa Pelagijem, hrišćanskim asketom iz V veka, koji je nasuprot njemu, zagovarao *Doktrinu slobodne volje*, koja se zasnivala na ideji da se čovek rada kao slobodno biće koje može samostalno da rasuduje, što je predstavljalo napad na institucionalizovanu religiju. Crkva i crkveni kler, po Pelagiju, nisu predstavljali neophodne činioce ličnog spasenja pojedinca, što je u to vreme bila radikalna ideja koja je dovela do progona Pelagija i njegovih sledbenika.

⁴ “[F]or that man who will profess honesty in all his actions must needs go to ruin, among so many that are dishonest. Whereupon it is necessary for a prince, desiring to preserve himself, to be able to make use of that honesty, and to lay it aside again, as need shall require.” (Machiavelli 1953: 58)

držao na vlasti, tako da iz ovoga logično sledi zaključak damoralnost, kao karakteristika vođe, nije poželjna, jer vladaru može da nanese više štete nego koristi:

Dovoljno je istaći da Vladalac, a posebno novi Vladalac, ne može da obraća pažnju na ljudske vrline i dobrotu; on je često primoran, da bi održao svoju vlast, da dela protivno principima svoje vere, milosrđa, humanosti i religije; i zato mu i odgovara da poseduje intelekt kojim će vetrove subbine preokrenuti u svoju korist; i kako sam ranije istakao, da ne zaboravi na princip dobra, dok može, ali i da zna kako da iskoristi princip zla, ukoliko je to neophodno (Machiavelli 59).⁵

Po Makijaveliju, najveća vrlina idealnog vladara leži u njegovoј jačini, snazi i svetovnim uspesima, pri čemu kao primer te vrline navodi uspešno osvajanje stranih teritorija i pokoravanje drugih naroda. Na taj način, Makijaveli postaje jedan od prvih renesansnih zaštitnika evropskog kolonijalnog projekta. Kolonizovanje novih teritorija predstavlja, smatra Makijaveli, pored uvećanja moći i jačine vladara, i neiscrpan izvor bogaćenja kolonizatora, a ništa ne košta, pošto sav ceh i štetu ovog poduhvata zapravo snose kolonizovani:

Na kolonije se ne troši mnogo; one mogu da se redovno izdržavaju bez ikakvih troškova, ili pak vrlo malo; ovaj metod ošteće samo one – a oni čine samo mali deo nove države – čija su polja i kuće oduzete s ciljem da se podele novim stanovnicima; oni kojima vladar nanosi štetu, pošto su raštrkani i siromašni, ne mogu da učine nikakvo zlo, a svi ostali su pritom neporemećeni i nepovređeni (Machiavelli 62).⁶

Makijaveli se danas obično smatra jednim od začetnika sociološke teorije o društvenom ugovoru, koja je za osnovni cilj imala definisanje principa na kojima se zasniva vladajući politički poredak i dominantna državna ideologija. Njegov duhovni sledbenik, Tomas Hobbes, je 1651. godine objavio studiju pod nazivom *Levijatan*. Za razliku od osnovnog hebrejskog značenja koncepta levijatana, tj. morske nemani, kao i hrišćanskog srednjovekovnog tumačenja levijatana

⁵ “And it suffices to conceive this, that a Prince, and especially a new Prince, cannot observe all those things, for which men are held good; he being often forc'd, for the maintenance of his State, to do contrary to his faith, charity, humanity and religion; and therefore it suits him to have a mind so disposed as to turn and take the advantage of all winds and fortunes; and as formerly I said, not forsake the good, while he can; but to know how to make use of the evil upon necessity.” (Machiavelli 1953: 59)

⁶ “Not much is spent on colonies; they can be sent out and kept up without any expense, or very little; this method damages only those – and they are a very small part of the new state – whose fields and houses are taken away in order to give them to the new inhabitants; those whom the prince damages, since they are scattered and poor, can do no harm, and all the others are undisturbed and uninjured.” (Machiavelli 1953: 62)

kao đavoljeg izaslanika, kod Hobsa, on postaje sinonim za suverenu državnu vlast (za njega najbolju u obliku apsolutne monarhije), koja je neophodna kako bi se ljudi prisilili da izvrše sve svoje sistemske nametnute obaveze. Ideja koja je pomenuta u Makijavelijevoj političkoj teoriji, kod Hobsa je dovedena do savršenstva: imajući u vidu prirodno stanje ljudi koje karakterišu ideje „rata svih protiv svih“ i „čovek je čoveku vuk“, Hob je mišljenja da je postojanje prečutnog društvenog ugovora, zasnovanog na zdravorazumskom principu da se ne čini drugima ono što svaki pojedinac ne bi želeo da se učini njemu, neophodno. Dakle, državna zajednica se sklapa potpisivanjem ugovora po kome se politička moć i snaga dobровoljno prenosi na istaknutog pojedinca ili skup ljudi, koji u tom slučaju raspolažudržavnim suverenitetom, a samim tim imaju pravo i obavezu da donose zakone radi zaštite imovine i interesa svih njenih građana, kako bi se izbegla neizbežna anarhija u društvu (v. Hobs 1991).

Nasuprot njima, potpuno drugačija definicija čoveka i političkog ideal-a kome treba težiti opisana je u *Utopiji* (1516) Tomasa Mora, koji se vraća idejama koje je proklamovao Pelagije još u V veku. Za razliku od Makijavelija, Mor pravi razliku između „stvarnog“ i „pravog“ čoveka (v. Suhodolski 352). Stvaran čovek predstavlja, po Moru, odstupanje od pravog čoveka: čovek nije urođeno zao, njegove izopačenosti su zapravo društveno uslovljene. Autentičan, originalan, istinski čovek je sposoban da pokaže ljubav prema svom bližnjem i ima urođeni smisao za pravdu. Pravda, smatra Mor, anticipirajući na taj način ideju Edvarda Bonda, jeste pravo svakog čoveka stečeno rođenjem. Prema Bondu, osnovne potrebe čoveka se baziraju na esencijalnim principima humanosti, koja je vekovima korumpirana od strane različitih ideologija, a može se povratiti kroz umetnost, naročito dramsku, kojoj ima za glavni cilj da otkriva društvene nepravde, kao osnovni uslov napretka.⁷

Mor u svojoj *Utopiji* ne govori o drami, ali, poput Bonda, insistira na ideji da je jedini način da se „stvarni“ i „pravi“ čovek ujedine zapravo društvo u kome neće postojati nejednaka podela bogatstva, tj. društvo bazirano na ideji o zajedničkoj imovini:

⁷ Zapravo je ceo esej Edvarda Bonda, *Freedom and Drama* (2006), relevantan za razumevanje kontroverze između Makijavelija i Mora. U kontekstu svoje diskusije o funkciji drame, Bond koristi Morovu formulaciju o zločinu i kazni i postavlja je u savremenim kontekstima. Po Bondu, potreba za pravdom je ljudski imperativ i urođena je. Međutim, u nepravičnom društvu „zločin može da predstavlja izraz ljudske potrebe za pravdom – poput destruktivnog dečjeg besa koji predstavlja njihovu potrebu za pravdom. Zločinac izvršava svoj zločin kako bi izrazio svoju nevinost. To je zapravo kliše u suđenjima mučenicima pod tiranjom [...] Taj kliše postaje sruva istina kada nepravedna demokratija osuđuje i kažnjava zločinice – a mi to ne želimo da priznamo“ (Bond 218). “But in an unjust society ‘crime may be the expression of the need for justice – just as the child’s destructive anger may represent its need for justice. The criminal commits his crime to express his innocence. This is a cliché in the trials of martyrs under tyranny. [...] The cliché becomes a raw truth when unjust democracy convicts and punishes criminals – and we do not like to admit it.”

Mada, kada otvoreno govorim o svojim stavovima, moram jasno da priznam da dokle god postoji bilo kakva imovina, i dokle god novac predstavlja standard svih ostalih stvari, ne mogu da zamislim da se narodom vlada pravedno i srećno: nije pravedno, jer će sve biti podeljeno među nekolicinom (a čak ni oni neće biti zadovoljni podelom u svakom pogledu), a ostali će živeti u absolutnoj bedi.(More 102)⁸

Zbog toga, u procesu sastavljanja svoje utopijske vlade, Mor odbacuje monarhiju i, poput Platona, zalaže se za republiku. Njegovo idealno društvo predstavlja jedan vid miroljubivog sistema komunizma, gde je podela imovine jednak, što zapravo znači da svaki čovek ima ideo u zajedničkoj imovini države, ali samo ukoliko radi za zajedničko dobro. Neki kritičari danas tvrde da je Mor podržavao imperijalizam engleske krune; međutim, u svojoj *Utopiji*, on pominje mogućnost vojne intervencije samo u slučaju da susedne zemlje zamole za pomoć protiv stranih agresora.⁹

Jedan od prvih Morovih sledbenika bio je Žan Žak Ruso, francuski filozof i politički teoretičar, koji je obeležio epohu prosvjetiteljstva u XVIII veku. Poput Mora, Ruso je smatrao da je savremena kultura negacija prirode, te je stalno isticao da ljudi treba da joj se vrate, tj. da treba ponovo da praktikuju koncepte slobode, ravноправnosti i jednakosti, koji predstavljaju neotuđivo i urođeno pravo svakog pojedinca. Dakle, ljudi su u osnovi dobri, ali ih društvo kvari; Ruso deli viziju o korenima društvene nejednakosti sa Morom i zasniva je na postojanju privatne imovine. Budući da je i Ruso, poput Hobsa, jedan od utemeljivača sociološke teorije društvenog ugovora, on smatra da je jedini način da čovek ostane slobodan u građanskom društvu, a da se u isto vreme država zasniva na čvrstim temeljima, na unutrašnjem jedinstvu, potpuno ukidanje svih pojedinačnih volja, koje „po svojoj prirodi teže privilegijama“. Treba se pokoriti „opštoj volji“ ili „volji čitave zajednice“, koja je uvek usmerena ka zajedničkom interesu i teži principu jednakosti, za razliku od ranije pomenute Hobsove vizije društvenog ugovora:

Ako je suprotnost pojedinačnih interesa dovela do potrebe obrazovanja društva, saglasnost tih interesa učinila je to obrazovanje mogućim. Društvenu vezu sačinjava ono što je zajedničko u tim raznim interesima; i

⁸ “Though, to speak plainly my real sentiments, I must freely own that as long as there is any property, and while money is the standard of all other things, I cannot think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily: not justly, because all things will be divided among a few (and even these are not in all respects happy), the rest being left to be absolutely miserable.” (More 102)

⁹ Što se tiče koncepta rođstva, Mor ga vidi kao sistem nametnutog rada – neka vrsta kazne za one koji odbijaju mogućnost da zarađuju za život tako što će raditi za dobrobit cele nacije. Pa čak i tom slučaju, uslovi života u kojima žive robovi su takvi da bi mnogi stanovnici iz susednih zemalja radile bili robovi u Utopiji nego slobodni građani u svojim domovinama (v. More 103).

kad ne bi bilo neke tačke u kojoj bi se svi interesi složili, nikakvo društvo ne bi moglo da postoji. (Ruso 24)

Pored Mora i Rusoa, još jedan značajan mislilac koji se otvoreno su prostavlja Makijavelijevom geslu da „cilj opravdava sredstva“ je Mišel Ejkem de Montenj. Smatra se začetnikom ličnog eseja, posvećenog putovanju uma, kako ga je sam opisao. Njegovi *Ogledi* (1580) su eksplicitno protiv osnovne prepostavke imperijalizma – superiornosti Evropljana. Eseji *O kočijama* i *O kanibalima* predstavljaju najelokventniju osudu evropske uskoumne arogancije i egotizma, kao i praktikovanja makijavelističke neiskrenosti i surovosti.

Iako obimni, evropski uvidi o ostatku sveta su, po Montenju, bili prilično nepotpuni, tako da je otkriće Novog sveta iz 1492. godine, moglo da predstavlja veličanstveni događaj u evropskoj istoriji, mogućnost da se dotadašnji evropski uvidi prošire i poboljšaju proučavajući verovanja i običaje američkih domorodaca. Nasuprot ortodoksnom shvatanju domorodaca kao običnih divljaka, Montenj insistira na činjenici da američki domoroci, ljudi koji su izgradili prelepe gradove poput Kuska u Peruu i Meksiko Sitija, mogu da poduče kolonizatore mnogo čemu. Međutim, osvajači, umesto da izvuku neku korist iz uvida o novoj kulturi, nameću svoje predrasude i arogantne stavove o kulturi američkih domorodaca, ili, bolje rečeno, o njenom nedostatku, i na taj način je ugrožavaju i korumpiraju:

Plašim se da smo u velikoj meri ubrzali propast Novog sveta našim zaražama, i da smo im nametnuli naše stavove i kulturu. To je bio svet odojčadi; a mi ga nismo šibali i podvrgli našoj disciplini zahvaljujući našoj prirodnoj hrabrosti i snazi, niti smo ga osvojili našom pravdom i dobrotom, niti smo ga pokorili našom velikodušnošću. Većina odgovora koje smo dobili od ovih ljudi i većina naših kontakata s njima pokazuju da oni uopšte ne zaostaju u prirodnoj jasnoći i relevantnosti uma. (Montaigne 104)¹⁰

¹⁰ “I am much afraid that we shall have very greatly hastened the decline and ruin of this new world by our contagion, and that we will have sold it our opinions and our arts very dear. It was an infant world; yet we have not whipped it and subjected it to our discipline by the advantage of our natural valor and strength, nor won it over by our justice and goodness, nor subjugated it by our magnanimity. Most of the responses of these people and most of our dealing with them show that they were not at all behind us in natural bright of mind and pertinence.” (Montaigne 104)

Montenj zatim navodi kako su neki od ovih tzv. varvara otišli u civilizovanu Evropu i opisuje njihovo iskreno čuđenje i negodovanje nad situacijom koju su tamo zatekli, koja zapravo može da posluži kao potvrda njegove ideje da su pravi divljaci bili kolonizatori:

„Možemo nazvati ove ljudi varvarima, u odnosu na pravila razuma, ali ne i u odnosu na sebe, pošto ih nadmašujemo u bilo kojoj vrsti varvarstva [...] Trojica takvih varvara su otišla u Ruen, u vreme vladavine pokojnog kralja Čarlsa IX. Neko je želeo da zna čime su se najviše iznenadili. Rekli su da im je prvo veoma čudno da se toliko mnogo odraslih muškaraca, bradatih, jakih i naoružanih, pokorava detetu, i da nijedan od njih nije bio izabran umesto deteta da komanduje. Drugo što su primetili (u njihovom jeziku postoje izrazi kojima se jedan čovek vidi kao polovina drugog) jeste

Daleko od civilizovanog, velikodušnog ili barem tolerantnog odnosa prema domorocima, kolonizatori su koristili divljačke metode u njihovom pokoravanju, a koje su kasnije rezultovale u „istrebljenju svih divljaka“ (Conrad 25), kako je Konradov Kurc rezimirao ogoljenu istinu o evropskoj misiji civilizovanja Belgijskog Konga. Tri veka pre ovog Konradovog izveštaja, Bartolome de las Kazas, prvi zaštitnik ljudskih prava u slučaju američkih Indijanaca, izveštavao je o posledicama španske kolonijalizacije Novog sveta koristeći slične opise:

Uvereni smo da su naši Španci, svojom surovošću i poganstima, raselili i opustošili taj veliki kontinent, i da je više od deset kraljevstava, većih od Španije [...] nekada punih ljudi, sada napušteno. Kada sada svodimo račune, u proteklih četrdeset godina je više od dvanaest miliona osoba, muškaraca, žena i dece nepravedno stradalo kroz tiraniju i paklena dela koja su počinili hrišćani. (De las Casas 106)¹¹

Hauard Zin u studiji *Istorijski eseji o američkoj demokratiji* (2004) takođe govori o sukobu između surove realnosti zasnovane na destruktivnom političkom obrascu koji ima za cilj nehumano bogaćenje malog broja ljudi, čija je nužna posledica bila materijalno i duhovno osiromašavanje domorodaca prilikom kolonijalizacije Novog sveta i njenog pravičnog privida predstavljenog u vidu romansirane istorije iz koje američka deca uče o neustrašivim avanturističkim podvizima Kristofera Kolumba: „Kralj i kraljica su razgledali zlato i Indijance. Sa divljenjem su slušali priču o Kolumbovim avanturama, a onda su svi zajedno krenuli u crkvu na molitvu i pesmu. Suze radosnice su se pojavile u Kolumbovim očima“ (Zin 2004: 90).

da je među nama bilo sitih ljudi i proždrljivaca, dok su njihove polovine bile prosjaci na njihovim vratima, izgladneli od bede i siromaštva; smatrali su da je čudno što su ovi nevoljnici trpeli takvu nepravdu, a pritom ih nisu poklali ili im zapalili kuće.“ (Montaigne 105)

“So we may call these people barbarians, in respect to the rules of reason, but not in respect to ourselves, who surpass them in any kind of barbarity [...] Three of these men were at Ruen, at the time the late King Charles IX was there. Someone wanted to know what they had found most amazing. They said that in the first place they thought it very strange that so many grown men, bearded, strong and armed, who were around the king should submit to obey a child, and that one of them was not chosen to command instead. Second (they have a way in their language of speaking of men as halves of one another), they had noticed that there were among us men full and gorged with all sorts of good things, and that their other halves were beggars at their doors, emaciated with hunger and poverty; and they thought it strange that these needy halves could endure such an injustice, and did not take the others by the throat, or set fire to their houses.“ (Montaigne 105).

¹¹ “We are assured that our Spaniards, with their cruelty and execrable work, have depopulated and made desolate the great continent, and that more than ten kingdoms, larger than all Spain [...] although formerly full of people, are now deserted. We give as a real and true reckoning, that in the said forty years, more than 12 million persons, men and women, and children have perished unjustly and through tyranny, by the infernal deeds and tyranny of the Christians.” (De Las Casas 106)

U svom dnevniku, Kolumbo govori o domorocima koji su evropsku ekspediciju dočekali blagonaklono; štaviše, njegovo mišljenje se u potpunosti poklapa sa Montenjovim kada govori o kolonizovanim Indijancima kao o narodu koji je „miroljubiv i nema nikakav odnos prema materijalnim stvarima“ (Zin2004: 82). Međutim, već u sledećoj rečenici, Kolumbo nudi pravi uvid u prirodu ovog „civilizovanog“ pohoda kolonizatora, a razotkriva i osnovni cilj ekspedicije – plen po svaku cenu: „Sa svega pedesetak ljudi možemo ih pokoriti i naterati da čine šta god želimo“ (Zin 2004:82).

Zin naglašava činjenicu da Kolumbo više ne posmatra Indijance kao dobre domaćine već kao potencijalne robeve i jeftinu radnu snagu. Budući da Indijanci nisu pružali nikakav otpor evropskim kolonizatorima, već su bili izrazito blagonakloni i miroljubivi, „sofisticirani“ Evropljani su ih veoma brzo i efikasno pokorili, a potom su domoroce izlagali stravičnim mučenjima radi sopstvene zabave. Svoja zlodela bi odevali u ispraznu retoriku neophodnosti civilizovanja Indijanca, o čemu je govorio i Montenj u *Ogledima*. Isti obrazac ponašanja, tvrdi Zin, mogao se uočiti i na tlu Afrike i Australije, odnosno svuda gde su „hrišćani, bele rase i vaspitani u 'civilizovanom' zapadnoevropskom društvu, došli u kontakt sa ljudskim društvima koja nisu počivala na evropskim zakonima sile“ (Zin 2004: 83).¹²

Zin je u istoriji zapadne civilizacije uočio učestali destruktivni obrazac koji je kritikovao kako u vezi evropskog imperijalističkog pohoda na američki kontinent tokom XV i XVI veka tako i u vezi sličnih poduhvata u istoriji XX veka. U studiji *Istorija dvadesetog veka* (1998) Zin ističe da većina ljudi ne dovodi u pitanje postojanje dominantnih političkih sistema i vodeće ideologije, pri čemu je, između ostalog, taj nedostatak svesti nametnut kroz kulturno-institucionalne procese vaspitanja i obrazovanja. Upravo je makijavelistički bespogovorno izvršavanje naredbi vladajućih ideologa, često zamaskirano kao politička nužnost, vodilo u mnogobrojne masovne tragedije i stradanja tokom XX veka (v. Zinn, 1998: 431-443). Dalje ponavljanje takve istorije može se izbeći, smatra Zin, „negovanjem nezavisnog mišljenja, masovnim povlačenjem lojalnosti, odbijanjem poslušnosti, investiranjem energije (zvaničnici bi rekli disidentske, utopijske) u drugačije životne koncepcije i projekte“ (v. Bogoeva Sedlar 364), tj. Negovanjem vizije o Morovom konceptu autentičnog čoveka, koji svoju egzistenciju zasniva na ličnim principima pravičnosti, moralnosti i jednakosti, i ne robuje nametnutim političkim dužnostima i ograničenjima.

¹² Glavni predstavnik novog istorizma, Stiven Grinblat, isto se kao i Hauard Zin bavio proučavanjem dokumenata iz rane kolonijalne prošlosti evropskih zemalja, te je uporno ukazivao na kontinuitet imperijalnih ideologija od otkrivanja Novog sveta pa sve do danas. Vidi eseje u knjizi Greenblatt Stephen, *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (1990); poglavlje II: *Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century*, 27-29.

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RENAISSANCE CONCEPTS OF MAN: THE TIMELESS COMPONENT OF THE MORE/MACHIAVELLI CONTROVERSY

The paper focuses on different Renaissance concepts of man and his function within the society. The current conflict between political and personal values, legitimacy and morality, duty and conscience is most clearly seen in the two contrasted Renaissance definitions of man that Machiavelli and More provided, and that were later enriched with new insights by De las Casas and Montaigne, Hobbes and Rousseau. The contemporary aspect of this Renaissance

controversy is in the paper presented through Hauard Zinn's basic postulates of the colonizer/ colonized dichotomy.

Key Words: unified sensibility, dissociation of sensibility, real/ true man, colonizer/ colonized

ENTERING THE SERAGLIO, ARTICULATING THE UNSAID: A READING OF GRAHAM SWIFT'S SHORT STORY "SERAGLIO"

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to analyze the phenomenon of *the Unsaid* in one of Graham Swift's best-known short stories, "Seraglio." There are reasons to maintain that *the Unsaid* represents the point where secrecy, trauma and the extreme solitude that characterize the short story are intertwined. The *Unsaid* is both a metaphysical and an ethical concept. The way memories of the past interweave with few exotic elements of time and space, the parallelisms and contrasts between worlds and experiences that are easily found throughout the text contribute to the *Unsaid*, which embodies aspects of the relationship between death and silence. Therefore, the *Unsaid* also expresses the uncanny relationship between language and the experienced trauma from the past.

The paper will investigate the relationship between language, silence, death, memory and fear which appear to be the core of the inner experience of both characters of the story. The typical darkness that contributes to the ambiance of Swift's text is considered to be the result of the *Unsaid*, which designates something present and absent at the same time. This dual nature of this phenomenon defines one of the most important aspects of Swift's narrative: a story that is told in—and through—silence. Consequently the story represents itself a *seraglio* because it highlights the individual's limited access to the process of knowing and verbalizing the relationship with the self and the other as well as the inability to break free from a limit-situation.

Key Words:short story, language, silence, death, the Unsaid, limit-situations.

Introduction

It has been often maintained that Graham Swift's short stories are interesting above all because they seem to be "minor workshop experiments in preparation for the major achievements of the novels" (Malcolm 77). However as it has also been proved by extensive analysis (Louvel 109), some of Swift's short stories have an obvious interpretative potential underlying their structure and therefore they represent a most interesting object of study in their own right.

All the short stories in *Learning to Swim*—Swift's collection published more than three decades ago—"are integrated in terms of genre [...] and are psychological studies of characters in complex personal situations" (Malcolm 70). Besides it has also been maintained that these short stories are unified by the narration, by the narrators' language, by the ordering of accounts, and by

the nature of events (Malcolm 70). On the other hand, another unifying element at the level of motif and themes seem to be failure and fear—which mark narrators and other characters in all eleven stories of the collection—as well as the motif of entrapment, which is symptomatic of characters in Swift’s novels and that we find in his short stories as well (Malcolm 73-74). Referring to the motif of entrapment David Malcolm holds that:

This motif [...] along with the dismal vision of the world it embodies is reinforced by the doubling of characters and situations that recurs throughout Swift’s short stories. This is not a matter of Gothic doppelgänger; rather, it is a generalization of individual short stories’ despair, and a metaphor for the characters’ hopeless entrapment. (Malcolm 75)

Indeed the hopeless entrapment of the characters in one of the short stories of the collection—“Seraglio”—is the most undeniable aspect of the two protagonists’ situation which clearly points at a phenomenon that will be elaborated in the following section and that throughout the article I refer to by the term the *Unsaid*. The *Unsaid* is the genuine truth of the protagonists’ condition. It is probably a key factor that contributes to the overall sense of secrecy and ambiance of this short story and it will be the focus of this article.

Scholars have noticed that just as in the novel *Shuttlecock* in “Seraglio” too the narrator speaks freely about his own faults (Pedot, par.3). Thus we can notice here a hiatus between language (narrative) and the experience paralysis (Pedot, par.5), a fact which does not simply emphasize the continuity between short stories and novels in Swift’s work but also the interpretative dimension of Swift’s short stories and particularly “Seraglio.” Unlike the rest of the short stories in *Learning to Swim*:

“Seraglio,” with its complex reflections of character and situation – and, indeed, its density of metaphor (Asia-Europe, the seraglio, the rose and the massacre, the daggers and the empty hands) – may be said to be substantially drawing attention to itself as a text. (Malcolm 76)

David Malcolm maintains that: “this complex literariness of the story is primarily in the service of creating a delicate mood of care and cruelty – of love and despair – rather than suggesting anything about, for example, the relationship of text to reality” (76). He considers “Seraglio” widely based on echoes and parallels which form the literary complexity of the text:

the narrator is Mehmet the Conqueror in relation to his wife; she is the woman in the harem; the death of their unborn child haunts them as the

savagery of the pillage of 1453 haunts Istanbul; the hotel manager is also called Mehmet; the wife's adultery with the porter – or her molestation by him – parallels the peculiar accident that the visitors see on the streets of the city, and perhaps even the power of the women in the seraglio that the narrator reads about in his guidebook; husband and wife represent Asia and Europe, lying next to each other, not separate, but not quite touching. (75-76)

"Seraglio" seems to rely widely on hints that draw attention to the text itself and that instead of simply shedding light on the events and characters highlight the inevitable failure of the protagonists to unveil and solve their sad and dramatic enigma. Their (hi)story is a history of hiding and keeping silent about their past and their loss. Hence the story is not told, it is fragmentarily remembered. The uncertain knowledge which is quite an obvious motive in Swift's novels is also present in this story, thereby adding a significant component to the enigma of the man and woman: "Knowledge – of adultery, of what happens in the hotel, of who is responsible for the death of the couple's child – and uncertainty are central motifs in 'Seraglio'" (Malcolm 72).

This short story appears to meditate profoundly on the human condition when the individual is faced with an extreme trauma and how they are to live with this reality day after day. One of the most impressive literary devices to express this condition is the *Unsaid*. The *Unsaid* is directly related to the fact that there is something in the text that constantly escapes both characters. It is the result of the tormenting condition of the characters after their dramatic loss: they continue to experience that tragedy every day of their life. The loss of their infant child and the responsible partner for its death are continuously hinted at in the text, though never revealed. Answers to these questions are sought for and, at the same time, feared and avoided. The article elaborates on the limit-situation (also translated from German as boundary situation), which is viewed as an important concept in order to understand a critical aspect of the condition of the story's couple, that of being trapped in their old dramatic enigma, the loss of their stillborn child and the guilty partner, the one of the two who is responsible for its death. Being together in this quest to escape both truth and pain, the two protagonists are instead plunging deeper into guilt and suffering and this is their limit-situation. These circumstances emphasize the antinomy of the visible and the invisible, of the fact that the visible is essentially dependant on the invisible that what is real is conditioned by what seems to be remote from the factual. The result of such circumstances is the *unsayable* reality. It prompts people to want to talk about it but it asks for different means of expression and for a different type of language since the common linguistic means fails at this. Probably that's the reason why the protagonist-narrator seems to be finding shelter in narration, as if it was the

only getaway for him to escape the truth and consequently to escape from himself. Narration is powerful enough to achieve the status of a shelter for the individual. Indeed it is all that's left to do for the man in "Seraglio" while his condition of limit-situation seems to recall the antinomy related to the limitation of the universe in space and time. Referring to the ability to narrate—or rather the necessity to narrate—Swift maintains that:

only animals live in the Here and Now. Only nature knows neither memory nor history. But man – let me offer you a definition – is the story-telling animal. Wherever he goes he wants to leave behind not a chaotic wake, not an empty space, but the comforting marker-buoys and trail-signs of stories. (*Waterland* 62-63)

While narrating, the narrator-character in "Seraglio" inevitably opens a doorway to what cannot be thoroughly narrated and therefore offers us a vision of the *Unsaid* in literature, which stands at the very heart of literature as such and which re-directs our attention to Maurice Blanchot's idea of "the stubborn independence of the text" (Haase, Large 21). This independence of the text is an attribute of the literary text and it is because of this attribute and the natural irreducibility of the text that the interpretation of such a text is an impossibility. This is one of the most relevant aspects of the short story and it is this attribute that clearly distinguishes this story from the others in the collection. Indeed, it underlines the irreducibility, the constant and clearly commanding presence of the *Unsaid* throughout the text. The *Unsaid* is the real revelation of the text, the real confession that it holds and that expands beyond the characters, the narrator and the other components of narration as such. It is the real and complex life of the literary text, which points to the impressive presence and effect of a language whose very essence is the silence. The *Unsaid* is the brilliant finding in Swift's short story and it is through the *Unsaid* that we might come closer to an understanding of the human condition, a condition which Karl Jaspers would call a limit-situation and that will be further elaborated in the last section of this article.

Silence and the *Unsaid*

"Seraglio" is a text that embodies a rich imagery, a wide analogy and a multi-level symbolic system, which are some of the complementary factors that contribute to the perpetuation of the enigma that is the heart of the story. The enigma is essentially linked to death and death is present in many elements in the text which are associated—one way or another—to silence. More particularly, the text seems to be based on a complex relationship between death and

silence, which is also expressed as the state of keeping silent about death. Indeed death is a constant presence the man feels in Istanbul:

Turbans, fountains; the quarters of the Eunuchs; the Pavilion of the Holly Mantle. Images out of the Arabian Nights. Then one discovers, as if stumbling oneself on the scene of a crime, in a glass case in a museum of robes, the spattered kaftan in which Sultan Oman II was assassinated. Rent by dagger thrusts from shoulder to hip. The thin linen fabric could be corpse itself. The simple white garment, like a bathrobe, the blood-stains, like the brown stains on the gauze of a removed elastoplasts, give you the momentary illusion that is your gown lying there. Lent to another, who is murdered in mistake for yourself. (*Modern British Short-Stories* 425)

The character can easily read death around him and feels a sense of belonging both to death and to the city, while the latter seems to be a bridge between two worlds. There are references in the text that allow for various interpretations of these two worlds as the world of the living and the world of the dead, the known and the unknown, the *said* and the *unsaid*, and the mysterious ways in which they are often intertwined. Meanwhile silence is the true realm of every happening in the story since it appears to be the only way to refer to death. Silence is the inevitable reality which is implied when addressing death because it reveals the point where language fails to refer to a reality that surpasses the limits of the human being. In Jaspersian terms, death is a limit-situation. The *Unsaid* is the inevitable result of facing this limit-situation. Thus reading the *Unsaid*—which is probably one of the most astonishing aspects of this short story—means shedding light on different aspects of its narration, on the symbolic of the text, the concept of time and space, etc. These facts clearly support an approach that focuses on the way limit-situations contribute to a concept of silence that reaches its acme as the conceptualization of the *Unsaid*.

Silence as an element related directly to the *Unsaid* defines the structure of the story; it identifies the narrative technique and also the essential darkness and secrecy of the text. As a result, everything is surrounded and submerged into silence. Even the most important things that are said between the two characters are communicated through their mutual silence. In such a context, the heart of the events—the pending “what happened?” of the story—seems to remain uncovered and unverbalized, even though it is hinted at. The answer to that enigmatic question is found in the term the *Unsaid*. This represents the real living condition of the couple in the story. The *Unsaid* is what really remains undiscovered and eventually undecipherable. It constitutes the complex layer under the echoes, parallelisms and analogies that make up the text. Therefore, the *Unsaid* sharpens our sensitivity towards (literary)

language and it is what distinguishes Swift's perception on language in this short story. The *Unsaid* is also conveyed through the rich and complex literary imagery that Swift masterfully depicts in the text such as the tombs, the Bazar, the paintings, the landscape, the variegated aspects of Ottoman history, the architecture of the city etc. The *Unsaid* is obviously related to all these elements but it is not the sum total of these components; instead it goes beyond all of them and broadly expands the possible relationships in which they might be associated. Eventually the *Unsaid* results in this short story which is in itself a *seraglio text* extremely rich in allusions, images, and hints, a text which exerts an undeniable power over the reader and eludes any possible interpretation that we may come up with.

Trying to read the *Unsaid* in this work goes beyond even the paradox and the impossibility that the expression "reading the *Unsaid*" implies. It shows the level of complexity of the text and its unpredictably rich literary images which constantly show up and then intertwine between them throughout the story. In order to read the *Unsaid* in Swift's story one should consider—as we attempt to do in the last section of the paper— that this phenomenon and its implications could be better understood through concepts of existential philosophy that begin with Kierkegaard and are later elaborated by Jaspers. Struggling and the sense of guilt are defined as limit-situations, therefore the *Unsaid* is related to silence and consequently to the secrecy and the feeling of guilt about tragedy in the past. Therefore it represents not only an event but also the human condition. Considering how the story starts as well as the past tense used in the last sentence, there is reason to believe that the narrator is telling the story from a certain distance both in time and space. Consequently the story clearly belongs to the past so that even in the narrative passages, it is impossible to break through the secrecy or to avoid the *Unsaid*. The narrator is constantly wavering between past and present and is constantly thinking on the possible way to recompense and find remedy for his loss. Both characters live their lives holding to the past and to a memory which is connected to the enigma of death. Furthermore, the formation of memory itself is related to silence and appeals to the *unsaid* in different forms: "memory, like all else that we are, lives only as the self-concealing sacrifice of silence in language" (Schmidt 44). And the true realm of memory is the world of the dead, Hades: "In thinking of Hades, we find ourselves asking about the nature of the past" (Schmidt 50). While analyzing the visit of Odyssey in Hades in Homer's famous epos, D.J. Schmidt rightly asserts that: "Ultimately one suffers rather than knows one's relation to the past. That in part is what Hölderlin means when he writes that "time is always [more knowable] when it is counted in suffering" (44). While trying to avoid the truth of their situation, the narrator-character in "Seraglio" and his wife are entrapped in the past. This is a situation that undoubtedly does not provide a solution to their circumstances since they are well-aware of the

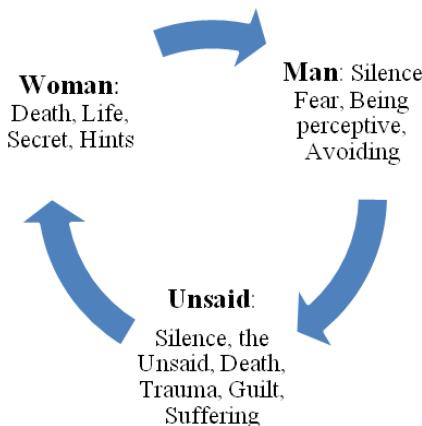
impossibility of recovering anything and they have silently acknowledged their limits. Therefore the *Unsaid* implies this pending condition of suffering the past and silently acknowledging one's limits in our endeavors to leave behind that suffering, which in the story constitutes the real torment and trauma of the narrator and which represents a situation that can be approached through the concept of limit-situation, an approach which will be analyzed below in this article.

"Seraglio" is based on opposite realities which create two poles: woman-man, death-life, power-submission, beauty-savagery, exotics-routine, massacre-magnificence, white robe-blood strains etc., all of which are elements found in the description of the city and in the description of the relationship between the woman and the man in the story. Just as the city of Istanbul seems to exist between two worlds, so this couple seems to be living in a space between two realities, which are jointed by the *Unsaid*. The characters also represent two worlds that are contingent on one another but which never communicate with each other. Both characters are constantly vacillating between past and present, between the urge to unveil the truth and the opposite pull to avoid unveiling the enigma. Consequently, they are (un)saying the story of their life, which is a story that wavers between mourning and enjoying, between traveling and dwelling, between remembering and living their present, and ultimately between silence, death and the narration of what they can't face and overcome.

Their whole story could be seen as a relationship of oppositions, especially that of loss and recompense and we can illustrate this relationship through the graph given below, which shows the abnormal nature of the cyclical turn of their lives. Loss and recompense do not replace one another but intertwine while restlessly following one another thereby leaving the couple at the same initial point in time and space, no matter where or when they are or where they go in their frequent trips. There is no opposite state or any escape from their "human condition": it's just them and their enigma:



The text builds the *Unsaid* by intertwining an exposure approach with interpretation as the narrator's discourse clearly shows. Eventually the *Unsaid* is formed by interweaving the following elements: *woman* (which is often related to elements such as tomb, calligraphy, mysterious look, pain) – *man* (mostly related to fear, language, silence, tendency to avoid, to keep silent although he perceives much of the reality of what is going on). These two components are connected by the *Unsaid*—which seems to imply silence, trauma, suffering, secrecy, guilt, death. These are the real actors of the story; therefore I'd say there are three characters acting in the text rather than two—among which the third is perhaps the most critical—and they equally contribute to a dramatic view of the human condition, which in this case could be easily described by the term "limit-situation." Theirs is surely not a temporary situation since their state of being seems inevitable, perpetual, and constant. We could observe how these elements interact through the following simple graph:



In this context we can assert that the narrator seems to be telling and retelling the story of the greatest mystery in his life, which is connected to his wife and, to some extent, to the issues of femininity as well, an interpretation supported by several scholars (Pedot, par.27-28-36). Maybe this exploration of the mystery of the feminine is a crucial part of the complex enigma and is connected to the character's own faults. But the trauma is so dramatic that the narrator chooses indirections – masks and substitutions to refer to it (Higdon 174). This could also allow for an interpretation that links sex with narration, a relationship widely addressed by scholars:

If stories are written by the interior, hidden, mysterious woman's sex — rather than by the more obviously instrumental phallus — then they are

all by definition secret stories whose dynamic and force can be known, and felt in their effects, but never their hidden source. (Brooks 157-158)

Indeed, although we have identified the man as the narrator of Swift's short story, the woman too has a story to tell and maybe this story all the more remains the essence of the *Unsaid* in the present episode of the (silent) story of this couple. Hence the perplexing nature of the text when the couple talks about the event at the hotel. On the other hand, the association between the woman and the city in "Seraglio" is based on the sense of antinomy that they represent: they both represent life but they also carry death in a way that leaves an indelible mark on them both. On the face of this antinomy the man and the woman are stuck in their limit-situations of death, guilt, and suffering. At this point language collides and silence is the only way for them to communicate. The figure of the woman seems to embody it in a more genuine form than the male narrator. His thoughts are at least revealed to us, while the text offers very sophisticated and challenging hints as to the woman's mind. This highly contributes to the darkness of the text, which parallels the darkness of the tombs in Istanbul and that of the woman's womb that carried her unborn child. Parallelism and contrasts are a common feature of the text because to the narrator they are the only way to make sense and, as it were, interpret such an exotic city, which is so enigmatically similar to his own wife. The uncanniness he feels derives from himself and his limit-situation with his wife. Indeed the first paragraph of the story seems to describe his own position towards his wife: tombs, harem, the sultan's dead brothers and other elements may allude to the power he has over her and also to the fact that he is too under her power:

In Istanbul there are tombs, faced with calligraphic designs, where the dead Sultan rest among the tiny catafalques of younger brothers whom he was obliged, by custom, to murder on his accession. Beauty becomes callous when it is set beside savagery. In the grounds of the Topkapi palace the tourists admire the turquoise tiles of the Harem, the Kiosks of the sultans, and think of girls with sherbet, turbans, cushions, fountains. "So were they just kept here?" my wife asks. I read from the guide-book: "Though the Sultans kept theoretical power over the Harem, by the end of the sixteenth century these women effectively dominated the Sultans." (*British Modern Short Stories* 425)

This concept of power is itself a reference to death and beauty. It is no wonder, then, that the narrator-character should have a fascination with the Arabian Nights and the story of the sultan being under the power of Scheherazade while all the time thinking that he was in charge. Images of Sultan Mehmet and almost everything related to the city is connected to death and,

one way or another, is suggestive of his wife, through her love for flowers, perfumes, the eyebrows that are similar to Arabian calligraphy, etc. The wife is described as having a milky body which fuses motherhood and femininity, strength and delicacy and these opposite elements are the two sides of the same mystery: that of being a woman and exercising power over man. Hence both levels of the story—the fifteenth century Istanbul and the modern couple—point at the relation between silence, death, woman, power and the *Unsaid*.

Whichever the pathway we choose to approach this short story, we are bound to resort to various interpretations, none of which is quite satisfactory. This feeling of inconclusive and unsatisfying reading is similar to the fate of the characters themselves who waver between searching an answer and hesitating to solve the enigma and who ultimately and inevitably face the reconfirmation of their limits and of their limit-situation, a situation which will be further elaborated in the following section of the paper.

The Concept of Limit-situation, a Possible Path to Interpretation

The incident at the hotel in Istanbul and the stressed situation between the man and the woman in the hotel could be read both as a representation and projection of the history of the woman's miscarriage and as a hint at the 15th-century massacre of Istanbul. It also represents the male protagonist's constant attempts to somehow make sense of that event and to give that event a verbal form. Yet, his attempt is destined to fail because he is afraid of being concrete, and of verbalizing the traumatic truth of their past. He tends to believe that things unsaid and things that never happened at all are the same and this is the only relief left to him. Therefore, the incident loses its significance as such but is crucial in perpetuating the main secret and trauma of the couple: *who killed their baby?*

As already affirmed in the article, the situation of the two protagonists and the way the *Unsaid* emerges could be better understood through the concept of limit-situations, a concept introduced by Karl Jaspers (Jaspers 177-178). Even though situations change and after some time, people are not involved any more in them, the condition of being inside that situation always remains. It was in his early work that Jaspers elaborated the theory of the *limit* (*Grenze*), which is probably one of the most important concepts, one which acquired great significance for his whole oeuvre:

Most importantly, this work contains a theory of the limit. This term designates both the habitual forms and attitudes of the human mental apparatus, and the experiences of the mind as it recognizes these attitudes as falsely objectivized moments within its antinomical

structure, and as it transcends these limits by disposing itself in new ways towards itself and its objects. (Thornhill, par.11)

We must keep in mind that Jaspers also elaborated on the concept of antinomies when he regarded the human psychological forms – or world views – as antinomian moments within the original antinomy of subject and object. He held that the construction of these world views cannot be a neutral process:

Instead all world views contain an element of pathology; they incorporate strategies of defensiveness, suppression and subterfuge, and they are concentrated around false certainties or spuriously objectivized modes of rationality, into which the human mind withdraws in order to obtain security amongst the frighteningly limitless possibilities of human existence. World views, in consequence, commonly take the form of objectivized cages (*Gehäuse*), in which existence hardens itself against contents and experiences which threaten to transcend or unbalance the defensive restrictions which it has placed upon its operations. Although some world views possess an unconditioned component, most world views exist as the *limits* of a formed mental apparatus. (Thornhill, par.9)

Thus the concept of limit-situations (*Grenzsituationen*) became central to Jaspers' early philosophy and was defined as follows:

Limit situations are moments, usually accompanied by experiences of dread, guilt or acute anxiety, in which the human mind confronts the restrictions and pathological narrowness of its existing forms, and allows itself to abandon the securities of its limitedness, and so to enter new realm of self-consciousness. In conjunction with this, then, this work also contains a theory of the *unconditioned* (*das Unbedingte*). In this theory, Jaspers argued that limit situations are unconditioned moments of human existence, in which reason is drawn by intense impulses or imperatives, which impel it to expose itself to the limits of its consciousness and to seek higher or more reflected modes of knowledge. (Thornhill, par.9)

Jaspers saw the human condition as defined by anguish and strain. Limit-situations are those situations that cannot be overcome because they are linked to the very nature of human existence and the precariousness of this existence. Facing death, anxiety and impossibility is one of these limit-situations in "Seraglio," one which represents the finitude of existence that is constantly implied in the text. Indeed when finitude of existence becomes palpable,

language yields to silence. The acknowledgement about the finite nature of existence becomes—maybe paradoxically—perpetuated. It is at this moment of facing finitude that language fails the human being. As Thornhill argues:

At the wall of the limit, the human being is completely alone in his foundering. All of a sudden his knowledge vanishes, the word falls silent, and the voice fades away. A lonely and isolating silence takes over. And since the silence is absolute, so, too, is the solitude. The limit situation stands at the limit of language. It is already in the (?) neighboring region of a silence incapable of language. (Di Cesare 199)

In these circumstances the human being experiences a condition which is foreign to language. As a result:

the human being is closed and constricted. And as with all that surrounds the human being, even the human being becomes foreign to time and foreign to language – the human being becomes inarticulate. It does not allow itself to be articulated and convert into words. This is a silence that overwhelms and damps, insofar as it is a “frightful falling silent” of absolute solitude, whose breath has been taken away, together with the very capacity to speak. (Di Cesare 199)

Seen from Jaspers' and Kierkegaard's view on human condition, we could say that the narrator and his wife bring about a paradox, i.e. the enigma of their life cannot and should not be solved. Even though the man narrates, the most important thing remains inarticulate; the woman embodies such inarticulation all the more and to a more challenging degree. Thus the concept of limit becomes important because it highlights the existence of *the other side*, that which stands beyond the limit and which is logically implied in the concept of limit; it denotes something that exists beyond and as a result it is unreachable.

While analyzing Jaspers' and Heidegger's ideas on the limit-situation Donatella Di Cesare maintains that:

Extreme, extraordinary, and exceptional situations can be lived simply as situations, and not as limit situations; the human being hides from itself its own being-in-a-situation, and even more its own being-in-a-limit-situation, because otherwise, if it were continually confronted with the limit of its own being and of its own being-human, the human being could not go on living. [...] In the very moment that one collides with the limit of the limit situation, one also collides with the limit of one's existence in its finitude. (199)

The characters in “Seraglio” seem to be half aware of their situation being a limit-situation. Nevertheless, they seem to have an inner acknowledgement of this limit-situation and it could be argued that they must keep on pretending that their situation is just that—a circumstance, a situation—in order to continue living (together). Human beings’ existence is limited by situations and is even defined by situations but this limit highlights the human finitude, which could be perceived as the inability of human existence to reach and engulf everything within the boundaries of its (limited) knowledge or experience; thus the individual exists as limited by situation. The more Swift’s narrator admits to his limits—and, in terms of Jaspers’ philosophy, this admission equals openness – the more he understands he cannot reach the limit, that he cannot and should not solve the enigma.

The suffering and guilt on the other hand are the limit-situations of characters, the narrator and his wife. The *Unsaid* also—the condition where they are trapped— appears to be a specific limit-situation that applies specifically to them, and that exercises pressure on the narrator while revealing the point where language and silence are approached forming the image of death and finitude.

Conclusions

“Seraglio,” one of Graham Swift’s representative short stories, offers several possible lines of interpretation. The article tried to elaborate on one of these interpretative possibilities by resorting to the concept of the *Unsaid* and through Karl Jaspers’s concept of the limit-situation. The characters in “Seraglio” suffer three different limit-situations: death, suffering, and guilt. Even though these are inevitable situations for any human being, guilt and struggle are limit-situations we find ourselves in due to the actions that we make (Bonemark 62). The condition the couple is in is not a temporary situation (in terms of Karl Jaspers’ logic), and therefore they can never escape from their present (limit) situation. That situation is constitutive of them as human beings. Therefore their story is the story of incompleteness, of dependence (Bonemark 62), which is a fact that they both silently seem to acknowledge.

Many years later, the only thing that the main character in “Seraglio” cannot do is approach his wife. She remains inexplicable to him in many ways; still she is the key to his own existence because of the power she has over him and because of the unique way the *Unsaid* is revealed through her. Death and beauty characterize the city; throughout the text these are the two traits that the narrator also uses to describe his wife too. The antinomy that is embodied in the figure of the woman seems to emphasize even more the extreme nature of their lives and therefore shapes the enigma and the *Unsaid* history of their lives.

Throughout this story the human condition constantly wavers between the opposites that are used to describe both Istanbul and the relationship of the couple. Thus, the state of being could be described as a condition of pending and wavering between two extreme poles; the human condition exists as a reality between word and silence, between language and the *Unsaid*. Considering that the human being exists as emerged in language, the *Unsaid* represents a complex concept that will constantly require further analysis.

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HYRJA NË SERAGLIO, ARTIKULIMI I TË PATHËNËS NJË LEXIM I TREGIMIT TË GRAHAM SWIFT-IT “SERAGLIO”

Ky artikull përqendrohet në analizën e tregimit më të famshëm të prozatorit të njohur bashkëkohor anglez Graham Swift, *Seraglio*. Dukuria që do të emërtohet si *E Pathëna* përbën pikën e ngjizjes së misterit, traumës dhe vëtmisë së skajshme, një gërshtetim ky i cili e karakterizon tregimin në tërësinë e tij dhe përbën një nga aspektet më të rëndësishme të narrationit.

E Pathëna është një koncept njëherësh metafizik dhe etik. Ndërlidhja mes kujtimeve të të shkuarës, disa elementeve specifike të kohë-hapësirës, paralelizmave dhe kontrastit mes botëve dhe përvojave, të cilat vërehen përgjatë tekstit kontribuojnë në formësimin e *Të Pathënës*, e cila në vetvete ngërthen disa aspekte thelbësore të marrëdhënies mes vdekjes dhe heshtjes. Rrjedhimisht, te ky fenomen gjemjë edhe shprehjen e raportit specifik dhe kompleks, të shumëstudiuar në historinë e filozofisë (Kierkegaard dhe Jaspers) dhe me ndikim në studimet letrare, atë mes gjuhës dhe traumës së përjetuar në të shkuarën. Kështu, do të evidentohet një prizëm i veçantë përmes të cilit “*Seraglio*”-ja risjell në vëmendje konceptin e tekstit e të narrationit në prozën postmoderne.

Artikulli do të analizojë raportin mes gjuhës, heshtjes, vdekjes, kujtesës dhe frikës, të cilat përbëjnë thelbin e përvojave të brendshme të personazheve në këtë tregim. Errësimi karakteristik i Swift-it ndikon tek atmosfera pothuaj e padeshifrueshme, e cila përbën një tipar të njohur të estetikës së tij dhe që ne i qasemi në këtë artikull përmes *të Pathënës*. Kjo e fundit, në këtë rast shenjon një entitet të pranishëm dhe të papranishëm në të njëjtën kohë. Natyra dyfaqëshe e këtij fenomeni përbën një nga veçoritë themelore të narrationit të Swift- it: tregimet e tij janë histori të thëna në dhe përmes heshtjes.

Si pasojë, vetë tregimi përbën një seraglio dhe thekson mundësinë e kufizuar të individit për t’iu qasur procesit të njohjes dhe verbalizmit të marrëdhënies me veten dhe tjetrin, sikurse edhe paaftësinë e njeriut për t’u çliruar nga ato që në filozofinë e në letërsinë bashkëkohore nijhen si *limit-situations*.

Fjalë çelës: tregim, gjuha, teksti, heshtja, vdekja, *E Pathëna*, *limit-situations*.

TECHNOLOGY, BODY, AND SEXUALITY IN J. G. BALLARD'S *CRASH*

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Abstract: The article analyzes James Graham Ballard's novel *Crash*, one of the most controversial books written in post-War Britain. It focuses on the way technology and the human body merge in Ballard's world and also how technology in this novel becomes aestheticized and sexualized. Although there have certainly been other writers before Ballard who celebrated technology and speed, Ballard goes even further by presenting a life totally dominated by technology – on the physical, sexual, and psychological level. One of the most interesting and contended aspects of *Crash* is the portrayal of a new sexuality that is closely linked with technology and, more importantly, with the destructive and violent side of technology – the car crash. The interaction between the human body and the machine opens up new possibilities for the protagonists of the novel. We discuss the central role that the car crash has for Ballard's characters as well as the merger of the sexual impulses and the death drive in Ballard's world. The presence of ethical considerations in the novel or the lack thereof will also be dealt with in the article.

Key Words: technology, sexuality, aestheticize, car crash, ethics, death drive, perversion.

Ballard's *Crash* is one of the most controversial books written in post-war Britain. Though reactions to this novel are variegated, ranging from complete disparagement to high acclaim as one of the most original British books of the later decades of the twentieth-century¹³, this novel undoubtedly provides great insight into the relationship between man and technology in the postmodern world. It belongs to that group of literary works that explore the increasing interaction human beings have with technology by focusing on one of the main emblems of twentieth-century technology – the automobile. The article discusses how in this novel Ballard goes even further, by presenting a world in which the human body and technology do not simply interact, but are merged into one. This fusion opens up new avenues of perception and of experience, even in terms of sexual experience.

Ballard portrays a life in which technology becomes an integral and vital part in the life of his characters. The novel's world is a world of chromium, metal, plastic, cellulose, iron, steel, and concrete. Ballard highlights the fact that

¹³ The response of one of the readers in Ballard's publishing house was: "This author is beyond psychiatric help. Do Not Publish!" (qtd in Svendsen, 82)

the environment his protagonists live in is artificial, wholly man-made and hemmed in from every side by the modern constructions:

I realized that the entire zone which defined the landscape of my life was now bounded by a continuous artificial horizon, formed by the raised parapets and embankments of the motorways [...] These encircled the vehicles below like the walls of a crater several miles in diameter.

The whole surroundings have become mechanical, mechanized, a “machine landscape” (Ballard 53).

The novel acquires part of its aesthetic vigor from the use of a language fraught with an imagery that makes use of technological and mechanical terms and references. By utilizing this kind of “technological” language, the novel aestheticizes the technological in everyday life. Jean Baudrillard asserts that “the West’s [...] commercialization of the whole world” is in reality “the aestheticization of the whole world – its cosmopolitan spectacularization, its transformation into images [...] No matter how marginal, or banal, or even obscene it may be, everything is subject to aestheticization,” and that “all forms of culture - not excluding anti-cultural ones – are promoted” (Baudrillard, *Evil 16*), that is, they are aestheticized. In *Crash* the world is defined and encircled by the technological and the technological is not to have simply a utilitarian function. It is elevated above the traditional view of technology as utilitarian and, oftentimes, as the opposite of the artistic. Here the technology is elevated above its useful function and acquires the status of a work of art, by becoming aestheticized.

The technological imagery predominates throughout *Crash* and it is often composed of figures of speech that are based on industrial, urban, and transportation images. Ballard is very fond of using epithets, metaphors and other figures of speech that are defined by the industrial and technical language. The “natural” world is displaced, annihilated, and is utterly and irremediably supplanted by the urban and the mechanistic, often acquiring a very violent and anti-human character. In the following examples from the book the sky, the air, the landscape, and even death, have become “metallized” and this adjective and other similar ones are found throughout the descriptions Ballard gives of the post-modern world:

mysterious machines would take off into a *metallized* sky.

I had thought of his last moments alive, frantic milliseconds of pain and violence in which he had been catapulted [...] into a concertina of *metallized* death.

I was convinced that the key to this immense *metallized* landscape lay somewhere within these constant and unchanging traffic patterns.

[A]cross the *metallized* air, a jet-liner screamed. (Ballard 18, 36, 41, 65)

At the center of this technology-driven and technology-obsessed world stands the automobile as the emblem of modern life and of the integration and inseparableness of technology from our life. The fast lanes, London motorways, flyovers, airport terminals, parking lots and the other concrete, steel and aluminum constructions constitute the setting of *Crash*. When Ballard – the main character in the novel – looks at his pictures which show him when in hospital after his car crash, he realizes that his whole life has been spent in or near the motor-car: “the background to all the pictures was the same – the automobile, moving along the highways around the airport, in the traffic jams on the flyover, parked in culs-de-sac and lovers lanes” (Ballard 101).

The novel explores the technologization of all areas of life. The technological becomes so interfused in the personal life of Ballard’s characters that it seems as if their bodies and the technological body become an integrated entity. The integration and fusion of the technological and the human reaches an extreme in the novel when the human body and the body of the motor-car interact. What is surprising – and to critics like the publishing house’s reader cited above disturbing – about this interaction is that in *Crash* it takes the form of a sexual act between the body and the machine, as will be explained in the essay. The celebration of technology and the potential that the technology and machines open up for humanity is not something new, Futurism being one of the best-known movements in literature and arts that vehemently supported urbanization, rapidity of modern life, modern weaponry, and modern machines. In their “Manifesto” the Futurists extolled speed, cars, and the war and they strongly affirmed the new type of beauty that had emerged from the technologizing of the world:

the beauty of speed. A racing car with a hood that glistens with large pipes resembling a serpent with explosive breath [...] a roaring automobile [...] that is more beautiful than the Victory of Samothrace. [...] We intend to hymn man at the steering wheel [...] itself hurled ahead in its own race along the path of its orbit. (Marinetti 51)

In the novel, however, Ballard has gone even further than the predictions and wishes of the Futurists. Even though the Futurists celebrated technology, it was a technology that was in the service of the man and the individual remained at the center, “*the man at the wheel*.” In *Crash*, the human and the machine have become so intermingled that the former is dispossessed of his central place as

the controlling human *subject* and is dissolved and fused into unity with the latter, by relinquishing his traditional position of the human controlling the machine.

Crash extols the new possibilities of interaction between the human body and the motor-car and the potential that has been opened up by this new kind of “marriage”: “The aggressive stylization of this mass-produced cockpit, the exaggerated mouldings of the instrument binnacles emphasized my growing sense of a new junction between my own body and the automobile” (Ballard 55). This union of the machinic body and the human body goes beyond the conventional harnessing of the technological in service of the human. What *Crash* describes is a quasi-organic, almost sexual union between man and machine. The machinic has been described in physical and sexual terms. Mike Featherstone asserts that “technological modes of interchange” can “open up new possibilities for intimacy and self-expression” (Featherstone 1995:237). The writings of William Gibson and “cyberpunk” literature have explored the possibility of the interaction and even coupling between human beings and machines. As Chris Schilling has pointed out, cyberpunk writings put forward the idea that cyberspace “can provide individuals with unprecedented opportunities to pursue their projects and develop their identities without having to worry about the traditional constraints associated with being possessed of frail bodies” (Shilling 174).

A central icon of the Western culture and technology, the car has increasingly become a very important and, indeed, indispensable part of life in the West and, in the last decades, in many other parts of the world, including Eastern Europe and China. It has become one of the most powerful images and symbols of the late-capitalist and consumerist society becoming widely associated with the increasing privatization of society. A number of social critics have used the term “automobility” to refer to the “autonomy” and “mobility” that are a result of the widespread use of “automobiles” (Featherstone 2005: 1). They focus on how the automobile is not just a device or vehicle, which we, as intelligent beings, operate and direct at our own will, but a part of our life and a kind of extension of our body, deeply inculcated in the way we live and inhabit our world. It has changed “the way we sense the world and the capacities of human bodies to interact with that world [...] We not only feel the car, but we feel through the car and with the car.” (Featherstone 2005: 228)

In *Crash* Ballard talks about the “marriage of sex and technology” through the automobile and this “marriage” allows the two protagonists – Ballard and Vaughan – to explore the potentialities of a new kind of sexuality, one which is intensified by the technology and the mechanisms of the motor-car. In fact, this new kind of sexuality goes even beyond the conventional human sexual behavior. In the novel, the automobile becomes not only aestheticized but also humanized and sexualized. Even though the way Ballard

describes the “sexuality” of the motor-car may be seen as an example of a fetish, that is, an object that triggers sexual arousal, Ballard does not describe the motor car as simply a stimulating background, a fetish, or, in general, as an object that serves the needs of the subject. It acquires human characteristics, it has become humanized, or, if that is going too far, it has turned into an extension of the human body. Although the examples that illustrate this are numerous, in the essay are given the most salient (and due to space the shortest examples from the novel). Here is a passage in which the narrator-protagonist describes this union of “sex and technology” when he describes Vaughan’s sexual act with a woman in the back seat of the car which he is driving:

This marriage of sex and technology reached its climax as the traffic divided [...] In the vinyl window gutter I saw deformed sections of Vaughan’s thighs and her abdomen forming a bizarre anatomical junction [...] [T]he sexual act between Vaughan and this young woman took place in the hooded grottoes of these luminescent dials, moderated by the surging needle of the speedometer.

[...]

As I propelled the car at fifty miles an hour [...] Vaughan arched his back and lifted the young woman [...] Vaughan’s strong pelvic spasms coincided with the thudding passage of the lamp standards anchored in the overpass at hundred-yard intervals [...] I drove down the ramp towards the traffic junction. Vaughan changed the tempo of his pelvic motion [...] I realized that I could almost control the sexual act behind me by the way in which I drove the car. Playfully, Vaughan responded to different types of street furniture and roadside trim. As we [were] heading inwards towards the city on the fast access roads, his rhythm became faster. (Ballard 142-144)

In passages like this the human body becomes tuned to the body of the car; the geometry and kinesthetics of the human body closely resemble and mimic the bodywork of the car. Or, conversely, it is the automobile’s bodywork, its binnacles, gearbox, and engine that have become anthropomorphized. It is the motor-car’s body and the urban, technological landscape that determines the sexual act.

Vaughan’s mind and body respond to the movement of the car. The human body has become technologized and can be understood in reference to technology and mechanical construction and the clear distinction between the human and the machinic becomes blurred; the converse operation, however, is also at work in this novel. It can be argued that what Ballard is doing in the novel is precisely the humanizing – through sexualizing and aestheticizing – of

the automobile, of the technological that surrounds and defines postmodern existence. Following a description by Barthes of how people approach the new cars on display in exhibition halls, Featherstone writes:

Touching the metal bodywork, fingering the upholstery, caressing its curves, and miming driving “with all the body” suggests the conjoining of human and machinic bodies. Of course, viewing cars as prosthetic extensions of drivers’ bodies and fantasy worlds (Freund, 1993: 99; Brandon, 2002: 401-2) is the standard fare not only of motor shows and advertising [...] The “love affair” with the car (Motavalli, 2001; Sachs, 2002), its sexualization as “wife” or lover (Miller, 1 997 [1994]: 238), suggests a kind of libidinal economy around the car [...] Whether phallic or feminized, the car materializes personality and takes part in the ego-formation of the owner or driver. (Featherstone 2005:225)

This “libidinal economy around the car” is masterfully explored in *Crash*. Nigel Thrift refers to the driving (and also what he calls “passenger”) as embodied and sensuous experiences and the above passage from *Crash* seems to corroborate this idea. As already shown, in *Crash* the sexual act too is directed and shaped by the way the automobile moves as well as by the technological setting that the speeding automobile is part of. The union between Waughan and the motor-car can be seen as

a metaphysical merger, an intertwining of the identities of the driver and car that generates a distinctive ontology in the form of a personthing, a humanized car or, alternatively, an automobilized person’ (Katz, 2000: 33) in which the identity of person and car kinaesthetically intertwine (Thrift, 2004: 46-7) [and] [h]uman bodies physically respond to the thrum of an engine [...] and in some cases the driver becomes ‘one’ with the car” (qtd in Featherstone 2005:225).

The interaction between the motor-car and the human body in *Crash* is such that it does not simply remain at the physical, mechanical level. What we are dealing with here is an identity fusion of two completely different entities—the human and the machinic, a “metaphysical merger” between these entities.

In the above passage (by Barthes), the tactile experience of the automobile is emphasized and favored and the way people approach the motor-car carries explicit sexual overtones: “it is the great *tactile phase of discovery* (italics mine) [...] The bodywork, the lines of union are touched, the upholstery palpated [...] the doors caressed, the cushions fondled” (qtd in Featherstone 2005: 225). The tactile phase of discovery is a very important phase in the exploration of the world and there are quite a number of passages in the novel

that highlight precisely the tactile. Here is one of these passages which describe the discovery of the new union between the human body and the automobile:

As we drove along [...] I wanted her body to embrace the compartment of the car. In my mind [...] I crushed her breasts gently against the door pillars and quarter windows [...] placed her small hands against the instrument dials and window-sills. The junction of her mucous membranes and the vehicle, my own metal body, was celebrated by the cars speeding past us. [...]

She [...] began to explore the other wound-scars on my chest and abdomen [...] In turn, one by one, she endorsed each of these signatures, inscribed on my body by the dashboard and control surfaces of my car. As she stroked [my body] [...] I moved my hand [...] to the scars on her thighs, feeling the tender causeways driven through her flesh by the handbrake of the car in which she had crashed. (Ballard 113, 178)

We should be cautious in adopting an ethical perspective from which we could view this account of the fusion between the human and the technological. Though, needless to say, the novel is open to quite different interpretations, Ballard himself is reticent as to the possibility of deriving an ethical perspective from this book. Many cultural products—including books and movies – featuring the interaction between the human and the technological usually convey an ethical message, which, if not stated directly, is usually hinted at. These books often (although not always) warn about the dangers of mankind relying more and more on technology and how the widespread use of technology would lead to a severance between humans and nature as well as among humans themselves. The greatest and ultimate risk that humans face because of the widespread use of technology is none other than the total annihilation of the whole human race, a nuclear apocalypse.

Without rejecting this reading of Ballard's novel, that is, considering it as a warning against the rapid technologization of all aspects of life, the book can also be viewed as a celebratory account of the potentialities that are open to people once the human body and the body of the motor-car interact. The language and imagery used to describe this techno-human merger might seem at times puzzling and – to many readers who expect a moral or ethical stance from the author – amoral. This is seen when Ballard describes the car crashes and their impact on the human body. The language used is “cold,” detached, and scientific. Often these passages read like police reports, focusing only on the bare facts, describing the wounds of the body after the car crash and the shattered parts of the automobile as an inventory of objects, whether human or mechanic. The element of sympathy (with the expected suffering and plight of

the victim of the accident) is out of the picture. The scene of the car crashes are so described as to become alienated and thus preventing the reader from empathizing with the pain and suffering of the victim. Could it be a kind of Brechtian alienation that Ballard is offering us in *Crash*? Here is a passage from a simulated car crash that Ballard describes:

In a dream-like calm, the front wheel of the motorcycle struck the fender of the car. [...] The mannequin, Elvis, lifted himself from his seat [...] Like the most brilliant of all stunt men, he stood on his pedals, legs and arms fully stretched. [...] The metering coils severed one wrist, and he launched himself into a horizontal dive [...] [A]s the vehicle moved back [...] the four occupants of the car were themselves moving towards the second collision. [...] Both the driver and his woman passenger rolled forwards to meet the windshield [...] Meanwhile, the driver of the car had rebounded off the collapsing steering wheel [...] His decapitated wife, hands raised prettily in front of her neck, rolled against the instrument panel. [...] As we watched [the screen], our own ghostly images stood silently in the background [...] while this slowmotion collision was re-enacted. The dream-like reversal of roles made us seem less real than the mannequins in the car. I looked down at the silk-suited wife of a Ministry official standing beside me. Her eyes watched the film with a rapt gaze, as if she were seeing herself and her daughters dismembered in the crash. (Ballard 126-128)

However, Ballard does not seem to have a Brechtian objective in mind in *Crash* even though this “distancing effect” created by the non-sympathizing may serve the function of making the readers aware of the dangers and violence related to car crashes. However, to interpret *Crash* as a quasi-didactic book warning the postmodern, consumerist and car-obsessed readers against the dangers of bad driving is way off the mark and it banalizes a literary work, which, as stated in the first part of the essay, aestheticizes the technological. As Baudrillard has asserted in the chapter on *Crash* in his *Simulacra and Simulation*, in which he discusses the hyperreal in postmodern world, *Crash* differs from other science fiction books, “which [revolve] around the old couple function/dysfunction, which it projects in the future along the same lines of force and the same finalities that are those of the normal universe” and “according to the same rules of the game” (Baudrillard 1994:118). Using his theory of the hyperreal – and by “hyperreal” Baudrillard refers to that which is neither real nor fiction – he says that in *Crash* there is “no more fiction or reality” and then he asks whether “[t]his mutating and commutating world of simulation and death, this violently sexed world, but one without desire, full of violated and violent bodies,

as if neutralized, [...] hypertechnology without finality – is it good or bad?"(Baudrillard 1994:118)

Ballard does indeed present a world of violated and violent bodies, of "simulation and death." The fusion of body (and sexuality) and technology is carried out through the violence of the car crash. There is, however, oftentimes a celebratory note in Ballard's novel about the results of this violent collision and merging between the human and the machinic, a celebration which is related to the potentialities of the "marriage" between the human body and the machine. In *Crash*, technology and, more importantly, violence exercised by technology inflicts wounds on the body that will become the new erogenous zones, in what Baudrillard refers to when he talks about *Crash* "wounds that are so many new sexual organs opened on the body" (Baudrillard 1994: 112). Here is a passage from *Crash* which illustrates this "alternative sexuality":

Gabrielle turned in her seat [...] For the first time I felt no trace of pity for this crippled woman, but celebrated with her the excitements of these abstract vents let into her body by sections of her own automobile. [...] [M]y orgasms took place [...] in these sexual apertures formed by fragmenting windshield louvres and dashboard dials in a high-speed impact [...] I dreamed of other accidents that might enlarge this repertory of orifices, relating them to more elements of the automobile's engineering, to the ever-more complex technologies of the future. [...]

I realized the extent to which this tragically injured young woman had been transformed [...] The crushed body of the sports car had turned her into a creature of free and perverse sexuality, releasing within its twisted bulkheads and leaking engine coolant all the deviant possibilities of her sex [...] [T]hese twisted instrument binnacles provided a readily accessible anthology of depraved acts, the keys to an alternative sexuality. (Ballard 179, 99-100)

Sexuality in *Crash* is connected with technology and, as already stated in this article, Ballard here talks about the possibilities opened up by technology. Sexuality, however, is closely linked with a violent aspect of technology – the high-speed car crash. The sexual climaxes in *Crash* usually occur whenever the two protagonists are involved in high-speed drives whose ultimate aim is the car crash or when fantasizing and imagining elaborate and detailed car crashes, often with famous celebrities. The sexual impulse finds its highest expression in the fatal car crash. Can the novel be simply an example of one of the numerous sexual paraphilias and perversions? John Money in 1984 coined the term "symphorophilia," which he defined as a form of paraphilia whose meaning is being erotically aroused by accidents or catastrophes and which "culminates in

an arranged disaster, such as an automobile crash." He likens this type of activity to a game of Russian roulette, which "may end in death — alone or with the partner" and he also adds that "[f]or those members of the general public who have a touch of sadomasochism in them, disaster as an unrehearsed event is often a large part of the appeal of entertainment stunts and sports, from the circus to stock-car racing" (Money 169).

Thus one is tempted to read *Crash* as a novel about a "technologized" and technologically-driven sadomasochism of sorts. From this point of view, Ballard has given artistic form to a manifestation of a distorted and perverted sexual drive. It is, however, difficult to be conclusive and certain into pigeonholing this novel into the category of "books about sexual perversions and paraphilias" – if such a category existed at all. For one thing, the author never (at least openly) expresses a value judgment as to the connection between technology, sexuality, and death. What is, moreover, disconcerting to many readers is that the unnatural new sexuality that results from the fusion of body and technology in violent impacts is celebrated in the novel as a new stage in the development of mankind. Not the language of a conscience-stricken deviant pervert who suffers because he knows that what he is doing is abnormal and aberrant but rather the celebratory and extolling language of this new kind of sexuality which opens up many new avenues of experience to the modern man. The technological and the machinic become, as it were, organic part of human life and are divested from their utilitarian role and become aestheticized. Seen from a Romantic perspective, this anti-natural and technologizing world is undoubtedly perverse and lost, being cut off from what is natural and essentially human. Could we, conversely, interpret this work as a warning that Ballard is directing at us, the postmoderns, about the dangers of a life cut off from the natural, the human, a life defined and determined by the technological and the mechanical?

Seen from this ethics-oriented point of view, one might argue that in *Crash* Ballard is warning us against the excesses of postmodern world, in which technology has become so indispensable and irreplaceable in our life – even sexual life – that sexual satisfaction can only be achieved through violence, which leads ultimately to death. Freud has argued that the human instincts can be divided in those instincts which cling to life and try at all means to continue life (the sexual instinct) and the opposing death instinct, or Thanatos. *Crash* is a very interesting – albeit very disturbing – account of a world in which there seems to be a merging of the sexual (or life) instinct with Thanatos, the death drive. Is this simply a dystopian version of a potential future life in which sexuality can only find its satisfaction through violence, a deadly violence which is the very opposite of Life? Or is Ballard simply giving us a realistic – even though much more accentuated – account of the direction human life is headed in our technologized life? Even though Ballard's narrator seems to be optimistic

about this kind of purifying violence and the new forms of sexuality opened up by technology, cases in which the author distances himself from and goes against his own narrator's beliefs are not a rarity in literary works, going as far back as Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and becoming much more pronounced with the twentieth century unreliable narrators. If that is the case, then this a chilling account of the world to come and of the perversion of the whole life, in which the death drive becomes so indistinguishable from the life-preserving instincts and in which the human body is subjected to a violent technology and in which sexual satisfaction can only be achieved through violence and, ultimately, death. It is, moreover, chilling because the sought-for death is a result of the use of the technology. Thus in the world of *Crash* technology – through the violence of the car crash – is equated with Thanatos, the death drive.

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TEKNOLOGJIA, TRUPI DHE SEKSUALITETI NË ROMANIN *CRASH* TË XH G BALARDIT

Artikulli analizon romanin e Xhejms Graham Ballardit, *Crash*, një prej librave më të debatuar të shkruar pas Luftës së Dytë Botërore në Angli. Artikulli shqyrton se si shkrihen në një teknologji dhe trupi njerëzor në botën e Ballardit dhe se si estetizohet dhe seksualizohet teknologja në këtë roman. Ndonëse, sigurisht, ka pasur shkrimitarë të tjerë para Ballardit, të cilët kanë shprehur entuziazëm për teknologjinë dhe shpejtësinë, ai shkon edhe më tej, duke paraqitur një jetë e cila është e dominuar kryekëput nga teknologja, si në dimensionin fizik, ashtu edhe në atë seksual e psikologjik. Një prej aspekteve më interesante dhe njëherësh më të debatuara të këtij romani është paraqitja e një forme të re seksualiteti, e cila është e lidhur ngushtë me teknologjinë dhe veçanërisht me një anë shkatërrimtare dhe të dhunshme të teknologjisë, me përplasjet me makina. Ndërveprimi ndërmjet trupit njerëzor dhe makinës paraqet mundësi të reja për personazhet e Ballardit. Këtu do të diskutohet për rolin qendror që ka përplasja me makinë për dy protagonistët, si dhe për faktin se në botën e Ballardit impulsset seksuale dhe prirja drejt vdekjes shkrihen në një. Artikulli do të trajtojë edhe praninë (apo mungesën) e konsideratave etike në roman.

Fjalë kyçe: teknologji, seksualitet, estetizim, përplasje me makinë, etika, prirja drejt vdekjes, perversitet.

STUDIJE KULTURE I PROUČAVANJE KNJIŽEVNOSTI

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Apstrakt: Od samog početka ideja opšte književnosti uključivala je težnju ka prevazilaženju nacionalnih granica. Danas, prevazilaženje nacionalnih granica nije više osnovna intencija proučavanja književnosti. Pored tradicionalnog zadatka uočavanja i praćenja tema, motiva, stilskih i žanrovske osobina u okvirima najšireg literarnog i društveno-istorijskog konteksta, opšta književnost dobija novi značaj ne kao pomoćna disciplina studija kulture, već kao duhovna disciplina koja u najvećoj mogućoj meri poseduje mogućnost prepoznavanja i prevazilaženja razlika. Poznavanje istorije ideja, književno-stilskih perioda i formacija, razvoja umetničkih i poetičkih stavova i mišljenja osnova su najšire kontekstualizacije teksta kao načina razumevanja savremenih društvenih, umetničkih, književnih i poetičkih pojava. Takođe, savremene studije kulture i teorije interkulturnalnosti, zasnovane na težnji ka prevazilaženju klasnih, polnih, rasnih, etničkih, religioznih i svih drugih razlika, uklapaju se u okvire opšte književnosti kao prostora povezivanja i razumevanja različitih i često udaljenih literarnih i kulturnih obrazaca. Multidisciplinarnost i metadisciplinarnost u proučavanju književnosti, metodološka i interpretativna inventivnost i otvorenost prema novim disciplinama i formama istraživanja načini su obnove i opstanka studija književnosti.

Ključne reči: opšta i uporedna književnost, studije kulture, multidisciplinarnost, metadisciplinarnost, samoprevođenje.

Kriza proučavanja književnosti

Gоворити о кризи прoučавања било које духовне discipline, па тако и književности, могуће је само ако се заузме ćvrst dogmatski stav. Сфера духа је жива, слободна и непрестано се развија, па се зато пре може говорити о кризи прoučаваoca, а дaleко мање о кризи прoučавања književности. Činjenica је да је težnju ка губитку предмета прoučавања и утапање изуčавања književности у друге discipline уочио Bernhajmerov (Bernheimer) извеštaj о стању uporedne književnosti из 1993. године. Уочава се како književno delo више nije у ћирилицама, dok изуčавање književnosti постепено постаје део широко shvaćених студија културе.

Простор poređenja данас укључује poređenja između уметничких производа уobičajeno прoučаваних од стране različitih disciplina; između западних kulturnih tradicija, истовремено visokih i popularnih, i onih koji припадају ne-zapadnim kulturama; između pre- i postkontaktnih kultur-

nih ostvarenja kolonizovanih naroda; između rodnih određenja definisanih kao žensko i onih definisanih kao muško ili između seksualnih orijentacija određenih kao strejt i gej; između rasnih i etničkih načina označavanja; između hermeneutičkog izražavanja značenja i materijalističke analize njegovih načina nastajanja i kruženja; i mnogo toga još. Ti načini kontekstualizacije književnosti u proširenim poljima diskursa, kulture, ideologije, rase i roda toliko su različiti naspram starih modela književnih studija usmerenih ka autoru, nacijama, periodima, žanrovima, da termin „književnost“ danas neodgovarajuće opisuje naš predmet proučavanja. (Bernheimer 41-42)

Bernhajmerov izveštaj uočava potiskivanje književnosti kao osnovnog predmeta proučavanja. U odgovoru na pokušaj da se istraživačima književnosti izmakne tlo pod nogama predlozima da se umesto književnosti porede umetnički oblici, kulturni ili obrasci ponašanja, Riffaterre (Riffaterre) tvrdi:

književnost kao znakovni sistem, kao semiotička mreža, jeste istovremeno važna za sva područja nabrojana u nesrećnoj izjavi, zbog njene osnovne namene i suštinske prirode [...] književnost ostaje središte diskursa, kulture, ideologije, i svega drugog, jer ih sve obuhvata postavljajući pitanja o njima jednostavnim pomeranjem ugla posmatranja. (Riffaterre 72-73)

Sosijev (Saussy) izveštaj o stanju discipline iz 2004. godine ukazuje na interdisciplinarnost i multidisciplinarnost uporedne književnosti kao posrednika između disciplina, ali i njenu metadisciplinarnost, „kao uslov naše otvorenosti ka novim predmetima i formama istraživanja“ (Saussy 23). Opasnost na koju je ukazivao Bernhajmerov izveštaj daleko je manja nego što je to bila devedesetih godina prošlog veka. Razlog tome nije neka iznenadna i neočekivana promena društvenih okolnosti, već priroda same književnosti i mogućnosti njenog proučavanja. Autonomnost proučavanja književnosti kao discipline je i u metodu, a ne isključivo u predmetu proučavanja.

Uporedna književnost najpoznatija je ne kao čitanje *književnosti*, već kao književno *čitanje* [...] Ono što se mora sačuvati, ono što je u pitanju kada razgovaramo da li uporedna književnost i dalje ima svoju ulogu ili joj treba omogućiti da nestane u slučaju da je njen delovanje u svetu dovršeno, jeste *metadisciplinarnost*: ne zato što zvuči prestižno ili obezbeđuje našu jedinstvenost, već zato što je to uslov naše otvorenosti prema novim predmetima i formama istraživanja. (Saussy 23)

Metodološka otvorenost i metadisciplinarnost uporedne književnosti, kao njenosvojno određenje, ne znači zaobilaznje i odbacivanje književnosti kao njenog predmeta, što je intencija Bernhajmerovog izveštaja. Proučavanje književnosti uvek je bilo interdisciplinarno i multidisciplinarno, jer je razumevanje i tumačenje književnosti uključivalo u svoju oblast znanja i metode drugih naučnih i duhovnih disciplina. Od samih početaka razumevanje književnosti podrazumevalo je filozofska znanja, poznavanje religije, društva, drugih umetnosti, jer je „logika uporedne književnosti stara koliko i sama književnost“ (Saussy 6). To je važilo u antici, renesansi, romantizmu, ali i u novijim vremenima. Pozitivizam devetnaestog veka nije uništil proučavanje, teoriju i nastavu književnosti, već je postao književni metod, duboko utkan u starije varijante izučavanja književnosti. Ruski formalizam nastao je, između ostalog, kao reakcija na pozitivizam, insistirajući na otkrivanju *literarnosti* koja je *differentia specifica* književnosti, usmeravajući razumevanje književnosti ka njenoj jezičkoj dimenziji, jezičkoj evoluciji i jezičkim preobražajima. Dvadesetovekovni prodor lingvistike i lingvističkih studija u humanističke nauke nije proučavanje književnosti pretvorio u pomoćnu lingvističku disciplinu, već je omogućio stvaranje niza metoda u tumačenju i razumevanju književnosti, od kojih je strukturalizam najvidljiviji i poznatiji.

Prostorna širina u proučavanju književnosti

Nastanak opšte i uporedne književnosti vezuje se za projekat smanjivanja razlika. I pored svesti o terminološkoj različitosti i istorijskom razvoju pojmove opšte i uporedne književnosti, i jedan i drugi termin razumemo kao proučavanje književnosti koje prevaziđa nacionalne i druge granice i samim tim poseduje odliku univerzalnosti. U tekstu „Kriza uporedne književnosti“, koji je 1958. godine Rene Velek (René Wellek) izložio na kongresu komparatista u Čepel Hilu, on iznosi sumnju da se „Van Tigemovo povlačenje razlike između „uporedne“ i „opšte“ književnosti može održati“ (Velek 181) i zato „veštačko razgraničavanje uporedne i opšte književnosti treba odbaciti“ (Velek 185). U tom smislu korisna je i sintagma *opšta i uporedna književnost* (*littérature générale et comparée*), koju ču i ja upotrebljavati; ona označava svako proučavanje književnosti koje prevaziđa nacionalne i druge granice. Za Veleka je opšta i uporedna književnost izjednačena sa proučavanjem književnosti koje je nezavisno od jezičkih, nacionalnih i političkih granica. Mada je termin opšta književnost nedovoljno čvrsto utemeljen u engleskom govornom području (gde je više u upotrebi termin *world literature*), njegovo očuvanje potrebno je kako bi se ukazalo na značaj i ulogu književne teorije i poetike u okvirima opšte i uporedne književnosti, što, između ostalog, omogućava uobličavanje standarda estetskih vrednosti u okviru discipline. Opštu i uporednu književnost razlikujemo od uporedne književnosti koja se bavi odnosima, vezama, sličnostima i razlikama između dve nacionalne književnosti.

Kod Herdera (Herder), Madam de Stal (Madame de Staël) i Getea (Goethe) opšta i uporedna književnost traži i podrazumeva ukidanje nacionalnih barijera i prevazilaženje granica među nacijama. Herder se često naziva prvim modernim istoričarem književnosti koji se zalagao za opštu istoriju književnosti. Uveren da je nemoguće razvijati filozofiju lepog bez istorije, on ne ističe istoriju svoje, nemačke književnosti, već pronalazi, prikuplja i prevodi dela iz svetske književnosti kako bi uspostavio ideal lepog u poeziji. Herder daje prvu antologiju svetske književnosti (*Volkslieder*, 1777-1778), koja uključuje gotovo ceo Stari zavet, Homera, Hesioda, Eshila, Sofokla, Sapfo, Čosera, Spensera, Šekspira, srednjevekovne romanse, trubadursku poeziju, Dantea i Osijana.

Knjiga O Nemačkoj (1813) Madam de Stal bila je pre svega veliki politički događaj, koja Francuzima predočava sliku dobre, iskrene nacije filozofa i pesnika, sa skromnim političkim ambicijama i slabim nacionalnim osećanjem; idilična slika nemačke nacije, različita od istorijske zbilje, vladala je u Francuskoj sve do sukoba iz 1870. godine. Njeno delo ne treba posmatrati kao književnu studiju (rasprava o književnosti zauzima trećinu teksta), već kao skicu nacionalne psihologije i sociologije, i kao putopis. Ona izlaže ideju kosmopolitizma, koja važi i za oblast književnosti: „nacije treba da služe kao međusobni vodiči“, zemlja treba da prihvati strane ideje, jer takvo „gostoprимstvo usrećuje domaćina“ (Staël 371). Težeci sintezi evropskog duha, kosmopolitizam knjige uticao je na Geteovu ideju opšte književnosti.

Poreklo opšte književnosti kao discipline najčešće se vezuje za Geteov termin *Weltliteratur* (pismo Ekermanu 31. 1. 1827). Mada podrazumeva da je književno delo estetski jedinstveno i istorijski situirano, veliki nemački pesnik tvrdi da književnost prelazi jezičke i nacionalne granice i da nacionalna književnost danas nema vrednost po sebi.

Sada je došlo doba svetske književnosti i svak mora da učini sve od sebe da to razdoblje ubrza. Samo, i pri takvoj oceni onog što je inostrano, mi se ne smemo zadržati na posebnom, pa da to smatramo nekim uzorom svojim. Ne smemo uzorom smatrati (isključivo) ono što je kinesko, ili srpsko, ili Kalderona ili Nibelunge; nego kad nas već nužda nagoni da tražimo uzor – moramo se uvek vraćati starim Grcima, koji u svojim delima vazda prikazuju čoveka lepa. Sve ostalo pak moramo posmatrati samo istorijski, pa ono što je tu dobro, ukoliko je mogućno, i da usvojimo. (Ekerman 184)

Gete uvodi dva kriterijuma u pristupu književnosti: normativni, koji važi za stare Grke, i istorijski, koji je merilo za sve druge književnosti, koja je opšta i svetska i u kojoj su estetski vredna dela. Geteova vizija opšte književnosti treba da ukine razlike između nacionalnih literatura.

Herder, gđa de Stal i Gete smatrali su nacionalizam istorijski prevaziđenim, atežnju ka prevazilaženju nacionalnih razlika razumeli kao odliku savremenošti i zato opšta i uporedna književnost nastaju kao „reakcija na uskogrudi nacionalizam velikog dela književnog znalstva devetnaestog veka“ (Velev 184). Geteov cilj, „negovanje uzajamnog razumevanja i međunarodne razmene sa obe strane Rajne i engleskog Kanala“ (Damrosch 622) delili su Ernst Robert Kurcijus (Ernst Robert Curtius), Erih Auerbah (Erich Auerbach) i Leo Špicer (Leo Spitzer). Ukipanje razlika između nacija izučavanjem književnosti u suštini je politički program kontekstualizovan aktuelnim istorijskim i političkim događajima, a najbolji primer jeste kapitalno delo Ernsta Roberta Kurcijusa *Evropska književnost i latinski srednji vek* (1948).

Metodološka širina u proučavanju književnosti

Univerzalnost proučavanja književnosti je u širini i raznovrsnosti metodoloških pristupa i u teorijskom znanju koje književni znanac poseduje. Kao što je nekada bila odlučujuća „prostorna širina“ (Van Tigem 146), danas je odlučujuće važna metodološka širina u proučavanju književnosti. Mada čine i ulaze u sastavni deo predmeta proučavanja, opštu i uporednu književnost ne određuje presudno neki od manje ili više samostalnih predmeta proučavanja, kao što su teorija književnosti, tematologija, veze i uticaji između dve ili više nacionalnih književnosti, periodi, osećanja i strujanja kao što su romantizam, realizam, modernizam ili petrarkizam, bajronizam, umetnički, stilski oblik ili postupak, internacionalne mode, već pristup i metode istraživanja. Književne pojave i njihove interakcije sa društvenim i kulturnim fenomenima, sa filozofijom, sociologijom, psihologijom, istorijom, politikom raznolike su i promenljive i ulaze u okvire proučavanja književnosti.

Metoda i cilj određuju opštu i uporednu književnost. Ukoliko ne postoji pažljiva procena „dejstva sličnosti i razlike, studije književnosti gube svoju zasnovanost u vremenu, mestu, i jeziku“ (Damrosch 626). U slučaju prepoznavanja sličnosti, kontekstualne razlike se smanjuju, kao u slučaju bajronizma u književnosti; razlike između književnih pojava umanjuju se širenjem kontekstualnog okvira i raznovrsnošću metodoloških pristupa, kao u slučaju manjih književnosti i književnih dela koja ne pripadaju evro-američkom književnom kanonu.

Strah od gubitka discipline opravdan je u meri u kojoj se proučavanje književnosti zadržava u konzervativnim okvirima, gubeći dodir sa savremenošću. Od svojih početaka opšta i uporedna književnost bila je savremena i moderna, i zato ni danas ne bi trebalo da se zatvara u granice velekovski shvaćenog predmeta uporedne književnosti – traženja *literarnosti* – ma koliko insistiranje ruskih formalista na postupku kao distinkтивnoj osobini književnosti jeste značajan činilac određivanja estetskog kvaliteta, osobenosti književnog predmeta i vrednosti književnog dela. Ograničavanje slobode proučavanja književnosti i naročito ogr-

ničavanje metodološke slobode ili, kako kaže Velek: „veštačko omeđavanje predmeta izučavanja i metodologije“ (185), vodi do krize opšte i uporedne književnosti. Velek je na krizu upozoravao pre više od pedeset godina, mada je insistiranjem na traženju *literarnosti* i postupku koji zaobilazi preklapanja književnosti, kulture i društva ostavio tempiranu bombu nove krize uporednog proučavanja, koja je eksplodirala u poslednje dve decenije dvadesetog i početkom dvadeset i prvog veka. Otvaranje i približavanje opšte i uporedne književnosti kulturološkim studijama prirodna je posledica ograničavanja discipline koja je nastala i postoji kao projekat prevazilaženja granica i ukidanja razlika.

Lažni elitizam, koji se u stvarnosti svodi na poznavanje najčešće jednog, a u najboljem slučaju nekolicine kanonskih pisaca i/ili jedne teorijske škole, podjednako je poguban za opstanak studija opšte i uporedne književnosti, ali i studija književnosti uopšte, kao i potpuno izostavljanje književnosti kao njenog predmeta. Elitizam i univerzalnost je u otvorenosti prema razlikama i težnji da se proučavanjem estetski vrednih književnih dela prevaziđu granice, koje više nisu samo i jedino granice između nacija, kao u vreme rađanja uporedne književnosti, već one realizovane kao političke, etničke, rasne, polne i svake druge izražene kroz književne, društvene i kulturne obrasce.

Multidisciplinarnost i metadisciplinarnost proučavanja književnosti

Multidisciplinarnost proučavanja književnosti ogleda se u upotrebi metoda i pristupa različitim humanističkim, društvenim i naučnim disciplinama na estetski vrednim književnim tekstovima. Otvorenost ka novim metodama u cilju prevazilaženja granica i intencija ka prevazilaženju razlika ima prednost u određenju opšte i uporedne književnosti kao discipline. Izučavanje interkulturnih odnosa u književnom tekstu ne predstavlja nužno pretvaranje izučavanja književnosti u studije kulture, već otkrivanje novih značajenskih slojeva u tumačenom delu.

Potencijalnu metadisciplinarnost možemo razumeti kao temelj savremenog proučavanja književnosti: opšta i uporedna književnost daju metodološke obrasce i postupke drugim disciplinama istovremeno težeći sagledavanju postojećih razlika, ali i njihovom prevazilaženju. Studije kulture često su zasnovane na kritičkim evaluacijama i teorijskim uopštavanjima i zapravo koriste metode opšte i uporedne književnosti, oslanjajući se na poetička i stilistička istraživanja i teoriju žanrova. Teorija interteksta i intertekstualnosti u proučavanju književnosti posredno je vratila istorijski i kulturni kontekst. Počev od sedamdesetih godina dvadesetog veka neki od uticajnijih književno-teorijskih usmerenja u okviru univerziteta postaju feministička kritika, postkolonijalna teorija, novi istorizam i studije kulture. Većina teoretičara ovih pravaca se posredno ili neposredno oslanja na mnoge poststrukturalističke ideje, ali je ideja o „smrti autora“ u takvim proučavanjima zaobiđena; u središte proučavanja ponovo se vraća pisac kome treba obezbediti novo mesto u okviru redefinisanih kanona i istorije književno-

sti. U okvirima ovih teorija usredsređenih na pitanja roda, rase i klase, figura autora ponovo dobija na značaju. Metodološki, autor ponovo postaje predmet proučavanja, dok je na epistemološkom i ideološkom nivou poststrukturalizam oslobođio prostor za proučavanje autora izvan paradigmatske predstave Zapada kao dominante. Težnja ka smanjivanju razlika između središta i periferije omogućava redefinisanje odnosa između nacionalnih književnosti.

Transnacionalna dimenzija proučavanja književnosti i kulture danas je široko prihvaćena i čvrsto utemeljena, potvrđujući osnovnu intenciju uporedne ili svetske književnosti. Discipline koje su jedno vreme pretile da potisnu uporednu književnost, kao što su *regionalne komparativne studije (area studies)* kao sastavni deo komparativne politike, svoje uporedne metode u velikoj meri duguju opštoj i uporednoj književnosti. U tom smislu nastaju dela o balkanskoj, skandinavskoj, istočnoazijskoj (regionalnoj) književnosti ili regionalnoj književnosti zemalja indijskog okeana, koja kroz geografske modele i pitanja identiteta, identifikacije, kosmopolitizma i nacionalizma, rehabilituju uzdrmanu ideju književnosti kao celine i mogućnost opstanka proučavanja književnosti.

Još jedan primer metadisciplinarnosti opšte i uporedne književnosti jeste nekoliko decenija živa naučna disciplina teorije i prakse *samoprevođenja (self-translation)*. Prirodno nastala u okvirima teorije prevođenja, studija kulture i nadahnuta teorijama interkulturnalnosti, nova disciplina samoprevođenja duguje svoje metode i teorijske osnove znanjima i metodama teorije književnosti i uporedne književnosti. Pitanje autorstva, ličnosti autora, poređenje istih/različitih tekstova koje jedan pisac piše na dva ili više jezika moguće je rešiti jedino помоћу autentično književnih znanja. Promenljivi i nepromenljivi delovi istog/različitog teksta pisanog na dva jezika određuju se na osnovu jezičkog i književnog znanja i porede metodama uporedne književnosti. Na taj način moguće je uočiti delovanje društvenog konteksta na stvaranje dela i uticaj jezičkih i stilističkih mehanizama na oblikovanje značenjskih slojeva i smisla teksta/tekstova.

Naročito u slučajevima kada autor podjednako ili gotovo podjednako vlada jezicima na kojima stvara/prevodi svoje delo, moguće je tragati za tekstualnim arhetipom različitih verzija i recenzija teksta. Razlike i varijante uočavaju se književnim metodama; dobija se mnogo šira slika koja prevazilazi granice analiziranih dela, otkrivajući jezičke, poetičke, kulturološke, društvene i političke sličnosti i razlike između jezičkih, književnih, nacionalnih, političkih i društvenih modela i obrazaca.

Prihvatanje i uključivanje novih pristupa i metoda ili oslobađanje metodološkog potencijala opšte i uporedne književnosti ne znači i trajno odbacivanje starih, jer istorijska svest u osnovama discipline omogućava da se novine lakše prihvate i primene u okviru postojećeg poretka. Za proučavanje književnosti nužno je poznavanje kanonskih književnih tekstova u sledu, na osnovu poznavanja više jezika. Studije književnosti treba da sačuvaju istorijsku komponentu, kako bi se književni tekstovi i književno-teorijske ideje proučavali u istorijskom redosle-

du; na taj način stvara se svest o književnosti i književno-teorijskim idejama kao celini. Aistorijski pristup kako književnosti tako i književnim teorijama, poetikama, postupcima i formama poguban je za opstanak proučavanja književnosti. Novi teorijski metodi i pristupi najčešće se otkrivaju kao varijante starih i već postojećih ili kao nastavak ili suprotstavljanje ranijim teorijama i pristupima. Bogatstvo književnosti kao najšireg mogućeg polja ispoljavanja ljudskog duha, društvenih i kulturnih obrazaca i estetskih vrednosti, kao i metodološka otvorenost i univerzalnost opšte i uporedne književnosti, obezbeđuju opstanak discipline i njenu metadisciplinarnost u okvirima humanistike i različitih oblika dolaženja do znanja u širokoj oblasti proučavanja književnih, kulturnih i društvenih fenomena.

Savremeno proučavanje književnosti ne treba shvatiti kao nasilno ukrštanje tradicionalnih studija književnosti i studija kulture, već kao mogućnost saradnje i prevazilaženja razlika. Književnost je autonomna u odnosu na druge humanističke discipline, ali ne i nezavisna u odnosu na drugačije forme ispoljavanja ljudske misli i duha. Studije književnosti može da sačuva teorijska, metodološka i interpretativna inventivnost, a ne tvrdokorno opstajanje na konzervativizmu i metodama starijim više od pola veka. Metodi i pristupi primjenjeni u okvirima studija kulture, kao što su različiti modeli interkulturalnosti, modeli čitanja zasnovani na analizi diskursa moći ili modeli prevazilaženja rodnih, rasnih i etničkih razlika deo su široko postavljenih okvira proučavanja književnosti danas.

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CULTURAL STUDIES AND STUDYING OF LITERATURE

From the beginning, the idea of world literature included tendency towards overcoming the national boundaries. Today, overcoming of national borders is no longer main intention of literary studies. In addition to the traditional task of discovering and following themes, motifs, styles and genres properties within the broadest literary and socio-historical context, world literature takes on a new importance not as a supporting discipline of cultural studies, but as a discipline that to the maximum extent has the ability to recognize and resolve differences. Knowledge of the history of ideas, literary and stylistic periods and formations, artistic and poetic views and opinions are the basis of the widest contextualization of the text as a way of understanding contemporary social, artistic, literary and poetic phenomena. Also, contemporary cultural studies and intercultural theories, based on the aspiration to overcome class, gender, racial, ethnic, religious and other differences, fit within the frames of world literature as an area of connections and understanding of different and often distant literary and cultural patterns. Multidisciplinarity and metadisciplinarity of the literary studies, methodological and interpretative inventiveness and openness to a new disciplines and researching methods are the ways of its renewal and survival.

Key Words: world literature, cultural studies, multidisciplinarity, metadisciplinarity, self-translation.

RAĐANJE POST–POSTMODERNE

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Apstrakt: Kako pojmiti post-postmodernu, kao novu epohalnu datost, ključno je pitanje koje autori obrazlažu u svom istraživačkom poduhvatu. Da li je ona epohalni nastavak postmodernizma i postmoderne ili sasvim nova granična situacija savremenog čovjeka, autori približavaju i pružaju na uvid stručnoj javnosti ogled o Džojsovom *Ulksu*, za koji smatraju da predstavlja i stanje kumulativne mutiranosti i asteničnosti davno zaboravljenog čovjeka, koji je emigrirao iz svoje orbite, tako da je postao apatrid na sopstvenoj zemlji. Stoga se može reći da je kroz ovu epistolu prožeto interdisciplinarano stanovište. Istorijsko uzrastanje raciocentrizma autori prate kroz formu i razvoj psihologije i psihoanalize, koje će svoju punoču dobiti u tehnološkoj prevlasti zapadne civilizacije. U nastojanju da se obezbjedi sasvim novo ishodište, na osnovu kojeg bi obezbijedili teren za posmatranje i kritiku raciocentrične filozofije, rad je zamišljen kao propedevtika, koliko za propitivanje starih teorija, koje su utrnule pred naletima post-postmodernizma, ali isto tako, i za stvaranje novih gnoseoloških nalaza, kao kompenzatorskih platformi za tumačenje bića. Ove teze će svoju saglasnost pronaći u izdvojenim tezama onih teoretičara koji su stvorili mogućnost posmatranja i nagovještaja Drugosti, izvan raciocentričkog rakursa posmatranja.

Ključne riječi: post-postmoderna, postmodernizam, raciocentrizam, simulakrum, psihoanaliza.

Uvod

Svaka studija koja ima pretenziju da bude objektivna i društveno angažovana ne može da se u jeku postmoderne, po kojem ova epohalna datost i njeni manifesti ugrožavaju smislenost ljudskog življenja, ne rukovodi antropološkom bojaznošću za ishod sjutrašnjice. Ovaj rad je i svojevrsno anticipiranje o duhovnom prebivalištu i sinergiji čovjeka i društva, čija je suština drastično derogirana jednim fenomenom koji urušava neumitni spoj Logosa i Istorije. Epistemološki trag neumitno ukazuje da se u ovom postmodernom dobu iracionalnost savremenog društva zasniva na ontološkim antinomijama savremenog čovjeka. Ono što je za većinu teorijskih polazišta karakteristično, jeste identifikovanje novih „hranilišta“ postmodernizma. Jasno je da je riječ o globalizaciji i neoliberalizmu kao novim paradigmama i znakovima sistema. Za početak, pozvaćemo se na epitomu T. Igtona koji daje proširenu definiciju epohalnih datosti.

Reč postmodernizam najčešće označava jedan oblik savremene kulture, dok izraz postmodernitet aludira na specifičan istorijski period. Postmodernitet je stil mišljenja za koji je karakteristična sumnja u klasične pojmove istine, razuma, identiteta i objektivnosti, u ideju univerzalnog progresu ili emancipacije, u jedinstvene okvire, velike naracije i konačna objašnjenja. Nasuprot ovim prosvetiteljskim normama, on svet vidi kao nepredvidiv, nezasnovan, divergentan, nestabilan, neodređen, kao skup neobjedinjenih kultura ili interpretacija – što rađa skepticizam u odnosu na objektivnost i istinu, istoriju i norme, datost prirodâ i koherentnost identiteta [...] Postmodernizam je oblik kulture koji odražava nešto od ove epohalne promene, u jednoj nedubokoj, decentriranoj, nezasnovanoj, samorefleksivnoj, razigranoj, izvedenoj, eklektičkoj, pluralističkoj umetnosti koja rastapa granice između „visoke“ i „popularne“ kulture, kao i između umetnosti i svakodnevnog iskustva. (5)

Predmet istraživanja ovog rada, kao što je već i navedeno, predstavlja sociolingvističko razumijevanje i objašnjenje postmodernizma, koji ima višestruke posledice za čovjeka i njegovo društvo. U radu ćemo pružiti zadani okvir onih pojmova koji su univerzalno povezani sa naznačenim epohama. Treba reći, da u radu pribjegavamo sinhronijskom i dijahronijskom pogledu na one (epi)fenomene koji su povezani sa postmodernizmom.

Sinhronijski pogled, to jest onaj koji razmatra aspekte funkcionalisanja i uticaja, pa i delimičnog preobražavanja entiteta u jednom izolovanom vremenskom periodu – obično onom u kojem je njegov uticaj kumulativan – posjeduje neznatan eksplikativni potencijal i vrednost [...] Dijahronijski (uporedno-istorijski) pogled, pak, vidi u entitetu jedno posebno evolutivno zaokruženje mnogobrojnih temeljnih činilaca koji ga kroz istoriju uobičavaju. Ti činioci prirodno ishode iz datosti generičkog sudeovanja pojedinaca u društvu, te prolaze kroz različite pokušaje postepeñog uobičavanja. (Simić 2006, 13)

Ovaj fragmentarni ogled nastavljamo sagledavanjem onog središta koje instruira novi vid socijalnog življenja. Naravno, riječ je o postmoderni i postmodernizmu. Prije nego što se upustimo u pretragu zapažanja ovih fenomena, dužni smo obrazložiti i temat, koji je, reklo bi se, zadan samom postavkom civilizacijskog poretka. Ako je naša analiza ispravna, postmodernizam je paradoksalno i probudio teorijska čula kada je diskreditovao prisutnost čovjeka, zamjenivši ga minornom siluetom, koja ne može biti nosilac humanističkog univerzalizma. Stoga je i *nestanak čovjeka* postao uvodni rezime u preispitivanju posledica postmodernog stanja. Ono što je neminovna konsekvenca jeste kontaminacija identiteta koji prolazi kroz svojevrsnu filtraciju dogme velikog epa postmoderne. Po-

trošnja tako postaje novi epohalni diskurs i pretpostavka cjelokupnog društvenog poretka, tako da se preko nje sugeriše potpuno novi formativni reper identiteta.¹⁴ Takva konektovanost prevazilazi akseološki jezik i postaje režim života ili fukoovski rečeno *režim istine*.¹⁵ Ta se drama naprsto produžava. Sada se, nakon učinjene digresije preko koje smo, polazeći od „antropološkog posrnuća“ i zauzetih opredjeljenja, definisali i reminiscenirali mogućnost drugačijeg sagledavanja epohe post-postmoderne, može se reći, da se „štafeta moći“ upravljanja, nije okončala u individualnoj nazavisnosti čovjeka. Tako nam se ukazuje panoramski vid u kojem razgovjetno možemo uočiti poredak simulakruma i njegovu apsorpciju ljudske egzistencije. Koji su još obrisi postmodernizma? U atmosferi simulakruma, kako je to lucidno definisao Bodrijar, a što je ujedno i drugo ime za postmodernizam, pojavljuje se i pseudo ontologizacija ispoljena u pastišnjaciji egzistiranja.

Za takve predmete, mišljenja je Džejmson, možemo rezervisati Platono-vu shvatanje „nadomestka“ (simulacrum)-identične kopije čiji original nikad nije postojao. Kultura nadomestka sasvim prikladno počinje živeti u društvu u kojem je razmenska vrednost poopštena do tačke na kojoj je izbrisana trag i samom sećanju na upotrebnu vrednost, društvo o kojem je Guy Debord u izvanrednom iskazu zapazio da je u njemu „predstava (image) postala krajnjom formom robnog postvarenja.“ (*The Society of the Spectacle*, 32).

Ono što se može smatrati zaključnim razmatranjem ove epohe, svakako je zabrinjavajuća uloga čovjeka, jer prisutnost navedenih „negativa“ podriva sumnu za etablirani „stalež“ kulturnih obrazaca, koji govore o efemernosti novog doba i njegove neukorjenjenosti. Ovaj stav tendira i kod Dejva Robinsona, kada kaže da:

Izgleda da zapadna civilizacija u ovom trenutku evoluira u pravcu nekakvog post-tehno-kapitalističkog društva u kome su negdašnje značenje

¹⁴ Bauman potrošačko društvo posmatra u domenu njegovog totaliteta, iz kog izvlači potrošački sindrom, kao njegovo glavno obilježe. „Kad kažemo 'potrošačko društvo' to označava više, mnogo više nego što je to puka verbalizacija trivijalnog zapažanja da članovi tog društva, pronašavši izvor zadovoljstva u potrošnji, provode najveći deo svog vremena i nastojanja pokušavajući da uvećaju ta zadovoljstva. To, uz navedeno, znači i da percepcija i tretman praktično svih elemenata društvenog okruženja i aktivnosti koje to okruženje inicira i oblikuje pokazuju tendenciju da se rukovodi 'potrošačkim sindromom' kao kognitivnom i ocenjivačkom predispozicijom. 'Politika življenja', gdje je 'politika' sa velikim 'P' u meri koliko i priroda međuljudskih odnosa, pokazuje tendenciju da se preoblikuje prema uzoru sredstava i objekata potrošnje i u skladu sa onim što podrazumeva potrošački sindrom“ (102).

¹⁵ Vidi. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and punish: The Birth of the Prison*, New York: Random House, 1997.

velikih reči, kao što su „progres“ i „sloboda“, tako pomerane da označavaju još samo uvećane profite korporacija, veću industrijsku produktivnost i širi izbor za njihove konzumente. Naš postmoderni svet, kako stvari stoje, postaje jedna duhovna praznina i kulturna površnost sa socijalnim praksama koje se beskrajno ponavljaju i parodiraju, fragmentirani svet otuđenih individuuma bez samosećanja ili smisla za istoriju, ali zato priključenih na hiljade raznih TV kanala. Istu takvu viziju sadašnjosti i budućnosti pred nas stavlja još jedan postmodernista, Žan Baudrijar [...]. Za njega, postmoderni svet je jedan od simulakruma u kome više nema razlike između stvarnosti i površine. Savremeni građani neće postati „nadljudi“, već samo konzumenti medija u svetu znakova bez označitelja. (47-48)

Gipkost i nekonistentnost postmoderne misli, ogledaju se

u potrazi za slobodom mišljenja u prostoru fatuma. Ona se kreće između pitanja o mogućnosti dekonstrukcije, promenljivosti, neuslovjenosti i anarhičnosti modela svesti, jezika, znanja i mišljenja, i pitanja o nemogućnosti prevazilaženja logičke moći i istorijskog tereta koji se očituje u istim tim procesima. U tom smislu postmoderna misao je uistinu spoj nespojivog, stalno na granicama između potpune slobode i potpune uslovjenosti. (Sekulić, 346)

Govoreći o ideologiji novog doba, Slobodan Vukićević govori o tržišnom diskursu, za koji se može reći da predstavlja supstancializaciju društvenih odnosa, ali na jedan pogrešan način. Kod Tomasa Molnara¹⁶ se može zapaziti postojanje ove ideološke asocijativnosti, tako da ćemo u ovom dijelu rada prilagoditi i uboljiti one elemente, za koje se može reći da su faza ubjeđivanja liberalnog dogmatizma u njegovu ispravnost. Govoreći o generičkoj suštini čovjeka i prirodi ljudske zajednice, Slobodan Vukićević ističe da je njihovo rodno mjesto sadržano u odnosu prema prirodi. On afirmiše novo „hodočašće“ ka izvorima genetičnosti. To je prije svega poziv ka uspostavljanju novog doživljaja individue. Stoga je, i sasvim opravdano da:

Afirmacija konkretnog čovjeka i njegovih mogućnosti ne znači postmodernističko negiranje potrebe postojanja ustanovljenih mjerila koja prate i usmjeravaju prirodu čovjeka i njegove zajednice, a priroda čovjeka nije samo pozitivna nego i destruktivna. Naime, ako nema mjerila, ako nikakve vrijednosti, naslijeđene iz prošlosti, ne važe, te konstituisan postojeći društveni sistem na principima slobode, onda se postavlja pitanje

¹⁶ Vidi Tomas Molnar, *Hegemonija liberalizma*, Beograd: SKC, 1996.

da li svaki pojedinac može jednako slobodno izražavati i svoje konstruktivne želje i potencijale, ali i svoje destruktivne potencijale. Bez toga ne možemo tragati za odgovorima na pitanja zbog čega su građani zalutali u potrošačku kulturu, zašto se odriču socijalne države, zašto dovode u pitanje svoju stabilnost i sigurnost, zašto okreću leđa solidarnosti i zajedničkim vrijednostima, zanemaruju porodicu, poslovnu etiku, skromnost i čestitost, lokalne vrijednosti i kulturu, uništavaju prirodu i sl. (31)

Stanje *fluidnog straha* održava se u postmodernim parametrima, gdje ne postoji odgovornost prema Drugome, prema društvu, a na kraju ni prema samom sebi. To iskustvo sadržano je u intoniranoj krizi kulture (ne)življena. Nadovezaćemo se na Mišela Lakrou i njegovo viđenje Novog doba, koje je ustalo na ruševinama starih ideja i revolucija, čija se egzistencijalna priroda ogleda u istraživanju tehnološkog habitusa. Iako je *Novo doba* pružilo određene prerogative savremenom čovjeku, ono je ujedno i devastiralo njegovu esencijalnu potrebu pripadanja. Njegova evolutivna modelovanja kretala su se od atributa predanosti sopstvu do dirigovane ekspanzije *bjekstva od sebe – sebi*.

Ono što se sada dovodi u pitanje nije samo svesni život već individualnost. Čovek, onakav kakav je određen prostorno-vremenskim koordinatama i svešću o svojoj ograničenosti, direktno je ugrožen. U tome je paradoks ličnog razvoja: u nameri proširenja „sebe“ ukida se „ja“. Nije reč, dakle, kao u slučaju psihanalize, o osporavanju nadmoći svesnog subjekta: sâm pojam subjekta postaje iluzija time što jedan suštinski element predstave o svetu nasleđen od Zapada nestaje. Prevazilaženje ličnosti uništava ideju o pojedincu koju su razvile grčko-latinska i judeo-hrišćanska kultura. (50)¹⁷

Kako je počelo?

U nastavku ćemo pokušati, kako smo to i nagovijestili u početnim redovima ovog rada, da kroz literarni primjer prikažemo uzrastanje one epohe koja

¹⁷ „Nije čudo, stoga, što su ljudi pod pritiskom tih mogućnosti patnje postali umereniji u svojih zahtevima za srećom, kao što se i sam princip zadovoljstva pod uticajem spoljanog sveta preobratio u skromniji, princip realnosti, pri čemu se ljudi smatraju već srećnim ako su izbegli nesreću, prebrodili nevolju. Zadatak izbegavanja patnje uopšte je potisnuo u pozadinu postizanje zadovoljstva. Razmišljanjem zaključujemo da se taj zadatak može postići na razne načine. Sve te puteve su preporučile razne škole životne mudrosti a ljudi su ih sledili. Neograničeno zadovoljenje svih potreba izgleda da je najprimamljiviji način života. To, pak, znači prepostaviti zadovoljstvo opreznosti, što se posle kratkog vremena sjeti“ (Frojd 278), zapisaće u *Nelagodnostima u kulturi*, Sigmund Frojd. Da li je *pobunjeni čovjek* upao u inverziju kulturno-školskih zahtjeva, opravdavajući potrošačko epigonstvo kao vid društvene angažovanosti!?

se u potpunosti osamostalila (što ne znači da za njen nastanak nije zaslужna epoha postmoderniteta) i suvereno proglašila svoj nazor nad savremenim čovjekom i njegovim identitetom. Ono što iznosimo ne treba shvatiti kao repliku dijatribičnog oglašavanja, već, prije svega, kao ukaz autora na one rukopise koji se mogu smatrati dovoljno legitimnim da zastupaju potrebitost opstanka kulturnih osobnosti, pred naletima i devastacijom post-postmoderne. Smatramo da je sasvim opravdano dopustiti i ovlastiti one izvore u kojima je i sadržan detaljan opis epohalnog pejzaža (Simić 2012). Prije nego pređemo na teren post-postmoderne, dužni smo, zbog teorijskog i metodološkog postupka, pružiti hronološki pregled koji je i uslovio pojavu epohe čije referentne mijene i hostilnost proživljavamo. Čini nam se da je za ovo izlaganje nezaobilazno pozvati se na radove Željka Simića čiji dugogodišnja posvećenost i epistolarni zapisi na najsuptilniji način pružaju plodonosnu zalagu za novu propedevtiku kako pojmiti post-postmodernu. Najprije, treba upoznati čitaoca da su istraživanja ovog autora posvećena problematici totalitarne svijesti, kognitivne simplifikacije, koji su i nastali razvojem raciocentričke filozofije. Za nju se može reći da predstavlja onaj supstrat koji je i rodno mjesto današnje tehnološke evolucije i jedne, posve, forme totalitarne svijesti, čiji se reperi ogledaju u današnjoj liberalnoj hegemoniji.

Ovdje ćemo napraviti kratak predah i revidirati istorijske stranice, koje su razotkrivale pojavu *dekartovskog raciocentrizma*, koji se može smatrati i ko-sturom savremene civilizacije. Naše teorijsko uvjerenje sugerira nam da prve korake *raciocentrizma*, kako smo i rekli, potražimo kod onih mislilaca čiji studiozni putokazi opravdavaju naš zahtjev za izborom teorijskog uteviljenja postavljenog hipotetičkog konstrukta. Kao osnovni doprinos temi javlja se angažovana građa Bleza Paskala i Rene Dekarta. Zanimljivo sagledavanje filozofskih revolucija, koje su otpočele pojmom i snažnim otiskom njihovog učenja (Paskala i Dekarta), usmjeravamo u pravcu rasuđivanja čovjekovih vječnih tjeskoba, odnosno, smisla postojanja. Iako, naizgled intencionalno suprotstavljeni, Paskal i Dekart dijele istu „poslušnost“ svoje kritičke misli u cilju dolaženja do razumijevanja ljudske egzistencije i apsurda postojanosti. Međutim, kao što ćemo i vidjeti, srednje vrijednosti distanciranja ovih mislilaca biće sadržane upravo u promišljanju *raciocentričke filozofije*. Put istine za Paskala biće sadržan u *integralnom doživljaju srca*, a za Dekarta u *integrisanim uporištima razuma*.

Tako se „srce“ o kojem govori Paskal otkriva sa značenjem neizmerno složenijim od kolokvijalnog podrazumevanja srca kao središta sentimenta. Ovo „srce“ na svoj način ne saznaje, već poznaje osnovne postulate na kojima počiva stvarnost: to znači da je ono, zapravo, sasvim egzaktan organ preuzimanja celovitosti. Sličan je pojmu duha, utoliko što ljudski duh, po tradiciji, funkcije svog delovanja izvodi iz neposrednog participiranja u sferi kategorijâ besmrtnog, univerzalnog Duha (kao posrednik univerzalija, supstrat mističnih evidencija, nosilac proročkih ili „preko-

gnicijskih“ vizija, itd). Paskalovo „srce“ je, otuda, personalno središte ukorenjeno u personalizujuće jezgro čovekovog postojanja, a to jezgro jeste *pojedinčev ukupni doživljaj iskustvenosti*, kao segment unutar sve-ukupne ekspozicije stvarnosti. U tom smislu se egzistencijalni doživljaj bića individue (organizma i rasuđivanja) shvata kao zajedničko deobno mesto, s jedne strane, sila spoljnog sveta i, s druge, personalnog prostora omeđenog telom i individualnom vremenitošću. Iz ovoga upravo logično sledi veoma tanana i verovatno ponajbolja, sažeta formulacija koju je sâm Paskal – u obliku fine igre reči – dao povodom „srca“: „La coeur a ses raisons, que la raison ne connaît point.“ – „Srce ima svoja *umovanja* [ili umovne razloge, naša primjedba] koja um ne poznaje“. To, dakle, nedvosmisleno znači nešto veoma neobično: da „srce“ poseduje svoj vlastiti um!“ (cit. u Simić 2007, 21).

Paskalovo insistiranje na integralnosti srca predstavlja obogaćivanje spoznaje stvarnosti koju nije dovoljno razumom dokučiti. To implicira stav da se razumom ne dolazi do sveobuhvatnog pogleda na svijet prirode niti do egzistencijalnog uzdizanja čovjeka, već, naprotiv, samo do iskustvene redukcije, zbog njegove zasljepljenosti i nemirenja sa svojom okoštalošću. Nasuprot razumu stoji ontološko ishodište srca, „čiji rukopis životnih stranica“ suočava čovjeka sa neizvjesnošću svog postojanja. Kroz koncepciju srca stiče se zrelost u suočavanju s dometima rizika, koji ga opstruiraju u saznanju doživljajne integralnosti svijeta u kojem se nalazi. Kao što je i otkriveno, nasuprot Paskalovoj *logici srca*, stoji de-kartovski *Cogito*, koji ne priznaje ništa izvan svojih spoznajnih mogućnosti. Takvo gledište, osnaženo egzaktnim eksursima (aritmetike i geometrije), u narednim epohama odbacivaće sve što se ne poviňuje „hiru“ razumskog zdanja i njegove entropije.

To prije svega

znači da raciocentrizam može okupirati prirodu, može ukloniti razloge uvođenja božanskog postojanja iz „konstrukta“ prirode, ali ne može odgovoriti na čovekovo fundamentalno *egzistencijalno* pitanje (pa ni na sva druga pitanja iz njega izvedena). Zato je raciocentrični, naučni čovek moderne civilizacije, odbivši od sebe religiju, morao uobličiti novu potpornu naučnu disciplinu u kojoj će svest, mišljenje i racionalnost ipak zadržati poslednju reč i nadzornu ulogu, pri tom dopustivši promišljanje egzistencijalnih trauma. Psihologija je stoga – krajnje grubo ali, verujemo, i tačno rečeno – *rođena da bi potpunila ozbiljnu naprslinu na skeletu raciocentrizma*(2007: 80-81).

Ne možemo se oprijeti utisku da je istorijski hod raciocentričke svijesti pokušao da svoja pribježišta i zalogu svoje tradicije obezbjedi i postamentira u

punktovima *nesvjesnosti* (Ja i Nad–ja), čime bi svaki vid ljudske iracionalnosti pravdao sintezom i zavještanjem razumnosti (Simić 2007). Svoju strukturalnu natkompenzaciju, racionalni subjektivizam će dobiti u liku Edmunda Huserla i njegove *fenomenološke metode*. Jedini demijurg svijeta postaće *tehnički um*, koji se javlja kao strateg neminovnog progresa!

Krunsko dovršenje raciocentrizma i subjektivističkog apsolutizma u tehnicizmu ne znači ništa drugo do pronalaženje, s jedne strane, i istovremeno, beskrajno moćnog zaštitnika (totalni tehnički nadzor nad prirodnim neizvesnostima) i monumentalno produženog Ega (aktivno sudelovanje u tehničkom univerzumu makar kao deo publike u interaktivnoj igri), i, s druge strane, prebivanje u virtualno prekomponovanom svetu u kojem se iluzionizam pojedinčeve pseudosvemoći održava a konsekvence njegove usamljenosti rasterećuju [...] Čitav ovaj manevr započinje najranijim kulturološkim i vaspitnim izborom epicentriranosti subjekta i Ego-dominacije, odnosno unipolarnog koncepta suočavanja sa iracionalnom misterijom bivstvovanja. Oglušivanje o nužno postojanje drugog središta, druge gnoseološke strategije koja razvija investicije bića posve drugačije od logicističko-racionalne isključivosti, mora kulminirati u završnom otkriću takve nerealno-homeostatičke ideološke proteze koja će trajno umrviti iskonske zahteve drugog središta, pascalovske „logike srca“, a unutarnje tragove absurdnosti poništiti ekvilibrumom spoljnog absurdnog realiteta. (596-597)

Te involvirane intrepretacije, *oličene kao supstituti drugog središta*, postaće i osnovno uporište savremene civilizacije, ili takozvane *totalitarne svijesti!* Iz oвoga i slijedi zaključak autora o zaslugama psihanalize za razvoj totalitarne svijesti, narkotičke zaslijepljenosti Ega i nemogućnosti osluškivanja potrebe za drugim središtem.

Prosto i moderno rečeno, psihanalitički interpretiran čovek je inkapsuliran u drami sopstvenog autističnog izlaženja iz nesvesnog nevidela u Ego kontrolisanu vidnost. Ali mi ovde, međutim, ni namanje ne tvrdimo da psihanaliza nije u pravu u pogledu objašnjenja psihe modernog čoveka – naprotiv: na nju se možemo potpuno osloniti [...] ono što tvrdimo jeste da se psihanaliza odnosi na (sinhrono rađanog) modernog pojedincu totalitarne svesti, ali ne i da je kadra da se približi ukupnoj izvornoj ljudskosti razvijenoj inside of balance (Simić 2009: 51).

Zar taj transfer raciocentrizma nije inkorporiran u filmu Andreja Tarkovskog *Stalker*, gdje reditelj Zoni (koja predstavlja predio *Nesvjesnog*) prepušta pi-

sca i profesora, koji se i mogu tumačiti na osnovu dosadašnjih repera raciocentrizma, odnosno *dekartovske tradicije*?¹⁸

S one strane postmoderne

Detektovana u idejnom opsegu „postmodernističke redakcije“ Liotara, Bodrijara, Deleza i drugih, post-postmoderna se ne javlja kao otisak realiteta postmoderne, već kao novi „recenzivni tretman“ ljudskog egzistiranja.¹⁹ Poslednje detektovanje nas dovodi do zaključka da post-postmodernizam ne referira ni na šta izvan samog sebe. Dolazi do potpune korozije strukturalne identitetske osnove i statusa „bačenosti“ i sukcesivnog prenošenja ingerentnih datosti na tehnološki imaginarijum. Prije nego što pređemo na ekstrahovanje i analizu najbitnijih obilježja epohalne datosti – postmoderne, iz koje izvodimo teorijski konstrukt post-postmoderna, koji je karakterom posredovanja područje primjenjene ideologije, neophodno je eksplikativnu „prisutnost“ teme testirati na razmeđu tradicije i progrusa, sa latentnom opasnošću od primordijalne zasljepljenosti tradicionalizmom i onih konstelacija postmodernizma koji dinamikom širenja upućuju na jednu mistificiranu biografiju čovjeka. Ne trošeći prostor za specifičnije aspekte teoretičanja, usredsredićemo se na iznošenje argumentacionih nizova o epohalnoj datosti. U zaledu našeg misaonog plledoaja, fiksiramo tačke na kojima je došlo do stvaranja epohalno opštег tona postmoderniteta, a koji je obezbijedio i teoretsku investiciju kao naslijedenu epistemsku paradigmu za nastanak i transformaciju strukture postmodernog subjektiviteta u nešto što se ne može smatrati humanim konstruktom, već kvalitativnom mutiranošću osnovnih elemenata koncepta postmoderniteta – a što je prepoznato kao post-postmoderna. Velika privlačnost ovog teorijskog opredjeljenja i epistemskog detektovanja epohe svakako pripada Željku Simiću. Naime, u masivnom opusu koji je posvećen problematici totalitarne svijesti, prožimane kroz strukturu društva, svijesti i ego-konceptualnosti, kao i raciocentričke tradicije, Simić kroz mapu kretanja postmodernizma, sugerire na ona mesta gdje se post-postmodernizam profilisao i legitimisao epemska načela svoga diskursa. Da su pitanja o epohalnoj datosti opravdana i umjesna potvrđuje odgovor post-postmodernizma koji suzbija i sankcioniše svaki govor humane praktičnosti i oduzima dignitet onome što se do juče smatralo „čovjekom“ i kulturom. Takva tendencija može se lako uočiti iz Simićevih redova:

¹⁸ Vidi: Tarkovski, Andrej. *Vajanje u vremenu*. Beograd: Knjige Obradović, 2014. Prevod: Vladan Dobrivojević.

¹⁹ Vidi: Živković, Predrag. „Šta nam duguje post-postmoderna?“ Nikšić: Luča: Godina XXVII, broj -1/2 (2013): 101-112.

post-postmodernizam realizuje takvu pseudoontološku atmosferu u kojoj pojedinac odustaje od gnoseološke inicijative kao krucijalno imanentnog sastojka svog subjektiviteta. (Podsetimo se da je ovome prethodilo dijametalno suprotno, postmoderno insistiranje na podilaženju omnipotentnosti uživalačke – bartovski rečeno – kompetencije subjekta i). Pri tome se ova ekstirpacija samog nataviteta amortizuje iluzijom da se ono što je inicijativu preuzeo u sebe – tehnološki univerzum – realizuje isključivo zahvaljujući konzumentovom participiranju u prometu modelujućih slika. Ukratko, post-postmodernitet je, čini se, tranziciona faza na putu potpunog prenosa kompetencija subjekta na tehnološki sistem, pri čemu se činjenica uporedne objektivizacije čoveka zaglušuje participativnom agitiranošću koja u korenu smenjuje gnoseološki impuls [...] Istaknimo: svaka porcija tehnološke-medijatizovane post-postmoderne stvarnosti više se ne plasira – kao u Bodrijarovim simulakrumima – kako bi utažila hipertrofiranu narcističku želju omnipotentnog pojedinca-subjekta, nezadovoljnog jednoznačnošću monotono trasirane istorije i tradicije. (Simić 2012: VIII/XIX)

Shodno autorovoj kulturološkoj vokaciji, opravdano je što intencionalno stavlja na razmatranje konstitutivne elemente ljudske egzistencije, tražeći pri tom elemente neaficirane identitetske osovine. Riječ je o sofisticiranoj mutiranosti distinkтивnih elemenata identiteta, koji u post-postmodernom krugu gube ontološku valencu, ustupajući tehnološkom supstratu ingerentni udio u stvaranju vrijednosnog skeleta. Lako je obrazložiti ravnodušnost tehnološkog imaginarijuma, koji ne želi da derogira poziciju čovjeka, već njegov senzibilni i ontološki set – mišljenja, osjećanja i djelanja – i predstavlja se kao autobiograf jedne davno zaboravljene kulturne tvorevine zvane čovjek!

Socijalno upotrebljivu građu Simić pronalazi u Jungovoj recenziji Džojsovog Uliksa:

U stvari, Jungova recenzija Džojsovog Uliksa najbolje je nagovestila postmodernistički paroksizam: Uliks je hladan, distanciran posmatrač koji vrvež trivijalnih čulnih događanja u koje je uključen posmatra iz perspektive omnipotentnog subjekta. Još jedna, i nipošto ne manje važna promena sastoji se u redukciji ritma kruženja: lišen spoljnih zahvata i iskušenja, opkoljen uniformisanim predstavama, postmoderni pojedinac prebiva u krajnje suženom (jedno-dnevnom) temporalnom krugu potrebnom da bi upoznao za njega žestoko osiromašenu raznovrsnost aficiranja neopipljive identitetske osovine. (2012, XIII)²⁰

²⁰ Za ovu priliku, za potrebu argumentovane građe, navodimo plastičan primjer Džojsovog Uliksa, kao paradigmę post-postmoderne mutiranosti, čiji život se svodi na utrulost svih senzitiva i

Markiraćemo posljednje redove strukturalnih promjena: ono što se kao post-postmoderna kultura nameće pojedincu, jeste, uistinu, forsiranje mnoštva odbljesaka potrošačkog korpusa, a koji imaju za cilj subjektno samoprepoznavanje i ugradnju u tehnološkoj orbiti. Suština je da je čovjek Zapada predao kontemplativne i empatijske ingerencije sinergičnom terminalu tehnoloških zahtjeva. Privilegija i monopol na proroštvo postmoderne destrukcije subjekta, svakako pripadaju Liotaru. Naime, iako je postmodernu uveo na „velika vrata“, davajući joj plauzibilitet, Liotar je,²¹ nakon uviđaja njene destruktivnosti i izazivanja neizvjesnosti čovjekove egzistencije i terora mobilizacije svih socijalnih slojeva u pravcu služenja, kako zapaža Simić, onom što se naziva tehnognanošću, iznova „pripovjedavao“ o tom post-postmodernističkom diskursu koji postaje meritorno središte normiranja identitetske strukture.

Dakle, sve ono što okružuje i neposredno ostvaruje jutarnji obed i higijenu savremenog Uliksa jeste, po Liotaru, markiraće autor naše lociranje problema, teror tehnognanošću instalirane kao polip sa tačno onoliko urastajućih udova koliko je potrebno da bi se Uliksu hermetički zatisnuo svaki utisak nezavisnog postojanja. Uliks je provodnik, kao i vazduh. Jedući, on više ne hrani sebe, nego produžetak skrivenog plana. Stupajući u radni dan, on više ne ulazi u progres humanosti niti u nirvanu izražavanja različitosti, nego u tehnološki zahvat čija se autonomna ingerentnost odavno suštinski izmakla dometu kritičkih apelacija protiv svoje domicilne kolevke, makar i zasipane prevaziđenim socijalnim invektivima

selektivni izbor životnih činova od strane globalnog simulakruma. „Jer, ključni pojam epohe sledećeg poretka simulakruma upravo je *manipulisana slika*, koja se presudno razlikuje od industrijskog 'proizvoda' po tome što je suštinski otudena i neprijateljski naspramna osećanju nenadziranog posedovanja, odnosno ma kojoj čovekovoj privatnoj participaciji u raspolaganju moći kontrole na d prisutnim ambijentom. U prethodnom poretku simulakruma svaki se proizvod industrijskog poretka simulakruma potencijalno mogao posedovati, to jet mogla se izvršiti njegova celokupna životno-značenjska apropijacija, te se tako mogao održati simulakrum individualnog smeštanja u svojevrstan privatno nadzirni preliminarni ontološki kontekst. Manipulisana slika, pak, rada se s pojavom komunikacionih sistema, koji su, zapravo, udarna inaugrativna snaga sistemske vlasti *uopšte*. Puna priviknutost čovjeka druge polovine 20. veka na medijske slike, simptom je svojevrsne psihogene kodiranosti na pokornost izmenjivim sistemskim imputiranjima – ukratko, nije više reč o stabilnoj i statičnoj fikciji sveta, *nego o utisku da fikcije i nema*, da je *fikcionalno postalo apsolutno*. Naravno, da bi se ovakav preliminarni ontološki doživljaj mogao uspostaviti, neophodna je dramatična promena u pogledu ultimativne garancije onog što se potražuje od realiteta. Utoliko se ovaj proces podudara s onim što sm o u prethodnim studijama pratili kao dugo i mučno usavršavanje 'totalitarne svesti'. Ukoliko, naime, u poretku simulakruma prepoznamo jedan metaideološki preferencijal koji sugerire eshatološku aruru svake moguće egzistencije (tako renesansni poredak nudi izlaznu utehu usličavanja originalu prirode ili Boga, industrijski nalazi utehu u imperijalnom osvajanju originala, ali u oba slučaja postoji odnos pokreta prema uzornom obrascu) – tada u doba uspostavljanja vladavine komunikacionih sistema najpre dolazi do neutralisanja konstituitivne uloge potrebe kretanja ka ideološkoj utesi; ona je u ovoj fazi postignuta, prisutna, i samo je potrebno povinovati joj se, i zadržati je“ (43-44).

²¹ Vidi Žan Fransoa Liotar, *Postmoderno stanje*, Novi Sad: Bratstvo-jedinstvo, 1988.

humanista *versus* kasnog kapitalizma, liberalne demokratije, novog svetskog poretka i sličnog. Anahrone su sve te, u biti socijalno manipulacione tehnike. Savremeni Uliks nije rob ma kojeg koncepta, poretka ili organizacije ljudi, nego sveopšte unutarnje zaraženosti čoveštva [...] Pisano u tipičnom „postmoderno“ neobavezujućem tonu, njegovo (Liatarovo) delo koje tretiramo, kontekstualizaciju završava na subjektivnom oponiranju konceptu progrusa – koji je, zapravo, saglasan izvod svega onoga što smo mi nastojali da fiksiramo kao potpunu arheologiju racio-centričke tradicije i alternative. (110-111)

U kontekstu temperirane desemantizacije, postmoderna teži da probije zone potrošačkih želja iz razloga što veoma vješto, može se reći i indifrentno prema svijetu tradicije, „provocira“ aksiološke konotative i sublimira i spaja njihove forme sa ideološkim toponimima tržišta i kapitala. Prozirnost navednog stanja, ili bolje reći sofisticirano obesnaživanje prošlosti u kotlu tržišnog marketinga, Aleksandar Dugin predstavlja navođenjem primjera Če Gevare, koji, „ima istu funkciju kao i ‘obraćanje imperiji’ u savremenoj politikologiji: njena inkrustacija u marketinški niz pokazuje fundamentalnost pobeđe tržišta i kapitala nad socijalizmom i proleterskom revolucijom“ (38). Na taj način se, arhaična aksiomatika (koja je već odavno nivelišana od strane moderne) oživljava samo kao načelo rastakanja njenih generativnih postulata, u cilju reljefnog uzdizanja postmodernog stimulativnog žarišta.²² Ovdje je više nego zahvalno pozvati se na studiju Milana Brdara *Filozofija u Dišanovom pisoaru*, u kojoj uočava postmodernu farsičnost, koja je zapravo simulakrum i poput inauguracije uma, predstavlja „Trojanskog konja“ za istočna društva (Brdar 2002).

Istim načinom, ali sa zapadne strane, od 1989. godine, postmoderna se drži o zapadnom parergonu i tim posredovanjem duhovnim prostorom Istočne Evrope moćno pustoši – kao Mona Liza. Svetla galerija na Istoku moguća je jedino kao (normativna) projekcija ideje nove Evrope ili „novog svetskog poretka“, a pisoar u njenom središtu nije samo socijalizam, nego (činjenično)sve što pripada autohtonim istočnim kulturama. Zato je Istok, u ravni pozitivnog, opis, pisoarski prostor, s Mona Lizom kao normom njegove velike rekonstrukcije. (441)

²² Vidi Предраг Живкович, „Постмодерная андрогинность“, Москва: *Коммуникология*. Томе 3, № 6 (ноябрь-декабрь) (2015):129-143.

Zaključna razmatranja

Privodeći kraju ovaj studiozni tok, sumirajmo najznačajnije gnoseološke nalaze. Epohalni diskurs koji smo opisali ima status pojave koja opsijeda pojedincu i njegovu zajednicu, diskreditujući njihovo identitetsko prepoznavanje na eho vrijednosne „prozivke“. Bitno je istaći da čovjekova mentalna orijentacija biva zamućena tautološkim iskustvom, koje, kako smo vidjeli kod *Uliksa*, konvergira ka gratifikaciji puke vremenitosti, koja deteritorijalizuje aksiološki opseg. Jednu prohodnost na magistralnoj liniji post-postmoderne obezbjeđuje svojevrsno napuštanje modula čovječnosti i uzimanje novog ruha pod nadzorom tehnološke matrice koja je utkana u prodorna uporišta neoliberalne ideologije, kao opservatora totalitarne svijesti, ili bolje rečeno postmodernog totalitarizma. Iskaz o ishodima i derivatima post-postmoderne je ovim potvrđen. Možda se potencijali za rehabilitovanjem psihe bića nalaze u pitanju: kako je moglo biti? U stvari, možda se u (post)postmodernoj gravitaciji i gonjenosti modernog čovjeka može rekonstruisati, nakon probuđenih čula, pokušaj popunjavanja egzistencijalne orbite, koja bi konačno povukla nužnost priznavanja i prepoznavanja sebe u drugome, kao generalizovanom postulatu i medijumu ljudske komunikacije i novog ambijenta socijalnog življjenja.

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THE BIRTH OF POST-POSTMODERN

Abstract: How to grasp the post-postmodern, as a new epochal given, is the key question that the authors endeavor to explain in their research project. Is the post-postmodern epochal sequel of the postmodernism and the postmodern, or it is completely new border situation of a modern man, the question is that the authors are trying to answer. The authors are explaining and provide the insight to the professional public the trier of Joyce's *Ulysses*, which they considered that represent the state of cumulative mutation and asthenia of the long-forgotten man, who emigrated from its orbit, to became stateless in its own country. Therefore we can say that through this epistle is permeated interdisciplinary viewpoint. Historical growth of raciocentrism, that authors are following through the form and development of psychology and psychoanalysis, will get its fullness during the technological supremacy of the Western civilization. In an effort to provide a completely new starting point, on the basis of which would be provided the ground for observation and criticism of raciocentric philosophy, the work was conceived as propedeutics, as for questioning the old theories that were numbed under the onslaught of the post-postmodernism, as well as for creation of the new gnoseological findings, like compensation platform for interpreting the being. These thesis will find

their approval in separate theses of those theorists who have created the possibility of watching and seeing a hint of Otherness, outside the raciocentric angle of observation.

Keywords: *post-postmodernism, postmodernism, ratiocentrism, simulacrum, psychoanalysis*

BIOPOLITICS AND INTERCULTURAL CITIES IN EUROPE²³

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Abstract: In 2008, the Intercultural Cities project, a joint initiative of the European Commission and the Council of Europe, was launched within the framework of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. Initially, the project involved 11 different cities from 11 different Member States of the Council of Europe. The project was designed in order to develop “better ways of strengthening community cohesion” and to improve “the social, economic and cultural well-being of cities” (*Intercultural Cities*, 2009: 11).²⁴ Today, the Intercultural Cities project is one of the most successful projects initiated by the European Commission and the Council of Europe and currently involves 36 different cities, not just from Europe, but also from other parts of the world. The Intercultural Cities Index has been developed, an index which “suggests the level of interculturality of a city.”²⁵

In this paper we explore the complex articulation that has produced the Intercultural Cities Index and other attempts to measure and observe the “interculturality” of different cities. Our task is to question “naturalised” assumptions which often frame European public policy, or, to paraphrase Sara Ahmed (2006), we examine what European cultural policies are actually set out to do. We ask: (1) What does it mean to talk about interculturalism in Europe? (2) What are the presumed values from which a city is marked as being intercultural (what counts as diversity)? (3) What kind of politics are inscribed, and what form of fantasies and contradictions (Jameson, Salecl) are performed through the process of representing cities as intercultural?

Key Words: cultural politics in the EU, cultural policy, politics of difference, governmentality, biopolitics.

In 2008, the Intercultural Cities project, a joint initiative of the European Commission and the Council of Europe, was launched within the framework of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. Initially, the project involved 11 different cities from 11 different Member States of the Council of Europe. The project was designed in order to develop “better ways of strengthening community cohesion” and to improve “the social, economic and cultural well-being of cities” (*Intercultural Cities*, 2009: 11).²⁶ The key elements of the

²³ The research for this article was supported by the Croatian Science Foundation.

²⁴ http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/cities/ICCMModelPubl_en.pdf.

²⁵ <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/intercultural-cities.php?aid=177&cid=160&lid=en>.

²⁶ http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/cities/ICCMModelPubl_en.pdf.

intercultural city model comprised an examination of “policies in fields as diverse as education, housing, policing, the labour market and urban development [...] in order to develop a more coherent strategy for public policy and civil society engagement in a culturally diverse city” (*Intercultural Cities*, 2009:13). Today, the Intercultural Cities project is one of the most successful projects initiated by the European Commission and the Council of Europe and currently involves 36 different cities, not just from Europe but from other parts of the world. The project is part of the *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe* which aims to gather and monitor information on cultural policies in 40 countries. Recently, the World Compendium of Cultural Policies was developed, modeled on the European Compendium. Thus, the Intercultural Cities project, as a part of the Compendium, has become global, “promoting diversity” and “protecting values such as cultural expressions and freedom of cultural enquiry.” Participants at the International Symposium on Intercultural Cities in Asia and Europe (held in Tokyo on 18 January 2012) concluded:

We regard cultural diversity of our cities as an asset ... and we will explore a new urban vision which can build upon diversity to foster dynamism, innovation, creativity and growth.... We will seek to establish partnership between intercultural cities to learn from each other's achievements and seek answers from our common challenges (*Tokyo Declaration on Partnership between Intercultural Cities*, 2012).²⁷

To that end, the Intercultural Cities Index has been developed in Europe, an index which “suggests the level of interculturality of a city.”²⁸ In this paper we explore the complex articulation that produced these attempts to measure and observe the “interculturality” of different cities through an analysis of the way interculturalism is represented in the EU. Our task is to question “naturalised” assumptions which often frame public policy, or, to paraphrase Sara Ahmed (2006), we will examine what intercultural policies are actually set out to do. We ask: (1) What does it mean to talk about interculturalism in Europe? (2) What are the presumed values from which a city is marked as being intercultural (what counts as diversity)? (3) What kind of politics are inscribed, and what form of fantasies and contradictions are performed through the process of representing cities as intercultural?

²⁷http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Cities/Japon/Tokyo_Declaration.pdf.

²⁸<http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/intercultural-cities.php?aid=177&cid=160&lid=en>.

Welcome to the Intercultural Cities of Europe

The “White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue” [...] emphatically argues in the name of the governments of the 47 member states of the Council of Europe that our common future depends on our ability to safeguard and develop human rights, as enshrined in the European Convention on Human Rights, democracy and the rule of law and to promote mutual understanding. It reasons that the intercultural approach offers a forward-looking model for managing cultural diversity. It proposes a conception based on individual human dignity (embracing our common humanity and common destiny. [...]) (*White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 2008:4).²⁹

The question of managing difference and diversity in Europe in the name of universal values is not something new; on the contrary, it has a complex history and reception. The European Union dates back to 1950 and it was not until the 1980s that “cultural diversity” and “cultural identity” were seen as important elements in the development of a common European market (Shore 2000). In 1985, Jacques Delors, the eighth president of the European Commission, stressed that Europe had to be more than simply an economic association. His claim that “an organism without a soul is dead. A united Europe needs a soul,” marked the moment when the first attempts to create common European culture and manage diversity on a supranational level were established.³⁰ These culminated in the 1990s with two concepts: (1) the concept of *unity in diversity* and (2) the concept of European culture as an “added European value,” the sum of all cultures which in turn enriches each particular culture: “The European ‘cultural model’ is not all exclusive, still less a ‘melting pot’, but rather a multivarious, multy-ethical plurality of culture, the sum total of which enriches each individual culture” (EP, 1990:28-29).

Since then, cultural investment and management of difference has been stressed in a variety of official documents, declarations, reports and politicians’ speeches.³¹ The question is: How can we understand these concepts of “unity

²⁹<http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/intercultural-dialogue.php>.

³⁰ These attempts included the creation of new symbols of Europeanness (the flag, the anthem, a common design for passports) and a few cultural and educational projects which promoted cooperation between different national states, stressing at the same time that all of them are on the one hand unique but on the other hand they have something in common – “shared European heritage” (Shore 2000).

³¹ Initial pilot cultural programmes, such as “Kaleidoscope” (1996-1999), “Ariane” (1997-1999) and “Raphael” (1997-1999), focused on encouraging cultural co-operation and “cultural creation with a European dimension” mostly in the field of literature, translation and heritage. “Culture 2000” (2000-2006), for the first time in European Union history, initiated and supported projects in all

and diversity" and "European added value." If we look at them in a context that Ernesto Laclau (2007) calls the articulation between universality and particularity, we come to the conclusion that both of them are designed to function as "something more" in a Lacanian sense of the term, as a part which identifies itself with the whole. According to Laclau, the articulation between universality and particularity is based on a complex interaction between the logic of difference and equivalence. The logic of difference tends to expand political or cultural space, enabling a proliferation of different meanings and positions. By contrast, the logic of equivalence creates a second meaning by subverting each differential position. Clearly, in contemporary Europe "unity in diversity" is taken as a signifier of a wider universality. It embraces through the equivalent links concepts such as civil freedoms, free economy, and so on. It produces empty signifiers (for example, European added value) which refer to the equivalent chain as a totality – the European Union as a coexistence of different cultures, unity in diversity, freed from all problems. Equivalence here does not attempt to eliminate difference; on the contrary, it establishes itself as European added value, as the ground on which difference continues to operate. So, European added value (equivalence) is an empty signifier which is partially filled through the processes of articulation. It is represented as an excess of ideal mixture, an excess which should function as the ego ideal for various European people. However, the focus on this cultural excess masks economic meanings of the process itself.

So, let us explain this argument through the analysis of the Intercultural Cities project. As we have mentioned in the introduction, the project is part of the big network of projects established by European public policy makers that strive to promote cultural diversity. Before turning to an analysis of the programme, we would like to start with two photos that function as logo signs for intercultural programmes.

cultural fields. These projects were supplemented with parallel projects in the field of media and education (e.g., the "Erasmus programme" – an exchange programme for students).



In the logo for Intercultural Europe we see a montage of different letters which looks like a tree. The question is: What is the meaning of “European added value” in this logo? The European added value is created through the difference of various letters presented in different colours. All other components that are related to various letters (languages) are not existent in the logo. The assumption is that a sum of individual letters will go beyond the complexity of different languages, the national or regional identities based on these languages, and become supranational allegory – Intercultural Europe.

The second photo, which is the logo for the Intercultural Cities project, is a little more defined. It is brimming with different bodies and figures – yellow, green, red, violet... All of them hover over the black figure of a city-like montage.³³

³² <http://www.intercultural-europe.org/site/>.

³³ http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/be/Intercultural_Cities_logo.png.



intercultural cities cités interculturelles

In this photo, the European added value is again formed through difference: this time the assumption is that a sum of individual bodies (or heterosexual couples), represented in different colours, will create intercultural space – the European intercultural city is open for everyone. Like other cultural programmes that celebrate unity in diversity, this project propagates the new economy of belonging. However, unity here is not represented as a sum of different communities; on the contrary, it points to individuality imagined as a constitutive moment of intercultural encounter. With their insistence on different colours, EU cultural policy makers define the intercultural city not as a threat to city life, but as an asset, a “real” dialogue. Hence, in the Intercultural Cities booklet we read:

[The concept of the Intercultural City is based on] the belief that as communities across Europe grow increasingly diverse, their governance models, their public and media discourse, the management of their institutions and their policies determine whether this diversity becomes an asset or a threat. [...] It is in cities where key decisions will be taken determining whether, over coming decades, Europe will be a place at ease with its cultural diversity – or at war with itself (*Intercultural Cities: Towards a Model for Intercultural Integration*, 2009:21).

One notices immediately how diversity in the above quote, as in visual images of interculturalism, is represented not as a dynamic cultural and social product, a way of thinking about society which is changing over time, but as a natural

force installed upon cities. In the second part of the first sentence we are suddenly faced with instances which are represented as unaffected by diversity: government (governance models, management of institutions, policies) and media (public and media discourse) as entities that manage diversity. The problem is that diversity is never just an essential category: we learn how to read differences. And in the process of learning, power always plays an important part. Some differences are more emphasised than others (as in gender, age, ethnicity, or race), and at the same time those differential details can provoke a whole set of arguments about person or group qualities. Differences and diversity are organised through specific discourse that naturalises them, such as the naturalisation of diversity itself in the sentence mentioned above, or in the logo of the Intercultural Cities project where the mixture of coloured bodies symbolises a special form of hybridity, a celebration of difference without a centre.

Here we face the problem of policy that tries to be outside diversity itself, as if it were some unifying space – an instance that is universal. In this case it has to be outside the social reality; it has to somehow produce distance from it. Distance is produced through difference and this supposed universal position of managing diversity is thus incorporated into diversity itself; it becomes just another entity in social diversity.

We can even say that the universal position of governing differences is produced through difference itself. Every policy merely reinforces diversity in order to acknowledge its own existence.

Eric Santner (6) makes a distinction in defining universality in this way. He proposes a different name for universality – “global consciousness”: “For global consciousness, every stranger is ultimately just like me, ultimately familiar; his or her strangeness is a function of a different vocabulary, a different set of names that can always be translated.” Santner confronts the claim of global consciousness by stating: “The possibility of a ‘We,’ of communalism, is granted on the basis of the fact that every familiar is ultimately strange and that, indeed, I am even in a crucial sense a stranger to myself” (7). In such a view, society is in constant motion in an effort to fill the foundational gap that is imposed on the collective identity (universal-in-becoming as Santner terms it). Claude Levy Strauss called this gap “zero institution.” Its aim is “to internalize, to come to terms with, an imbalance in social relations that prevented the community from stabilizing itself into a harmonious whole” (Žižek25). It was not long ago that the concept of multiculturalism functioned as this “zero institution,” at least on a supranational level. In contemporary Europe this “zero institution” is relocated to the concept of interculturalism:

In the early days of the 20th century migration emphasis was put on the labour-market integration of migrant workers, who were not granted

political or cultural rights [...]. Multiculturalism made significant progress in this respect, recognising also that migrants had the right to maintain and transmit their identity of origin. However, it understood identity in a static, simplistic way, making little allowance for the evolution and hybridisation of cultures, and ignoring the need to foster a pluralistic community identity and cohesion. Often, it reinforced the marginalisation of migrant cultures, exacerbated poverty and exclusion through spatial and social segregation. In its extreme forms, multiculturalism emphasises difference to the detriment of common values, empowers cultural purists and gatekeepers and fosters conflicts and disintegration of the social fabric. [...] The Intercultural integration approach builds upon the achievements of these earlier diversity management approaches and addresses their shortcomings. It fosters a strategic vision of diversity as an asset, and the adoption of joint-up strategies harnessing efforts across administrative silos and a partnership between public authorities, civil society and media (*About the Intercultural Cities concept*, Council of Europe).³⁴

One notices here how the shift away from multicultural policies is explained by a fear of groupism and conflict; not any kind of groupism, but migrant groupism – ethnic groupism. This fear of groupism serves as a reason for a new form of cultural policy to manage diversity on the supranational level – that is, intercultural dialogue. In other words, this shift from multicultural to intercultural policy shows that diversity cannot stay outside the realm of public policy. “Let’s have dialogue” serves as an organising principle to handle otherness, and what is important here is the constant need to problematise diversity, for it is through it that diversity is relegated to the position of object to be governed.

Frederic Jameson (437) argues that it is very difficult not to welcome the contemporary celebration of difference and differentiation in which “all the cultures around the world are placed in tolerant contact with each other in a kind of immense cultural pluralism.” However, the celebration of difference is never just about culture. The celebration of difference is highly related to the concept of globalisation, and while we can say that there has always been globalisation, we should emphasise that there is also a relationship between globalisation and the world market. The current multinational stage of capitalism is producing a global division of labour on an extraordinary scale and the mobility of workers is higher than ever before. So, on the other side of the celebration of cultural difference lies economic expansion which means the celebration of market “freedom” and the unification and standardisation of the

³⁴ <http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Cities/ICCconcept.pdf>.

way of life – a lifestyle reduced to consumerism (Jameson 435-447). In other words, the celebration of difference claims to be based on “shared universal values” in order to prevent cultural divides (ethnic, religious, linguistic); however, these shared universal values are deeply wedded to the power of an unmarked transnational capital that needs new governable spaces and new environments for the culturally diverse managers and workers associated with global firms. That is to say, the interculturalisation of Europe involves processes that are simultaneously cultural and economic. But as Jameson (446) argues, these visions are always dialectically related. On the one side there is “the utopian vision [...] of an immense global urban intercultural festival without a center or even a dominant cultural mode,” and on the other side there is the “libidinization of market” and standardised ideology and practice of consumption. The most important indicator of all these processes is that in order for capital to expand, diversity must be managed in new ways – intercultural ways. Therefore, the celebration of cultural difference and the unification of the market cannot be analysed separately, even if they look, and very often are, contradictory. On the one side there is an attempt to establish the culture of multiplicities and on the other side lies the commonality of the market. They are positioned in a way which fits the fantasy of the society which imagines itself to be harmonious, the society based on the ideology that the development of democracy and human rights “is depended on development of the free market itself” (Jameson448). Diversity in these processes cannot be conceived “at any level other than that of managed object” (Hage130) – it needs to be governed.

According to Foucault (1998), governing is about the myriad of processes, techniques and strategies that seek to regulate and administer populations. Special governing and management of difference appeared in the 19th century with the emergence of nation states, when two poles of power – “discipline” and “regularisation” – combined to form what Foucault terms “bio-power.”³⁵ While disciplinary power is “centred on the body as a machine,” regularisation is concerned with “the species body,” with “global mass.” Thus “discipline” and “regularisation” form bio-power that is “organized around the management of life” (Foucault139). These processes of “discipline” and “regularization” occur across an enormous range of sites from the government institution to the shopping mall, the doctor’s surgery, the school classroom and the tourist agency (Hawkins 179). The majority of these sites are based in cities,

³⁵ Emergence of the disciplined society correlates to the first phase of capitalist production. The insertion of bodies into factories and other methods of industrial production is just a transition towards the next phase, towards the “society of control” where “disciplinary power” is combined with “regularization” (Foucault139).

so it is not surprising that one of the first intercultural projects initiated by the Council of Europe has been the “Intercultural Cities” project.

In the public realm, cities identify key public spaces (formal and informal) and invest in the redesign, animation and maintenance to raise levels of usage and interaction by all ethnic groups as well as across ages and social strata [...]. In housing, programmes, Intercultural Cities seek to promote mixing, de-segregation, inter-cultural contacts and interaction through special activities and events. They also give ethnic groups confidence and information enabling them to consider taking housing opportunities outside traditional enclaves.

Cities are imagined as spaces that can offer intercultural encounter. The problem is that cultural encounter is downsized to the mode of a neutral mix of different cultural groups. What is suppressed is not just the memory of the past but the complexity, ambivalence and incoherence of social antagonism and racisms that exist in everyday life throughout contemporary Europe. To participate in intercultural dialogue according to this view would be to construct a secure, shared space liberated from old forms of racism and inequality. Lauren Berlant (1997) has written extensively on the politics of identity when citizens are treated as “infantile citizens,” as citizens that would be ready to “let the past go and, with amnesiac confidence, face the prospects of the present” (Berlant 33). This is particularly relevant to the ways citizens in Europe are treated by European policy makers, where the prospect of the present is built on the promise of the diversity that could be ideally managed through intercultural dialogue, a dialogue without history. Hence, visual representations of interculturalism, like the two logos analysed in this paper, always finish with the symbolism of various colours, stripped from all unwanted meanings. Colours could symbolise anything: they imply the possibility of endless association; they suggest the productivity of desire, rather than fullness; they suggest a sense of emptiness, a gap in a signified Europe.

In the following pages we will explore the complex ways in which intercultural dialogue in cities is proposed to be a perfect governing strategy that can regulate life, regulate population (biopolitics) and at the same time be constructed as an object of evaluation.

Indexing diversity

Cities participating in the Intercultural Cities programme undergo expert and peer reviews of their policies, governance and practice. This review takes the form of narrative reports and city profiles – a form which is very rich in content and detail but is relatively heavy as a tool

to monitor progress and communicate results [...]. The Intercultural Cities Index is a complementary tool, capable of illustrating visually the level of achievement of each city, progress over time, and enabling comparison with other cities (*Intercultural Cities Index*, Council of Europe).³⁶

Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello (2007) argue that the concept of the city in the contemporary capitalism is based on projects. There are always two different logical levels in cities (in capitalism): “the first contains an agent capable of actions conductive to profit creation, whereas the second contains an agent equipped with a greater degree of reflexivity, who judges the actions of the first in the name of universal principles” (Boltanski and Chiapello 22). Bolatnski and Chiapello identify six cities which correspond to different stages of capitalism. The seventh one, which they named “projective city,” is a kind of “residue” of the six cities. It creates a system of equivalences to justify new positions that make possible new kinds of measurements which are linked to the contemporary stage of capitalism, a network capitalism in a network world – a capitalism that subjects the network in a form that none of the six cities was able to do:

the projective city presents itself as a system of constraints placed upon a network world that encourages people to forge links and extend its ramifications, while respecting only those maxims of justifiable action that are specific to projects. Projects are a fetter on absolute circulation, for they demand a certain engagement, albeit temporary and partial, and presuppose monitoring by the other participants of the qualities that everyone brings into play [...]. The projective city constrains the network, subjecting it to a form of justice that nevertheless safeguards its content and puts a premium on the qualities of the network creator [...]. In a projective city, the general equivalent – what the status of persons and things is measured by – is activity (Boltanski and Chiapello107).

So, the strategy used by the Council of Europe to promote interculturalism is no exception to projective city strategy. The aim is to create a global network of cities which are capable of implementing new intercultural policies. A method of indexing is developed which attempts to encapsulate the diversity quantitatively through 10 categories “that can measure the intercultural performance”³⁷ of the city:

³⁶ http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/cities/Index/default_en.asp.

³⁷ http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/files/178/en/methodological_overview.pdf.

1. How the city council demonstrates its commitment to being an intercultural city
2. The city through an intercultural lens
 - education
 - intercultural neighborhood
 - public service
 - labour market
 - culture
 - public space
3. Mediation and conflict resolution
4. Language
5. Relation with local media
6. An open international outlook
7. Intercultural intelligence
8. Intercultural competence
9. Welcoming new arrivals
10. Governance, leadership and citizenship.

All categories, except category number 6, are constructed to sum up the city social infrastructure through an “intercultural lens.” However, category 6 is somehow outside that realm; it functions as a precondition of diversity itself. Let us examine its content in more detail:

- Existence of a policy for the encouragement of international trade and co-operation and a targeted budgetary provision.
- Existence of an agency with a specific responsibility for monitoring and developing the city’s openness to international connections.
- Existence of an explicit strategy by the city that seeks to attract foreign investment, business, workers and students and encourage them to participate in the life of the city.
- Policies to promote economic relations with countries of origin.

So, diversity is suddenly not something that is happening arbitrarily or occasionally. Here we are dealing with a very special diversity, almost organised diversity. It is not that cities become more and more diverse by pure historical development or some global context – social diversity is a product of investments. And those investments are of special kind: they should be attractive and the city has to brand itself as an open community to assure its financial growth. The growth of diversity is thus not some independent force but the consequence of special economic logic that is constructed on the axiom of

choice. The market is represented as constant play between actors who are in a position to choose or to be chosen. However, at the same time, there is an actor who is always in a position to choose due to its universal position – capital. This is represented as a fragile plant – circulating around the globe trying to find a suitable environment for growth.

The Institute BAK Basel Economics is employed to index interculturality and to provide charts and numbers that show what factors have to be measured to predict if the region, state or a city are suitable or not suitable for investment attraction (the focus is on life science industries, tourism, the technology sector, the retail sector and the financial sector).³⁸



ICC Interactive map (offers the individual city results of the Intercultural City Index analysis).³⁹

In a way, as Hage (18) argues, “capitalism goes transcendental,” it does not need anchoring, everything is happening on a non-permanent basis, “it simply hovers over the Earth looking for a suitable place to land and invest” and then flies again. In other words, capital needs a place to land, but does not necessarily need nations. It needs mobile workers and good work environments “where all can live together as equals in dignity” and one can “choose one’s own culture” (*White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 2008:4).

³⁸ <http://www.bakbasel.ch/index>.

³⁹ <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/intercultural-cities-profiles.php>.

The emphasis on choosing is not by accident. In her most recent book, *Choice*, Renata Salecl (7) examines the ideology of choosing. She identifies the presumption that rational choice is a universal category:

Rational choice theory presupposes that people think before they act and that they always seek to maximize the benefits and minimize the cost of any situation. Depending on the prevailing circumstances and given sufficient information, people will thus always choose the option that is in their best interest.

However, she also alerts us to the fact that the actions of many people are “influenced by external factors, such as other people, or by internal factors, such as their own unconscious desires and wishes” (Salecl8).

Another factor involved is the responsibility that is imposed on people through the ideology of choice. Left to cope alone with their lives, people experience huge anxieties in the process of choosing because choosing always implies fear of failure, guilt and loss. Throughout popular culture (magazines, commercials, television serials) we are confronted with a promise of different and extreme enjoyments, often promoted by celebrities. We start to believe that these enjoyments are real and, although this is not the case, we believe that others believe it. This belief in the belief of the other functions as the ego-ideal in a Lacanian sense.⁴⁰ It is something that keeps ideology going and produces the grounds for our actions. We would like to be perceived by others in a certain way and because of this we act on the common knowledge (ideology) that is proposed to us.

The explanation offered by creators of the methodology for measuring interculturality functions in much the same way. It is stated that methodology is not “intended to be a scientific tool”:

It would be impossible to reduce the essence of interculturality to a few measurements, or to establish clear-cut relationships of cause and effect between policies and actions and outcomes in something so subjective. The intercultural city approach is not a science but a general set of principles and a way of thinking (*Intercultural cities index: methodological overview*).⁴¹

⁴⁰ According to Lacan there are two types of identification, both based on the relation between imaginary and symbolic identification, between the ideal ego and the ego-ideal. The ideal ego (imaginary) emerges when we “appear likeable to ourselves”, when we identify with the image representing “what we would like to be.” The ego-ideal (symbolic) is the point “from where we look at ourselves” and it is identified “with the very place from where we are being observed” (Žižek 105).

⁴¹ http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/files/178/en/methodological_overview.pdf.

We can clearly depict the same logic of “the belief in the belief” here. On the one hand, the Intercultural Cities Index is explicitly not represented as an arbitrary system but on the other hand, on all published web charts we have cities classified in order from top to bottom based on their intercultural performance which acts as the ego ideal, the European “zero institution.”

Finally, what then is the similarity of this new “zero institution” (interculturalism) to the old narratives of national community against which the management of diversity emerged in the 19th century, with the rise of capitalism in Europe? Different models – assimilation, integration, multiculturalism, interculturalism – could be seen as different attempts to fix diversity issues that have accompanied various transformations of capitalism. However, passing from one model to another one cannot be seen as “cumulative improvement”, as suggested in the *White Paper on Interculturalism* (2008). These models are relationally constituted through complex articulations, different imaginaries and senses of closure that mark repressed histories of racial and ethnic violence in Europe and its colonies, as well as discrimination, economic systems, immigration control and so on. Intercultural dialogue in this context functions as the very ideology of contemporary transnational capital and its “rise has accompanied the rise of neo-liberal globalization” (Hage 110). Our point is not that the very idea of intercultural values is useless, and that liberating effects are impossible through interculturalism, but that interculturalism is radically biopolitical. And, as Žižek (2005:150) claims, today’s biopolitics regulates life and “perceives reality as fully malleable, enabling humans to transform themselves into a migrating entity floating between a multitude of realities, sustained only by infinite Love.” However, we have to remember that the universal love proposition acquires at least one that is an exception to the universality.

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BIOPOLITIKA I PROJEKT INTERKULTURALNIH EUROPSKIH GRADOVA

Godine 2008 pokrenut je projekt Interkulturlni gradovi, zajednička inicijativa Europske komisije i Vijeća Europe u okviru Europske godine interkulturalnog dijaloga. U početku projekt je uključivao 11 gradova iz 11 različitih zemalja članica EU. Svrha projekta bila je razviti "uspješnije načine učvršćivanja socijalne kohezije" te "poboljšavanja socijalne, ekonomski i kulturne kvalitete života u gradovima" (Interkulturalni gradovi, 2009: 11). Danas, projekt Interkulturalni gradovi jedan je od najuspješnijih projekata Europske komisije i Vijeća Europe i trenutno uključuje 36 gradova, ne samo iz Europe već i iz drugih dijelova svijeta. U tu svrhu razvijen je i indeks koji "sugereira razinu interkulturalnosti grada."

U ovom radu istražujemo složenu artikulaciju u pozadini Indeksa interkulturalnosti grada (Intercultural City Index) kao i drugih pokušaja mjerjenja i promatranja "interkulturalnosti" gradova. Namjera nam je bila preispitati "naturализirane" prepostavke koje često konstruiraju europske javne politike, odnosno, parafrazirajući Saru Ahmed (2006), što takve politike čine. Tekst je sastavljen od pokušaja odgovora na tri, prema našem mišljenju, ključna pitanja: Kako se razumije interkulturalizam u Europi? Koje su to vrijednosti pomuću kojih se neki grad označava kao interkulturalan (što se razumije kao različitost)? Koji tip politika je upisan, te na koje forme fantazmi i kontradikcija (Jameson, Salecl, Santner) nai-lazimo analizirajući načine reprezentacije interkulturalnosti grada?

Ključne riječi: kulturne politike EU, javne politike i politika različitosti, upravljalstvo, biopolitika.

INTERTEKSTUALNOST DOKUMENTARNOG I IGRANOG – DOKUMENTARNI FILMOVI KAO IDEJNO-TEMATSKI NUKLEUS NIKOLIĆEVIH DUGOMETRAŽNIH IGRANIH FILMOVA

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Apstrakt: Nikolićevi dokumentarni filmovi ostvarenja su visoke likovne kulture i izražajnosti, vizuelne metafore o stradanju, metafizičkom nemiru, ali i ljubavi i ljepoti življenja. Vođen iskonskim nemirom koji sublimira u arhetipske slike, one koje govore jezikom mitskog pamćenja, Nikolić stvara osoben svijet, gotovo nadrealan, svijet fantazmagorične punoće kojemu nije potreban nikakav komentar niti dijaloška forma. U tako osmišljenom kontekstu, svaka izgovorena riječ bila bi suvišna i nepotrebna multiplikacija uvjerljivim vizuelnim jezikom već izrečenog. Nikolićevi dokumentarni filmovi ujedno su i osnova iz koje se razvila osobena izražajna faktura njegovih dugometražnih igranih filmova.

Ključne riječi: dokumentarni filmovi, dokumentarna stilizacija, dugometražni igrani filmovi, ideja, tema.

Dokumentarni film je, po Nikoliću, istraživanje onog što se događa oko nas i u nama, „to je intimni trenutak otvaranja i tuđeg i svog svijeta“.⁴² A svijet koji mu je bio blizak i koji je u svojim dokumentarnim filmovima najčešće i sa posebnim odnosom prema njemu „otvarao“, čijom je tematikom i mitskim motivima bio zaokupljen, jeste svijet njegovog užeg zavičaja.⁴³ Nikolić to objašnjava potrebom da na neki način „vaskrsne“ svoje impresije i sjećanja. „Sjećam se crnih marama, tamnih povorki, lelekanja [...]. To su utisci koji traže neku svoju formulaciju, te skoro apstraktne slike koje nekada nisam shvatio, danas pokušavam da odgonetnem“.⁴⁴ Nikolić je svoje dokumentarne filmove gradio na čistoj vizualizaciji i rafiniranim poetskim metaforama, „slikajući“ život ljudi suočenih sa surovom i katkad užasavajućom realnošću od koje nema uzmaka. Ta Nikolićeva „tamna sjenčenja“ u dokumentarnim ujedno su i osnova iz koje se razvila osobena izražajna faktura njegovih dugometražnih igranih filmova. Ipak, pojedini

⁴² *Dokumentarni film: studije, polemike, ogledi, razgovori*, Beograd, 1998, str. 55. Preuzeto iz razgovora koji je sa Nikolićem, vodila Marina Đurašković, marta 1998. godine.

⁴³ Prvih šest dokumentarnih filmova Nikolić je snimio u svom rodnom selu Ozrinići, odnosno njegovoj bližoj okolini, a potom i *Graditelja i Biljeg*, iako su to filmovi sa u potpunosti drugačijom tematikom. *Oglav* i *Ane* predstavljaju Nikolićeve impresije iz vremena koje je proveo u Boki Kotorskoj. Jedino je film *Ine* nastao kao zbir utisaka iz Nikolićevih večernjih šetnji Beogradom.

⁴⁴ *Šta ima iza brda?* Razgovor sa Nikolićem, TV Revija, 14.05.1976.

dokumentarni filmovi, prije svih *Bauk* i *Marko Perov*, na određeni način i *Oglav*, čine tematske cjeline *per se*. Temom iz *Bauka*, o primitivnom abortusu, Nikolić se bavi samo u tom filmu. *Marko Perov* je Nikolićeva metaforična priča o prolažnosti, jedinstvena po načinu na koji je osmišljena. *Oglav* je po svojoj alegorijskoj poruci o „sizifovskom udesu“ malog čovjeka možda najbliži filmu *Jovana Lukina*, donekle i *Beštijama*.⁴⁵ Ostali dokumentarni filmovi su, međutim, svaki na svoj osoben način, utkani u dramsko-dijegetičko tkivo Nikolićevih dugometražnih igranih filmova.

U pregledu koji slijedi ukazujemo na intertekstualnost dokumentarnog i igranog u Nikolićevoj poeticu, sa posebnim osvrtom na dokumentarne filmove koji su poslužili kao idejno-tematski nukleus njegovih dugometražnih igranih filmova.

Ždrijelo

Kamena pustoš (*Jovana Lukina*).

Sudar ljudi iz „srećnog bijelog svijeta“ i onih iz ždrijela (tradicionalnog i modernog) – momak i djevojka sa šatorom i kučetom – dok baba tuži, dječak u bijelom odijelu odsutno žvaće (*Čudo neviđeno*, *Lepota poroka*, *Iskušavanje đavola*).

Djevojake i njihova „igra“ s pritkama (jedini dokumentarni film u kojem su, u rudimentarnom obliku, prisutne naznake erotskog) – eros kao konstitutivna odrednica svih Nikolićevih igranih filmova.

Svađa oko karaule (*Iskušavanje đavola*).

Polusrušena crkva (rušenje crkve u Jovani Lukinoj).

Polaznik

Smrt, umiranje, oprštanje od pokojnika, metafizika nestajanja (snažno prisustvotanatos u *Beštijama*, *Jovani Lukinoj*, *Smrti gospodina Goluže*, *Čudu neviđenom*, *Lepoti poroka*, *Iskušavanju đavola*, *U ime naroda*– posredno, na sahrani kojoj prisustvuju glavni akteri).

Etičko pitanje, oproštaj od „polaznika“, ali kakav? – djeca trče oko odra (igraju se!), pije se, gleda u šolju, čuje veseli žamor, smijeh, sarkastične grimase onih koji piju, čak, iako dato samo u naznakama, i udvaranje (*Beštije*, *Čudo neviđeno*). Tužilice i lelekači kao dio etničkog nasleđa i narodne tradicije (*Iskušavanje đavola*, pa i *Beštije*, na određeni način, u Anđelkovom oproštaju od Čenta).

⁴⁵ Kod Nikolića se, međutim, iako neuporedivo rjeđe, dešavao i obrnut proces. On je, naime, određene motive iz dugometražnih transponovao u dokumentarne filmove. I u *Graditelju* se, filmu koji je nastao trinaest godina nakon *Beštija*, pojavljuje još jedan „Sizif“ koji, jednako kao i Ćento, na svojim kolicima nekud odvozi kamen, ali za razliku od Ćenta koji „gradi“ pristanište, reditelj nam ne otkriva šta on „gradi“.

Prozor

Položaj žene u patrijarhalnoj porodici, jednoličnost i sivilo svakodnevice (*Jovana Lukina*, donekle i *Čudo neviđeno* – Krstinja, žena lovočuvara Šora, *Lepotaporoka* – žena Žoržova).

Ine

Slika velikog grada u kasnim večernjim satima, urabana sredina; ljudi s margina života srećemo u filmovima *Smrt gospodina Goluže*, *Lepota poroka*, *U ime naroda*.

Ane

Mlada žene koja u atmosferi strepnje čeka svog muža pomorca (u potpunosti drugačiji odnos nje i služavke, nego što je to slučaj u *Smrti gospodina Goluže*).

Graditelj

Zapušteno naselje sa nehumanim uslovima za život (isto to naselje pojavljuje se i u filmu *U ime naroda*, ali sa nešto drugačijom strukturom njegovih stanovnika).

Biljeg

Himna ljudskoj gluposti, oštra i beskompromisna satira okrenuta onima koji zbog viška vlasti gube osjećaj za realno (ideja prisutna u filmu *U ime naroda*).

Konceptualno-tehničkinedostaci

- Statičnost kamere (sa rijetkim panoramama i bez vožnji); dinamika se postiže u samom kadru (primjer potjere za Milom Avetnjem u *Ždrijelu*), ali ne i pokretanjem same kamere (kombinacijajednog i drugog kod Nikolića je rijetkost).
- Povremena redundanca krupnih planova, bez obzira na njihove nesporne likovne vrijednosti; pikturalnost često (pitanje je, da li uvijek i opravданo?!?) stiče prednost nad ostalim izražajnim elementima u kadru (naglašavaju se likovni valeri i psihološka preživljavanja aktera dramskih zbivanja); takvi kadrovi ponekad nepotrebno (i neopravданo!) dugo traju, bez obzira na njihovu konzistentnu naraciju, što, posljedično, pojačava ukupnu statičnost filma.
- Nepreciznost i nedoslednost u povezivanju kadrova u rakordu (štap u rukama staraca i njegovo pokretanje u sledećem kadru, bez pripreme; elipsa je na ovom mjestu nelogična, jer to ne dopušta kontinualni verbalni diskurs).
- Gledanje u kameru, izuzev ako namjera reditelja nije bila stvaranje metasinematičkog efekta, što nije isključeno (pijani bunjuelovski lik u *Polazniku* i žene s graškama znoja u *Bauku*).
- Kamena kuća sa slamnim krovom u *Ždrijelu* i zalutali „isječak“ modernog zdanja u drugom planu.

O Nikolićevim dokumentarnim filmovima se ne može govoriti kao o društveno angažovanim sa dominantnom socijalnom komponentom, izuzimajući filmove *Ine* i, posebno, *Graditelj*, priču o mladom radniku zidaru koji učestvuje u izgradnji modernih arhitektonskih zdanja, a sam živi na periferiji velikog grada u udžerici sagrađenoj od trulih dasaka i lima. To je jedna dimenzija ovog filma, njegova glavna tema, a druga je opominjuća slika zapuštenog naselja i "organizacije" života u njemu.⁴⁶ U ovom, kao i u ostalim Nikolićevim dokumentarnim filmovima, skoro da se gubi granica između faktografskih datâ i formalnih izražajnih elemenata igrane strukture i istovremeno akcentuju vizuelni dramski iskazi, izuzimajući rijetke verbalne ekskurse (pri tom, ne manje bitne za njegov dijegetički tok) u *Ždrijelu* i tužbalicu u *Biljegu* datu u formi izvandijegetičkog narativnog diskursa, bez koje ne bismo mogli da shvatimo suštinu apsurda kojim se film bavi.⁴⁷ Svojim „mračnim“ dokumentarnim pričama, Nikolić ne daje samo sliku crnogorskog podneblja, kamena (krša!) i surovosti života ljudi „zatočenih“ u njemu, već istovremeno duboko zadire u njihov osobeni mentalitet i običaje, njihove skrivene tajne, stvarajući na taj način univerzalne poetske metafore. Već svojim prvim dokumentarnim filmovima – *Trag*, *Ždrijelo*, *Polaznik* – on se predstavio kao autor izrazite individualnosti i duhovnosti, ali i osobenog stila i sugestivnosti u vizuelnom predstavljanju usamljenosti i tragične dispozicije svojih junaka. Ili, kako koncizno, i pri tom duboko i promišljeno, o Nikoliću stvaraoču kaže Milan Vlajčić: „Vrstan dokumentarista, čiji su kratki filmovi bili likovno upečatljive poeme, bez ijedne reči, o muci i lepoti ljudskog postojanja.“⁴⁸

Nikolić, kako primjećuje Petar Volk, u svojim dokumentarnim filmovima insistira na određenim emocijama ili utiscima, zalaženju u predjele podsvijesti i eksponiranju brutalnosti, na liniji između racionalnog i iracionalnog.⁴⁹ „Kroz sve to Nikolić otkriva svoje junake u njihovim skrivenim, neostvarljivim ili deformisanim osećanjima i postupcima, iluzijama, poniranjima, istinama ili samom životu.“⁵⁰ Nikolićeva dokumentaristička stilizacija zasnovana je ne samo na snažnoj vizualizaciji, već i selektivnoj, funkcionalnoj i brižljivoj upotrebni zvuka, kako u dijegetičkom tako i izvandijegetičkom prostoru. Na tom izražajnom fonu Nikolić izgrađuje poetske metafore i sugestivno proniće u duh – i dušu! – ljudi iz njemu bliskog podneblja. Vođen tematskim opredjeljenjima i stilskim recepturama pri-

⁴⁶ I kako primjećuje Mira Boglić, ovaj film je zapravo mala sociološka studija, koja se izdigla do nivoa eseističkog filmskog razmišljanja i kazivanja.

⁴⁷ Slična izražajna faktura prisutna je i u filmovima Vlatka Gilića, reditelja sličnih estetskih opredjeljenja, s tom razlikom što njegovi filmovi, za razliku od Nikolićevih, nemaju uočljivu metafizičku dimenziju i višu se okrenuti fenomenološkim refleksijama.

⁴⁸ Milan Vlajčić, *Crnogorski Felini*. Politika, 21.08.2001.

⁴⁹ Izuzev ovog podsjećanja Petra Volka, o destrukciji i nasilju prisutnim u Nikolićevim filmovima gotovo da se nije ni pisalo, ukoliko to nije bio diktat vremena u kojem su oni nastajali.

⁵⁰ Petar Volk, *Istorija jugoslovenskog filma*, Institut za film, Beograd, Partizanska knjiga Beograd, 1986, str. 430. Volk, pri tom, podsjeća da je Nikolić jedini od mlađih autora tokom sedamdesetih godina uspio da stvori originalan, vizuelno osoben i upečatljiv opus u kratkometražnom filmu.

mijenjenim na izražajnu formu dokumentarnih filmova, Nikolićev osobeni rediteljski prosede vezan za arhetip, mitske simbole i tradicionalne vrijednosti prostora koji prenosi na filmsko platno, nastavlja se i u njegovim dugometražnim igranim filmovima. No, za razliku od tragičkog poetskog prizvuka kojim se odlikuju njegovi dokumentarni filmovi, u kojima on gradi svijet ispunjen apsurdom i paradoksima, na svoj osoben način zatvoren i nedostupan, Nikolić se u igranim filmovima okreće drugačijim životnim pulsacijama i, izuzimajući *Jovanu Lukinu* i na određeni način *Lepotu poroka*, specifičnim mikrosredinama, „ostrvima“ kada jednako zatvorenim i nedostupnim, kao, primjera radi, u *Beštijama i Goluži*, bilo da je u pitanju božja ili čovjekova volja, ili odluka „mehaničara vlasti“, kakav je slučaj u filmu u *U ime naroda*. Nikolić se, pri tom, ne odriče bespoštedne satire, šibajući ljudsku glupost ma otkuda ona dolazila i ma kom „pripadala“. Dokumentarni filmovi, konačno, nijesu samo Nikolićeva metafizička konstanta, već i embrion iz kojeg će se razviti poetska faktura njegovog igranog filma.

INTERTEXTUALITY OF DOCUMENTARY AND FICTION: DOCUMENTARIES AS AN IDEOLOGICAL AND THEMATIC NUCLEUS OF NIKOLIĆ'S FEATURE FILMS

Nikolić's documentary films are achievements of high artistic culture and expressiveness, visual metaphors of suffering, metaphysical unrest, but also of love and beauty of life. Conducted by genuine distress that sublimates into the archetypal images, the ones that speak the language of the mythical memory, Nikolić creates a distinctive world, almost surreal, the world of phantasmagoric fullness which does not need any comment nor dialogical form. In such a context, each spoken word would be superfluous and unnecessary multiplication of what has already been visually said. Nikolić's documentaries are also the basis on which his feature films were developed.

Key Words: documentaries, documentary stylization, feature films, concept, theme.

Filmografija (Nikolićevi kratkometražni filmovi):

Trag, 35 mm, crno/beli, 315 m – 12 minuta

Proizvodnja: samostalna produkcija, 1971.

Scenario: Živko Nikolić

Kamera: Sekula Banović, Nemanja Budisavljević

Ždrijelo, 35 mm, crno/beli, 350m – 12 minuta

Proizvodnja: Dunav film, 1972.

Scenario: Živko Nikolić

Kamera: Branko Perak

Nagrade: "Srebrna medalja Beograd" za dokumentarni film, Beograd '83.

Polaznik, 35mm crno/beli, 450m – 13 minuta

Proizvodnja: Dunav film, 1973.

Scenario: Živko Nikolić

Kamera: Slavko Vukčević

Nagrade: "Kiss", Ohajo, SAD.

Bauk, 35mm, kolor, 400m – 14 minuta

Proizvodnja: Dunav film, 1974.

Scenario: Živko Nikolić

Kamera: Slavko Vukčević

Nagrade: "Srebrna medalja Beograd" za režiju dokumentarnog filma, Beograd '74.

Marko Perov, 35mm, kolor, 285m – 10 minuta

Proizvodnja: Dunav film, 1975.

Scenario: Živko Nikolić

Kamera: Branko Perak

Nagrade: "Srebrni zmaj", Krakov '75.

Prozor, 35mm, kolor, 285m – 10 minuta

Proizvodnja: Dunav film, 1976.

Scenario: Živko Nikolić

Kamera: Slavko Vukčević

Nagrade: "Zlatna medalja Beograd" za režiju dokumentarnog filma /

Nagrada žirija jugoslovenske kritike "Milton Manaki", Beograd '76. /

Nagrada publike, Tuzla '76. / Nagrada Fipresci, specijalna nagrada zvaničnog žirija, Nagrada žirija katoličkih organizacija, Oberhauen '76/ Grand Prix – Lille '76.

Oglav, 35mm, kolor, 297m – 11 minuta

Proizvodnja: Dunav film, 1977.

Scenario: Veljko Radović, Živko Nikolić

Kamera: Božidar Nikolić

Ine, 35mm, kolor, 386m – 12 minuta

Proizvodnja: Dunav film, 1978.

Scenario: Živko Nikolić

Kamera: Milija Životić

Muzika: Predrag i Mladen Vranješević

Montaža: Kleopatra Harisijades

Ane, 35mm, kolor, 370m – 13 minuta

Proizvodnja: Dunav film, 1980.

Scenario: Živko Nikolić

Kamera: Vladimir Barović
Graditelj, 35mm, kolor, 360m – 12 minuta
 Proizvodnja: Dunav film, 1980.
 Scenario: Živko Nikolić
 Kamera: Branko Perak
 Muzika: Ksenija Zečević
 Nagrade: Specijalna nagrada za režiju, Krakov '80.
Biljeg, 35mm, kolor, 300m – 11 minuta
 Proizvodnja: Dunav film, 1981.
 Scenario: Živko Nikolić
 Kamera: Savo Jovanović
 Montaža: Lana Vukobratović
 Nagrade: "Velika zlatna medalja Beograd" za dokumentarni film – Beograd '81. / "Zlatni zmaj", Nagrada Fipresci – Krakov '81.

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ПРИЛОГ ПРОУЧАВАЊУ ПРАВОПИСНЕ ПРОБЛЕМАТИКЕ

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Апстракт: У раду се расправља о правописним карактеристикама аутографа Стефана Митрова Љубише. Разматрања о ортографској пракси писца из XIX вијека и праћење одређених правописних поступака омогућавају нам боље сагледавање ондашњег црногорског књижевнојезичког израза. Од првих дјела Љубишиних аутографа насталих у периоду од 1849. до 1862. писаних старом графијом, до каснијих од 1867. до 1878. писаних Вуковом азбуком, са спорадичном употребом стarih слова могу се пратити Љубишина колебања и несигурности до чврстог става и јасних погледа на језичку норму.

Кључне ријечи: Стефан Митров Љубиша, правопис, графија.

Увод

Народна памет, кроз народну ријеч проговарала је из Љубишиног дјела, изнутра везана историјским жилама, а споља умјетношћу великог мајстора. Увијек када смо се сусретали са Љубишиним језиком, имали смо осjeћај да је у њему скриван особити пут инспирације за посебну врсту причања и приповиједања. Љубишин језик, строг, рељефан, избрушен, творачки, сам собом умјетничко дјело, који је он носио у себи као природу и крв ма гдје се налазио, заметну је своју клицу у Паштровићима. Тада и такав језик, који је сам собом историја, омогућава нам да се вратимо у неке друге временске димензије, друге светове и судбине, у струјање духовног крвотока, са једне стране, али истовремено и привлачи неком посебном тајном која има специфичну вриједност, са друге стране.

Стефан Митров Љубиша, као врсни познавалац језика, живота, обичаја, црногорског народног духа, традиције и историје људи Црногорског приморја свога времена, оставио нам је доста језичког материјала у свом књижевном дјелу који је интересантан за лингвистичка истраживања, за проучавање ондашњег језичког стандарда.

Да је и те како водио рачуна о свом језику, свједочи и једно његово писмо упућено Стевану Поповићу, уреднику часописа Орао у коме каже: „Ja Вама и то јављам да о граматици (ортографији и језику уопште) не допуштам преинаке, но нека на мој рачун пане критика педантних

словара“. И у другом писму Стевану Поповићу Љубиша говори: „Ево вам поправљена снимка. У колико су се омакле слагачу многе погрешке, рад би био иошт једну коректтуру учинити“. Управо због те чињенице, неки Љубишини биографи (Виловски) сматрали су га „цјепидлаком“, а заправо била је то посљедица Љубишиног префињеног, али и изфилтрираног осјећаја за језик. Љубиша зато наводи у писму уреднику Народног листа, поводом одштампаног текста приповијести Шћепан Мали, да су такве грешке у сваком језику неугодне, а у нашем и неугодне и штетне, управо због чињенице да би се као такве могле одомаћити у језику.

Љубишине ријечи из Животописа, „Оплијени ме и зачари богаство и изворна мудрост народнијех умотворина, пак нешто из вуковијех збирка, нешто свагдањим саопћењем народом црногорским и приморским, изучим матерњи језик, омили ми се и уљубим се у оно што сам прије мал не презирао“... (Животопис, 34), наводе на размишљање о односу двије компоненте – стандардне и дијалекатске. Између књижевних и дијалекатских облика Љубиша је често посезао за овим другим желећи да што вјерније представи богатство црногорских народних говора, прије свега паштровског, па је и сам истицао да су му „приповијести омилиле с чистоће језика, с народнијех облика, стога што су огледало народа нашега“ и што их је чуо „из устију народа нашега на југу, где је материца и ковница пучких умотворина“ (Животопис, 35). Љубиша тиме није нарушио ћелисходност књижевног језика, и свакако је тим дијалекатским облицима оставио драгоцен извор за сва будућа лингвистичка истраживања.

Иако у структури Љубишиног књижевнојезичког израза доминирају особине књижевног језика, његова писана ријеч чува и говорне појединости из паштровског подручја и сусједних црногорских говора, с једне стране, и приморских црногорских говора и говора хрватског приморја, с друге стране. Присуство тих дијалекатских црта у Љубишином стваралаштву пружа нам слику стања црногорске говорне зоне у времену које је пратило процес књижевнојезичке стандардизације. У језику Стефана Митрова Љубише укрштају се различити језички слојеви, као и језику других црногорских писаца његовог времена.

С обзиром на то да је немогуће за ову прилику дати и описати све језичке нивое, овде ће бити ријечи о правописним одликама које нам пружају његови сачувани аутографи. Заправо, у овом раду покушаћемо да укажемо у чему се језик Стефана Митрова Љубише разликује од стандардног књижевнојезичког узуса, и у чему се огледа подударност са књижевнојезичким изразом XIX вијека, када је ријеч о правописној проблематици. Правопис Стефана Митрова Љубише испитиван је искључиво на основу аутографа: *Приповијести црногорске и приморске –*

*Горде. приповијест црногорска крајем осамнаестога вијека (ГО)*⁵¹; *SćepanMali* (ШМ)⁵²; *Класична дѣла Ђ: К: Саллустія повѣстника Римскогъ. Сазаклетва Катилине (С)*⁵³ и писама (П).

Није сачувано много Љубишиних рукописа, међутим, на основу постојећих видимо да је користио и стару и нову графију, као и оба писма (Ћирилицу и латиницу). Иако је свој озбиљнији књижевни рад почeo у вријеме када је прихваћена Вукова реформа, прва Љубишина дјела, *Сазаклетва Катилине* и неколико писама (које постојe у рукопису), и два штампана текста (*Общество Паштровско у окружју Которскомъ и Говоръ посланика на Царственый Савѣтъ Стефана Љюбише, држанъ у сѣдници 11. Септембра 1861, на Србскій езикъ*) писани су старом азбуком и правописом.

Најстарији аутографи којима располажемо, они који су настали у периоду од 1849. до 1862. (три писма П1, 2, 3 и *Сазаклетва*), писани су старом графијом. Каснији његови сачувани аутографи од 1867. до 1878. године писани су Вуковом азбуком, са спорадичном употребом стариx слова (остала писма и двије приповијетке). Од 72 писма 3 су писана старом графијом, 62 Вуковом азбуком – ћирилицом и 7 писама латиницом. Латиницом је написан *Шћепан Мали*, а *Горде* ћирилицом.

Анализу правописа смо вршили с циљем да бисмо успоставили паралеле с правописом Љубишиних претходника и савременика, с једне

⁵¹Рукопис приповијетке *Горде – приповијест црногорска крајем осамнаестога вијека* налази се у Рукописном одјељењу Матице српске у Новом Саду. Приповијетка је написана на 26 непагинираних листова, па смо пагинацију извршили сами. Написана је ћирилицом. У раду ћemo користити скраћеницу ГО и број странице. На крају приповијетке стоји датум – О илинудневу, 1877.

⁵²Рукопис приповијетке *Шћепан Мали* налази се у Историјском архиву Будва, Фонд С. Љубише. Приповијетка је написана на 49 непагинираних листова, па смо и ту извршили пагинацију. Писана је латиницом и носи наслов: *SćepanMali. Kakonarodonjetirojeda. SkupioisložioS. Ljubiša*. И овде ћemo користити скраћеницу ШМ и број странице. Ово је прва приповијест коју је Љубиша објавио 1868. године под насловом – *Šćepan Malikakonarodonjetirovijeda, SakupioisložioS. Ljubiša, Dubrovnik, ZabavnikNarodne štionicedubrovačkezagodinu 1868; Spljet, 1868*.

⁵³Љубиша се бавио и превођењем италијанских писаца. Од превода Љубишиних сачуван је рукопис *Сазаклетва Катилине* Гаја Салустија Криспа под насловом: *Класична дѣла Ђ: К: Саллустія повѣстника Римскогъ. Сазаклетва Катилине*. Рукопис се чува у Српској академији наука и умјетности. Написан је на 17 листова дуплог папира, и на свакој страници има по 34 реда осим на посљедњој где има 5 редова. Писан је ћирилицом и старом графијом. Љубиша је овај рад завршио крајем 1857. године. У раду ћemo користити скраћеницу С и број поглавља којих има 61, а који су обиљежени римским бројевима, али ми ћemo из техничких разлога користити арапске цифре.

стране, и са новим правописом и реформом Вука Караџића⁵⁴, с друге стране.

Љубишину везаност за традиционалну азбуку и правопис показују сачувани аутографи у којима употребљава сљедећа слова:

a, б, в, г, д, ђ, е, є, ж, з, и, џ, i, к, л, м, н, о, п, р, с, т, Ѯ, ј, э, ф, х, ц, ч, ў, ш, ы, ь, ъ, Ѯ, ю, я.

Љубиша, dakле, употребљава 37 графема⁵⁵ и као што се може примијетити то није била „чисто азбука грађанска“, јер у грађанској нема слова је које Љубиша користи⁵⁶. Њене одлике би биле сљедеће:

Од 37 графематских јединица сљедеће имају сталну гласовну вриједност: *б, в, г, д, ђ, ж, з, к, л, м, н, о, п, р, с, т, Ѯ, ф, х, ц, ч, ў, ш*.

На више начина обиљежавају се фонеме: *a, и, ј, ј.*

Неке фонеме немају посебних слова, већ се обиљежавају словним комбинацијама као *љ, њ.*

Слова *я, ю, е, є, Ѯ* означавају групу фонема.

Различите гласовне вриједности имали су знаци: *ћ, е, i.*

Слова *ь, ъ* имају само ортографску, а не гласовну вриједност.

У рукописима писаним Вуковом азбуком поред 30 слова, Љубиша користи и слова старијег писма. У Љубишиној преписци послије 1862. године спорадично се појављују слова која је Вук одбацио својом реформом азбуке (је – чешће, чак 96 пута; ю – ријетко свега 4 пута; Ѯ – такође 4 пута; є – само један пут; ј – 20 пута; џ – 3 пута) док остала слова – ъ, ъ, я, ы Љубиша не употребљава.

Љубиша у рукописима које је писао латиницом – *Šćeranu Malom* и у 7 писама (П66 – П72) употребљава сва слова латинице, осим слова *đ* за које користи комбинације *gj* и *dj*. У хрватској латиници писало се у прошлости на различите начине, док се у доба илиризма удомаћило двојако писање: *gj* (према *Gjuro, angjeo*) и *dj* које се задржало до 1892. године, када је Брозовим правописом службено уведено *đ*. Старија ћирилица није имала знака за слово *đ*, него га је писала умекшаним *g*⁵⁷. Варијацијом безвучног парњака, коју је извршио Лукијан Мушицки а прихватио је Вук Караџић, добијена је нова ознака за *ђ*⁵⁸.

⁵⁴ Вуков правопис званично је прихваћен у школама у Црној Гори 1863. године (Остојић 1999:87).

⁵⁵ Јављање руског слова јц не налазимо у Љубишиним аутографима, а срећемо га у штампаном тексту *Общество Паштровско у окружјю Которскомъ* у ријечи *общество* где јц означава фонемску скупину јт, у поеми *Бој на Вису* у једном примјеру – *вицкој*; и у чланку Ч6 у ријечи *поспјешествујућу*.

⁵⁶ Овој азбуци види: Србски Бкваръ 1836:21–22.

⁵⁷ Симеон 1969:281.

⁵⁸ Симић 1988:67.

Овом приликом ограничићемо се само на неке репрезентативније правописне црте у контексту ондашњег књижевнојезичког израза, као и на оне којима се Вукова језичка реформа разликовала од Љубишиног стваралаштва. Од првих дјела Љубишиних аутографа насталих у периоду од 1849. до 1862. писаних старом графијом, до каснијих од 1867. до 1878. писаних Вуковом азбуком, са спорадичном употребом старих слова могу се пратити Љубишина колебања и несигурности до чврстог става и јасних погледа на језичку норму.

1. НАПОМЕНЕ О НЕКИМ СЛОВИМА

Љубишини рукописи, иако малобројни, у односу на његово цјелокупно стваралаштво, пружају нам добар материјал за праћење еволуције у начину обиљежавања појединих гласова. Овом приликом даћемо само појединачне напомене у вези са неким графемама.

У обличком погледу Љубиша је поједине графеме писао на специфичан начин.

Графему за велико *a* Љубиша пише на два начина: као данашње велико *a* писано, и као мало *a* увећано.

Графему за мало *g* Љубиша је писао без усправне црте, дакле на руски начин *г*.

Графему за мало *sh* увијек подвлачи.

Графему за велико *d* пише такође на три начина: као данас, латиничну варијанту *đ* али увећану, и као велико *d* са цртом преко.

Графему за мало *đ* писао је на два начина: као данас и у облику латиничног *đ* који чини одлику грађанског писаног типа ћирилске азбуке⁵⁹.

Графему за мало *t* често је писао као *г* мало писано.

Графему за велико *n* писао је као данас и на руски начин у облику латиничног слова *N*.

Графему за мало *u* Љубиша је у *ГО* писао као латинично *n* мало са цртом испод *η*.

2. ПРАВОПИС

У овом дијелу рада анализираћемо неке правописне карактеристике рукописа Стефана Љубише. У вези са тим говорићемо о консонантским групама у спојевима префиксa и корјенске/лексичке морфемe, корјенске/лексичке морфемe и суфикса, и везе двије засебне ријечи; затим о састављеном и растављеном писању ријечи, о великим и малим словима и сл. Да би се стекао потпунији увид, најприје ћемо изложити језичке чињенице које илуструју пишчеву ортографску норму, а затим ћемо дати одређене закључке у вези са тим.

⁵⁹ Ђорђић 1990: 2000.

1. Веза префикса и корјенске/лексичке морфеме

бд: а) обдржаваше С3, обдарена П19,
б)

бк: а) обколићнъ С57,
б)

бн: а) обноћ ГО2,
б)

бс: а) обстами П8, обстајао П10, обсађенъ С49,
б)

бћ: а) обћу П4, обћине П6, 41, 45, обћинско П6, обћем П10,
обћинске П10, обћина П27, обћинскога П45, обћа С7,

б) опћинскима П27, опћина П27, 40, опчије П42,

бх: а) обходећи С19,
б)

бш: а) общество П10, обширије П43,
б)

дб: а) одбити П42, одбачени П54, одбишиј С5, одбише С60,
podbrije ШМ48,

б) обранише С6, обрану С48,

дг: а) одговорио П6, одговоран П6, одгодити П9, 19, 61,
одговорити П20, одговором П26, одговор П51, *odgovorio* П67,
odgovoriti П68, одгоди С50, одговарају ГО8,

б) *nagledaše* ШМ14,

дд: а) oddani П19, оддаше С2, оддати С4, оддаємъ С34,
оддаюћи С52,

б) одаше С27, 31, одавно ГО3,

дз: а) одзвати П10,
б)

дк: а) одкрыто П6, одкрије С3, одкріо С20, одкрыти С26, 36,
одкри С28, одкрие С30, 57, одкудъ С35, одкриванћмъ С45, одкріемъ С58,
odkrio ШМ13, *odkuda* ШМ26,

б) открыти П17, открыто С13, откупити ГО3, откријем
ГО7, отптуујемо ГО8, откопава ГО20, откопа ГО26,

дп: а) одповједио П6, одпаде П8, одпутовати П13, подпор П19,
25, 42, одпишете П27, одпоздравља П40, подписан П45, *podpisati* П70,
предполагаху С17, 37, *podpirače* ШМ3, *odpravi* ШМ14, *podpišu* ШМ36,
odrusti ШМ45, *odpiši* ШМ47,

б) опремио П35, потпишу П54, потпоможемо ГО2,
отпутовао ГО9, отпиши ГО10, отптуују ГО13, потпише ГО17,

дс: а) одслати С1, представляюћи С5, *odsojnjem* ШМ32,

б) постакнута П6, пресједником П6, престављати П10, пресједник П21, престави П24, престојећу П26, пресједнику П35, преставља П61, постРЕКАВАШЕ С5, престави ГО1, осудноме ГО4, *preskazanja* ШМ18,

дч: а) подчинио П10,

б) отчинство С13,

дх: а) подхвати П54,

б) потхватити П54,

дш: а) подшто П37, одшилћмъ С35,

б) оштетиш П2,

зв: а) извѣстивамъ П2, разведри П9, извести П12, изволите П12, извѣсЧЕ П17, 27, извадио П57, извѣстio С44, извршише С45, узвысише С52, избавити ГО2, разварао ГО3, извући ГО25, *izvuče* ШМ12, *razvio*ШМ17, *izvede* ШМ24,

б) расвидјети П53,

зг: а) разговарао П14, изгубити П16, 59, 61, С20, 48, изгубљене П54, *izgubiti* П68, изгнанство С51, изгине С58, безкровномъ С61, разгранала ГО2, разговор ГО7, разгони ГО24, *razgagji* ШМ9, *izginemo* ШМ10, 36, *izgovorom* ШМ28,

б)

зд: а) уздржати П6, С51, 51, *pozdravljam* П11, раздио П31, раздiо П31, узданицА П58, С21, раздроби С10, узићи С24, гиздайства С25, 31, уздивљio С37, раздроблћне С60, издали ГО4, *uzdiše*ШМ10, *razdvoje* ШМ41, *uzdanice* ШМ43,

б)

зђ: а) *razgjelah* ШМ10,

б)

зз: а) *bezzapleća* ШМ7, *izza* ШМ9, 13, 17, 20, 25, 28, 30, 35, 47,

б) иза П63,

зж: а) *razžali* ШМ39,

б) раЖали ГО6,

зк: а) изкуство П19, изквареный С5, узкиплћне С21, изклати С24, изкусна С25, разкаяњъС34, разкушише С37, безкровнымъ С39, *uzkrsne*ШМ5, *izkopali* ШМ27, *izkopati* ШМ32, *izkrcaju* ШМ42, *izkolje*ШМ44, *izkrenu* ШМ45, *izkorjeni*ШМ48,

б) искусти П31, ископан П31, ископаше П59, *iskucao* П71, ускiplћнъ С7, 31, усклика С31, ископати С39, ГО14, 16, искупи С45, ускаје ГО17, искапаше ГО22,

зљ: а) *razljutio* ШМ41,

б)

зн: а) *iznose* П70, изнесу ГО2, разнесе ГО26, *iznemogao* ШМ18,

б) расноси ГО20,

зњ: а) изњихаше С53,

б)

зп: а) безпослица П2, разпушио П6, изпросио П8,19, разправе П18, 33, изплаћену П44, изпунити П52, *izpitati* П67, *izplatiti* П68, узпети С17, изпитанъ С47, *izpjevamo* ШМ19, *razpali* ШМ24, *izpovjesti* ШМ36, *bezputne* ШМ37,

б) распутешен П29, беспослица ГО7, испроси ГО8, испрати ГО17, испотеже ГО19, расплетене ГО19, испливао ГО19, испитомити ГО22, исплута ГО24,

зс: а) разсуди С20, безсвѣтно С44, *izseli* ШМ28,

б) разтавио П6, *расвијетли* ГО21,

зт: а) неузтраџиши П7, узтројена П7, узтраџиши П7, изтраге П14, узтреба П47, разточише С14, разточеногъ С16, разтрѣзнице С20,

б) устегнє П17, уступити С9, 36, *расточити* С12, *раская* С48, *истребише* С51, *растворе* ГО2, *растопљенијем* ГО2, *растурој* ГО2,

зх: а)

б) *усходећи* С55,

зц: а) изцрпили П26, *izcrpi* П67, *разцвјетао* ГО7, *razcariti* ШМ45,

б)

зч: а) разчубали П14, *разчупати* С13, безчестно С23, *разчупали* С37, *изчезнуше* С57, *разчирапе* ШМ1, *izčupali* ШМ18, *izčuditi* ШМ27,

б) исчупала ГО7,

сб: а) сбрисана П10, *сбрисати* С21,

б) збыли С47, збогом П4, 62, *zbogom* П68, 69, 70, *zbog* П71, здружене С1, збогъ С19, 22, 28,34, 37, 52, *zbrinuše* ШМ26, *zbilo* ШМ41,

сг: а) сгода П39, *сгрешила* С52,

б)

сд: а) *sdruženi* П42,

б) здружено С8, здружит' С41, здружити ГО7, здружите ГО26,

ск: а) склопио П17, скупим П34, скисну П37, *skužali* П71, скочити С7, скровишиче С25, скую ГО14, склопио ГО15, *skoči* ШМ9, 38, *skrotim* ШМ23, *skupio* ШМ38,

б)

сљ: а) *sljušti* ШМ10,

б)

сн: а) сносити П39, С5,

б)

сп: а) сплели П12, спомажу С1, справа С3, според ГО2, спушти ГО24, *spopala* ШМ4, *spasi* ШМ24, *spravi* ШМ31, *sponaša* ШМ36, *spuštiš* ШМ39, *spušti* ШМ45,

б)

ст: а) стећиу С13, стекли ГО3, стисне ГО5, *stražiti* ШМ17,

б)

2. Веза корјенске/лексичке морфеме и суфикса
- бк: а)
б) поступком П10,
- бс: а) Србски П5, 8, Србску П5, Србских П10, робствА С48, изгребсти ГО19, *Srbsko* ШМ6, *Srbstvo* ШМ6, *Srbskijeh* ШМ8, *Srbskoga*ШМ34, *Srbske* ШМ37, 42,
б) заступство П6, српског П18, 58, Српске П18, српске П18, 26, 63, српскоме П18, српска П19, Српској С20, српски П26, ГО10, ропства ГО2, српску ГО9,
- бц: а) славољубци ГО12,
б) конопца ГО9, *topca* ШМ1,
- вств: а) здравствуј П8, чувства П28, 51, С35, 52, здравствено П40, законодавства С5, *Iukavstva* ШМ28, *tvrdoglavstvo* ШМ39, здравствуй С35, лукавствомъ С53,
б) галюфство С14,
- вск: а) пашировска П40,
б)
- гк: а)
б) лако П22,
- гств: а) бћгствуј С58,
б)
- гч: а) другчије П25, 59, другчија П26, другчје ГО8, другчіє С51, другчимъ С52,
б)
- гш: а) убогштво С37, убогштвомъ С51,
б)
- дк: а) риједко П35, једка П59, сладко С35, предкови С51, *jedki* ШМ44, *sladkijem* ШМ44, предкова С12, *napredka* ШМ5, 49,
б) *napretku* П68, пошљетку ГО4, 17, напретку ГО8, свршетком П14, 22, 26, 62, напутке П61, *svršetkom* П72, губиткомъ С33,
- дн: а) народних П5, народности П5, ванредним П19, слободне П33, *Narodnote* П67, складной С25, смрадна С55, шједник ГО5, слободно ГО13, уљудни ГО13,
б) праветно П19, неправетно П27,
- дск: а) Београдским П8, блАдствомъ С15, лъудскоти ГО5, лъудске ГО7, лъудскоме ГО8,
б) грацког П53, люцкомъ С22, люцке С36, градцА С37, *gradczkij* С40, 52, (у овом примјеру огледа се спој морфолошког и фонетског писања)
- дств: а) лъудствуј П18, наслједство П58, средство С5, блудство С5, 52, слђдствено С38, блудствомъ С52, *sudstvenih* П67, господство ГО14, *gospodstvo* ШМ24,

- б) *госпоству* П20, *слъествене* П26, *срества* П26,
госпоством П63,
дц: а)
б) *срцем* П5, ГО1, *срца* П9, 14, 44, 58, ГО9, С20, *Грацу* П22, *насрцу*
П58, *срцу* С11, ГО6, 8, *srcem* П67, *срце* ГО3, 4, 11, *srca* ШМ48,
дш: а) *падше* ГО13,
б)
жб: а) *дражба* П47,
б)
ждн: а) *нуждна* С20,
б) *нужнє* П36, *нужно* П69,
жк: а)
б) *тешко* П20, 27, 28, 29, 39, 59, *тешка* П39, *витешкогъ* С17,
жств: а) *множства* С36, *дружтво* С20, *множтвомъ* С51,
б) *друштво* П27, *друштва* П47, *društvo* П68, *društvenu* П68,
витештво С7,
зд: а) *гниезда* П7,
б)
зк: а)
б) *проласку* П15,
здн: а)
б) *обвезницу* П8, 11, *празнике* П13, 17, *опозни* П28,
зњ: а) *казњено* П33,
б) *оближњи* П40, *obližnje* П68,
зс: а)
б) *Бокезки* П10, *Бокезку* П10, *Francuskoga* ШМ42,
зц: а)
б) *восци* ГО17, *восце* ГО19,
јск: а) *аустријски* П86, *Аустријскога* Б1,
б) *аустриска* Ч1, 117, *аустрински* П86, *аустрианске* П86,
сл: а)
б) *несмишљен* ГО10,
сњ: а)
б) *прошињу* П33, 54, *данашњом* П43, *прошиња* П62,
стм: а) *устмено* П5, 12, 17,
б) *писмено* П16, *писмени* П16,
стн: а) *мјестну* П5, *zalostno* П67, *savjestno* П68, *Namjestnik* П69,
koristna П72, *честно* С7, *врстни* С8, *изврстному* С11, *залостне* С20,
напрастно С25, *напастници* С34, *жалостной* С51, *koristniji* ШМ3,
vlastnika ШМ28, *namjestnika* ШМ22,
б) *овјесноме* П5, *повјесници* П10, *ужасних* П16, *намјесника* П12, 17,
32, *жалосно* П17, *масно* П24, *мјесну* П54, *nesnosna* П66, *nepristrasne* П68,

krsno П69, *гнусна* С5, *ужасны* С29, *радосни* ГО2, *пovјесница* ГО10, *красно* ГО12, *жалосница* ГО20,

сћ: а) *извјесће* П17, 45, 56, *залосћу* П26, *мудросћу* П26, *чесће* П31, С9, *милосћу* С9, 51, 52, *строгосћу* С9, *поквареноносћу* С3, *зависћу* С23, *яросћу* С31, 51, *опасносћу* С49, *прасћати* С53, *смиреносћу* С54, *савђачћу* С54, *најжесћој* ГО7, *чесћи* ГО25,

б) *извјешће* П27, *облашћен* П35, ГО16, *мудрошћу* ГО3, *скромношћу* ГО7, *опушћеле* ГО17, *prekršenje* ШМ18,

сч: а) *болесчину* ПВД14,79,

б) *раšče* ШМ43,

тб: а)

б) *судбину* П8, 40, *нагодбе* П14, *шљедбеница* ГО12, *селидба* П9, *свадби* П44, *rješidba* П69, *svadbu* ШМ31, *svadba* ШМ43,

тск: а)

б) *свјецких* П12, *брацку* П16, 18, *Хрвацкој* П17, *чифуцке* П18, *Hrvacke* П66, ШМ49, *брацкомъ* С14, *сеоцке* ГО5, *свјецкој* ГО10, *сеоциње* ГО18, *брчкоцки* ГО19, *хоџијех* ГО24, *bracka* ШМ11, *Zeckim* ШМ16, *Brčeoockome* ШМ46,

Банатце П7, *Сенатцка* С36, *брадцке* С51, *хотцкијех* ГО2, *Hrvatckoј* ШМ7, *čifutcka* ШМ8, (спој морфолошког и фонетског писања)

тств: а) *богатство* С7, 10, *богатствá* С12, *сыноубитствомъ* С15, *domazetstvu* ШМ5,

б) *богаства* ГО2, *богаство* ГО8, *браство* ГО10, *brastvenik* ШМ6, 37, *brastvenici* ШМ30, *bradstvu* ШМ25,

тћ: а) *dat ћeš* П71,

б) *имаћемо* П7, *послаћу* П17, 32, 44, *писаћу* П25, 60, *чекаће* П38, *имаћеш* П47, *чинићу* П54, *бићу* П65, *знаћеš* П67, *bićeП71, poginuće* ШМ22, *угасићу* С31,

тц: а) *отсу* ШМ9, *svetsci* ШМ21, *отцима* С6, *отцы* С29, 55, *отца* С39,

б) *оче* ГО5, 7, *оца* ГО6, *коца* ГО9, *оцима* С31,

ћск: а)

б) *Пецкој* П10, *Пецке* П10, *Braićka* ШМ14, *Pecki* ШМ29, *Nišicke* ШМ33, *Braicke* ШМ34,

ћств: а) *имућству* ГО1, *имућство* ГО13,

б)

чб: а) *свједочбу* П23, *свједочбом* П56, *отачбина* П63, С52, *otačbine* ШМ18, *svjedočbi* ШМ48, *отачбини* С29, 51, *отачбину* С52,

б) *срџбом* П15, *Отаџбина* П63, *отаџбини* ГО6, С36, *отаџбина* ГО25,

чск: а)

б) *Дубровачку* П13, *Грчкој* П17, *Карловачког* П26, *Бечка* П40, *намјесничку* П47, *јуначку* П58, *političkog* П65, *trgovačka* П68, *Веčku* П69,

željezničkih П71, *junačka* П71, *Цимберичкой* С59, *црмничкој* ГО1, *војничку* ГО7, *пучкој* ГО8, *издајничка* ГО9, *грчкој* ГО14, *junačke* ШМ20, *trgovački* ШМ42, *Dubrovačkijem* ШМ46,

чтв: а)

б) *намјесничтво* П38, *управничтва* П54, *войничтвА* С11, *разбойничтва* С4, 16, 37, *войничтво* С17, 52, *јуначту* ГО1, *издајничтвом* ГО10, *glupačtvo* ШМ3, *ајдучтва* С37, *јуначтва* С58, *јуначтво* С60, *войничтва* С61, *јунаштво* С58,

шск: а)

б) *Омишко* П6, *Бокешкоме* П16, *Бокешки* П17, *Бокешку* П26, *дрнишки* ГО2, *арбанашког* ГО13, *влашкијем* ГО14,

3. Веза двију засебних ријечи

с њ-: а) *s njom* П16, ШМ31, *с њим* П12, 42, ГО23, *с њима* С3, 44, съ *њимъ* С18, съ *њомъ* С20, *с њом* ГО26, *snjim* ШМ9, 12, 25, *snjima* ШМ34, *snjezina* ШМ41,

б) *шињим* П27, 52, *шињом* П51, ГО7, 11, 21, *шињим* ГО3, 6, 20, 25, *шињима* ГО3, 10, *шињоме* ГО10, *шињега* ГО10,

под с-: а) *под сваким* П13, *под Скадар* ГО12, *под Сеоца* ГО17, *под самијем* ГО21, *podSrič* ШМ42,

б) *postarost* П69,

пут к-: а)

б) *rudKotora* ШМ36,

пут с-: а)

б) *rudSruža* ШМ41,

с б-: а) *с Баистом* П4, *с братучедом* П27, *с вапором* П39, *svogot* П69, *с Бруњардом* ГО11, *с бременом* ГО24,

б)

с г-: а) *sgvozdena* П48, *с грином* ГО5, *sgolieni* ШМ2, *sglave* ШМ6, *sgrehotom* ШМ38, *sgranice* ШМ40,

б)

с д-: а) *с Дероком* П54, *с друге* С41, *с десне* С59, *с Дебельом* ГО6, *с даровима* ГО11, *sDubovicom* ШМ8, *sdarovi* ШМ25, *sdarovima* ШМ47,

б)

с к-: а) *с куће* П61, *skojijem* П67, *с коња* ГО23, *с конопом* ГО25, *skuće* ШМ2, *skraja* ШМ3, *skraj* ШМ40, *sKnezom* ШМ42,

б)

с н-: а) *с невоље* ГО15, 20, *с невјестом* ГО23, *snaputkom* ШМ26, *snaše* ШМ39,

б)

с п-: а) *с поручником* ГО7, 11, *с потањум* ГО11, *с пустијем* ГО25, *sPrimorijem* ШМ1, *spoklonima* ШМ13, *sPeći* ШМ30, *sPašom* ШМ38,

б)

с т-: а) с тобом П9, 39, x2, 44, ГО15, 16, *stobom* П67, съ тога С24, с тога ГО3, 9, *stvojom* ШМ12, *strgovinom* ШМ15, *stijem* ШМ42, *sTurcima* ШМ44,

б)

с ц-: а) с црном ГО8, с Цетиња ГО9, *sCrnogorcima* ШМ6, 37, *sCetinja* ШМ41,

б)

из б-: а) из ближе П16, из Биограда П17, из Боке П21, из Бече П37, 44, 59, из Будве П37, из Будву П62, из божјег ГО8, *izBjelica* ШМ29, *izBitolja* ШМ33,

б)

из г-: а) из града С58, *izGrblja* ШМ34, *izglas* ШМ43,

б)

из д-: а) из далека П17, из дома П19, из дАбина П58, *izDalmacije* П67, *izdomovine* П69, изъ домова С11, изъ дАбокогъ С35, *izdosta* ШМ23, *izDukagjina* ШМ30,

б)

из з-: а) *iz Zadra* П67,

б)

из к-: а) из куће 27, 33, из Кртола П51, *izkojega* П70, изъ Курье С32, из крштена ГО2, из крштене ГО3, из крвавога ГО22, *izkule* ШМ5,

б)

из п-: а) из петних П58, изъ претеране С2, изъ пожудбе С32, из пушака ГО17, *iz postelje* ШМ6, *izPakla* ШМ27, *izpetnijeh* ШМ29, *izrušakah* ШМ35, 43,

б)

из с-: а) из слоге П4, из свега П4, из Србије П21, изъ страха С15, изъ Сената С23, 49, из свијета ГО2, из Скадра ГО10, *izsve* ШМ19, *izSpica* ШМ43,

б)

из т-: а) из Трста П53, из тамнице П57, *izstrasti* П68, изъ Терацыне С44, из темеља ГО5, из твога ГО9, *iztri* ШМ34,

б)

из ц-: а) из Цариграда П53, из Црнинице ГО13, *izCrnnice* ШМ43,

б)

без б-: а) без брата ГО20, *bezboja* ШМ41,

б)

без ж-: а) *bez živa* ШМ42,

б)

без з-: а) безъ закона С6, безъ завысти С9,

б)

без к-: а) *без крова* П16, *без комуна* П25, *безъ крова* С20, *безъ кое* С44, *bezkrune* ШМ24,

б)

без п-: а) *без преше* П2, *без пара* П20, 45, *без промјена* П59, *bezprizrenja* П68, *безъ прегиба* С58, *без примјера* ГО10, *bezpraha* ШМ41, *bezprekida* ШМ46, 47,

б)

без с-: а) *без сумње* П16, *без скорог* П26, *безъ стана* С6, *безъ сѣтлости* С52, *безъ страха* С37, 60, *bezstege* ШМ6, *bezstraha* ШМ42,

б)

без т-: а) *без тебе* П2, 50,

б)

од б-: а) *од болести* П44, *од Будис* П52, *одъ бѣгунаца* С57, *од Бога* ГО4, 22, *од бола* ГО19, *objeloga* ШМ17,

б)

од г-: а) *од глади* П17, *од генерал* П54, *од главе* П62, *одъ Габиніа* С46, *odgladi* ШМ1,

б)

од д-: а) *од друге* П44, *од дѣга* П59, *од дѣхана* П60, *одъ дана* С32, *одъ добробогъ* С52, *одъ двѣ* С56, *odDunava* ШМ6, *odDubrovnika* ШМ13, *oddvanajst* ШМ46,

б)

од з-: а) *од Зете* П5, *од зла* П15, *од земље* П44, *odzlicah* ШМ19, *odzakona* ШМ30,

б)

од к-: а) *од ког* П17, *од камењана* П27, *од Комесара* П38, *од куће* П60, *одъ Катилине* С34, 52, *од kraja* ГО5, *од крме* ГО24, *odkolievke* ШМ11, *odKosova* ШМ28,

б)

од п-: а) *од педља* П9, *од пута* П28, 36, 43, 57, *од погодбе* П60, *одъ палежка* С32, *од православне* ГО2, *odProvidura* ШМ14, *odPoborske* ШМ34, *odproljeća* ШМ41,

б)

од с-: а) *од соли* П37, *од свију* П37, 53, *од свијета* П51, *од селâ* П55, *одъ састанка* С23, *од слоновијех* ГО5, *од срамоте* ГО20, *odsrdobolje* ШМ3, *odsve* ШМ42,

б)

од т-: а) *од тога* П40, 61, 63, *од твоје* П50, *од толико* П60, *одъ толиког* С4, *од maj* ГО6, *од тебе* ГО20, *odtugje* ШМ17, *odtakovog* ШМ21, *odTurakah* ШМ35, 49,

б)

код д-: а) *kod države* П68, *kodDolgorka* ГО44,

- б)
 код к-: а) *kod kapitalista* П68,
 б)
 код н-: а) *код Намјесничтва* П54,
 б)
 код њ-: а) *код њега* П35, *kodnjega* П70, *kodnjih* ГО47,
 б)
 код з-: а) *код Занела* П15,
 б)
 код п-: а) *код Пашкотина* П51, *код појате* ГО22,
 б)
 под з-: а) *под затвором* П25,
 б)
 под к-: а) *под коима* П6, *подъ Куріомъ* С18, *под краном* ГО13,
podKotor ШМ35,
 б)
 под п-: а) *под печатом* П13, *под падишом* П17, *под пјеном* П59,
podProvidurom ШМ26,
 б)
 под т-: а) *под та* П8, *под твојем* ГО16, *под тельигом* ГО2,
 б)
 под ц-: а) *под crkvenom* ШМ4,
 б)
 под ш-: а) *pod šatorom* ШМ38,
 б)
 пред в-: а) *пред везира* ГО13,
 б)
 пред к-: а) *пред кућом* ГО1, *predKotor* ШМ28,
 б)
 пред н-: а) *pred narod* ШМ20, *prednarodom* ШМ20, 29,
 б)
 пред њ-: а) *пред њим* П17, ГО21,
 б)
 пред с-: а) *пред С. Петком* П52, *подъ Сенатомъ* С51, *predSultanom*
ШМ39,
 б)
 прам к-: а) *прам крштеној* ГО13,
 б)
 над к-: а) *nadKomunima* ШМ14,
 б)
 над п-: а) *nad primorjem* ШМ30,
 б)

над с-: а) *над смрзлијем* ГО19,

б)

над ц-: а) *над црквама* ШМ2,

б)

низ б-: а) *nizBraiće* ШМ4,

б)

низ с-: а) *низ Суторман* ГО12, *nizStanjevskerudine* ШМ19.

б)

На основу прегледаног материјала у вези са обиљежавањем сугласничких група изводимо сљедеће закључке:

а) Заступљеност морфолошког, фонетског и комбинованог ортографског принципа у писаном изразу Стефана Митрова Љубише говори о правописној нестабилности и неуједначености у овом погледу, која је присутна и у књижевнојезичком изразу тога доба⁶⁰.

б) Од 84 сугласничке комбинације (без везе засебних ријечи) у 40 (47,62%) комбинација имамо комбиновани начин писања, у 27 (32,14%) морфолошки и у 17 комбинација (20,24%) фонетски.

ц) У вези префикс + корјенска/лексичка мофрема од укупно 41 комбинације најзаступљенији је комбиновани принцип са 21 комбинацијом или 51,22%. Затим слиједи морфолошки правописни принцип са 19 комбинација или 46,34%, а фонетски је забиљежен само у једном случају, односно обухвата 2,44%.

д) У комбинацији корјенска/лексичка мофрема + суфикс ситуација је нешто другачија. Од укупно 43 испитиване комбинације комбиновани заузима највише и то 19 (44,2%) комбинација, затим фонетски 16 (37,2%), а морфолошки најмање 8 (18,6%) комбинација.

е) У вези двију засебних ријечи од укупно 60 комбинација морфолошки је заступљен у 56 комбинација (93,33%), комбиновани и фонетски у по двије комбинације (6,67). У великој мјери заступљени морфолошки правопис подудара се како са Вуковом тако и са данашњом ортографијом.

ф) Кад је ријеч о фонетском и комбинованом начину писања било да је у питању веза префикс + корјенска/лексичка морфема, било корјенска/лексичка мофрема + суфикс, примјећује се да је у Љубишином језику најчешће заступљена појава једначења по звучности и веже се за сугласнике б, д, з, с, ч, ћ у разним секвенцама. Нешто су рјеђи случајеви једначења по мјесту и начину образовања. У вези двије засебне ријечи регистрована је само код секвенце с њ- али недосљедно, а код комбинације корјенска/лексичка морфема + суфикс јавља се у секвенцама: сњ, сћ, сч, сљ. Нијесу занемарљиви ни случајеви упрошћавања

⁶⁰ Исп. Остојић 1976:61; Остојић 1989:48; Биговић-Глушица 1997:33.

консонантских група. Међутим, и ту налазимо различите ситуације од дјелимично промијењених (као нпр. *đđ*, *zz*, *žž*, *zs*, *st̄m*, *st̄n*, *t̄h*, *t̄c* и сл.) до досљедно промијењених (нпр. *dc*, *zdn*, *čsk*, *šsk* и сл.).

г) На крају, морамо истаћи јако наглашени морфолошки правопис. Међутим, он се највише односи на везу двију засебних ријечи (испитивано је 60 комбинација, од чега је у 56 заступљен морфолошки принцип), док је у вези префикс + корјенска/лексичка морфема (испитивана 41 комбинација) подједнако заступљен комбиновани и морфолошки принцип (21 и 19), а код везе корјенска/лексичка морфема + суфикс (испитиване 43 комбинације) највише је заступљен комбиновани и фонетски принцип писања (19 и 16 комбинација). Етимолошки правопис отежава сагледавање стварног стања појединих појава, али друга два принципа то олакшавају.

3. САСТАВЉЕНО И РАСТАВЉЕНО ПИСАЊЕ РИЈЕЧИ

Анализирајући ортографски систем који је употребљавао Стефан Митров Љубиша, треба истаћи да у његовим рукописима често налазимо састављено писање ријечи, тј. проклитика и енклитика са акцентованим ријечима уз које стоје, што је у складу са писаним изразом његових претходника и савременика⁶¹.

а) Енклитике:

поздравляте П2, *јели* П6, 14, 26, 31, 52, *пишиму* П8, *казами* П8, *речеми* П15, 17, 22, 24, 32, *чекате* П15, *оћетели* П17, *требали* П41, 59, *закључилисмо* П18, *чиними* П19, 26, 27, 47, *нијели* П26, *моћићемо* П27, *ћераје* П27, *јавићути* П30, *rišitemi* П31, *бига* П33, *бољеје* П34, *уздржитеме* П36, *шаљемти* П37, *аколи* П37, *оћели* П38, 40, 59, *рециму* П38, *хоћели* П39, 45, *будели* П47, *брзојавими* П48, *молимте* П52, *желили* П52, *казаћети* П53, *пишеми* П53, *Богда* П57, *битиће* П58, *jesili* П67, *jeli* П68, 70, *напредАели* С1, *неголи* С9, *евоти* С48, *били* ГО6, *ostadeli* ШМ5, *znali* ШМ16, *овојеш* ШМ17, *etotil* ШМ19, *hoćeli* ШМ29, *oćeli* ШМ31, *nećeli* ШМ31, *došlismo* ШМ44, *vigjesteli* ШМ44, *štosi* ШМ44.

б) Проклитике:

предлози: *насрцу* П12, *повољи* П7, *напримјер* П8, *поћуди* П9, *снама* П19, *сасобом* П27, *шијим* П27, *огрлу* П38, *навријеме* П40, *самном* П48, *засебе* П58, *samnom* П66, *прешто* ГО22, *zanj* ШМ5, *samnom* ШМ21, *svata* ШМ23, *самномъ* С52, *изћефА* С52,

veznici: *daga* П3, *dasste* П8, 22, 34, *daћe* П16, 45, 89, *dasmo* П22, 24, *daјe* П22, *даби* П47, *дасе* П53, *ато* П58, *ане* П58, *дасам* П59, 60,

⁶¹ Види: Младеновић 1973:43; Остојић 1976:62; Остојић 1989:49; Биговић-Глушница 1997:34.

речце: *незнам* П6, 14, 17, 20, 38, 52, *незна* П6, 32, *неби* П6, 25, С8, 9, 54, *непрође* П6, *неда* П7, *нечекаш* П8, *немогу* П8, 10, 31, 39, *непознам* П16, *неможе* П16, 25, 54, *нечини* П17, *непродуши* П17, *нехоће* П22, 48, *недава* П27, *невјерујем* П33, *непомаже* П51, *немолим* П58, *neznat* П67, *nemozhe* П68, *neda* П69, *neimah* П70, *nespada* П71, *nesumljam* П72, *несакри* С23, *нехћедне* С51, *немирова* С51, *непредаде* С59, *nevidi* ШМ1, *nebi* ШМ6, 10, 37, 44, *nemili* ШМ10, *nedaj* ШМ10, *nekaza* ШМ11, *nedogje* ШМ13, *neugasismo* ШМ17, *neizgori* ШМ18, *nedade* ШМ23, *nečudim* ШМ23, *nekrili* ШМ38, *neizustiše* ШМ40, *nerusti* ШМ44, *nemozetno* ШМ44.

Љубиша пише заједно ријечи у скupinama типа: проклитика + акценатска ријеч + енклитика, акценатска ријеч + енклитика + енклитика: *аколи* П37, *корилибиме* П18, *коћега* П31.

У аутографима налазимо и ријечи са засебним акцентом написане заједно, као у примјерима: *жалибоже* П16, 26, *milaboga* ШМ4, *crnukari* ШМ29.

Облик *то јест* пише на следеће начине: *tojest* П45, 47, 48, *тоесть* С14, 29, 50, *tojest* ШМ41, али и *то јест* П10, 60.

Насупрот састављеном писању ријечи, у Љубишиним рукописима, биљежимо и извјестан број ријечи написан одвојено, које би се правописном нормом савременог језика морале писати заједно:

ни са мъ П1, *ни су* П1, *не ће* П1, *ни є* П1, *ни самъ* П2, С48, *nie* си П2, *није сам* П4, 6, 8, 27, 51, 58, 60, *није су* П9, 26, 45, *nije sam* П67, 68, ШМ12, *nijesi* ШМ23, 39, *не ћете* ГО15, у кратко П6, све једно П6, *ко ме* П9, *на пише* П16, *на пријед* П16, *од иста* П18, *треће га* П19, *доније ћу* П20, *брзо јав* П20, *ће мо* П20, 29, *до године* П24, *нико ме* П25, *по дробно* П27, *зависи ће* П39, *од иста* П48, у брзо П52, *не стрпљиво* П53, *уз треба* П54, *прем да* П59, у опће П59, *прек лани* П63, *од једном* ГО1, 6, *не ће* ГО3, *не ћеш* ГО8, *на влаш* ГО16, *poljubi* ШМ19, *rad šta* ШМ46, *казни ћете* С52, *обрати ће* С52.

4. УДВОЈЕНО ПИСАЊЕ СЛОВА

а) Удвајање словних знакова за обиљежавање вокала сасвим је ријетко у Љубишиним аутографима. Евидентирали смо га у следећим примјерима: *армии* П3, *остроока* ГО5, *богооцу* ГО9, *поособъ* С16, *Petree* С59, х2. Ова појава није својствена многим старијим црногорским приповиједачима⁶².

б) Према старој правописној норми удвојени сугласници су се употребљавали у неким страним ријечима, али и словенским, за обиљежавање квантитета претходног вокала⁶³. У Љубишином језику нијесу

⁶² Нијезабиљежена у језику Петра I, А. Даковића, Марка Миљанова (Остојић 1976:63; 1989:48–51; Биговић-Глушица 1997:34–37).

⁶³ Исп. Марковић 1958:24–25.

забиљежени у великим броју примјера, и ради се углавном о ортографском маниру, који је својствен књижевнојезичкој традицији⁶⁴. Удвојено писање сугласника срећемо у сљедећим примјерима:

Лапене П6, 8, *Лапенну* П6, али: *Лапене* П8, *Данилла* П6, *Феббриција* П10, *оддані* П13, *Одессе* П15, *Занелла* П15, *оддом* П17, *Оддані* П13, 20, *Апелла* П38, *Бортарацца* П46, *Шолл* П47, *Поцци* П54, *Коммисију* П54, *коммисарах* П60, *Циттадини* П67, *Лапенни* П67, *беззаплећашм7*, *изза* ШМ9, 13, 17, 29, 35, 47, *оддаше* С2, *оддати се* С4, *Силле* С5, *Оресиллу* С15, *Кассие* С17, *Тулла* С18, *Катту* С18, *Миттела* С30, *Катулла* С34, *Арецца* С36, *Галли* С40, *Аллоброђцы* С40, *Цинни* С47, *Красса* С48, *Кассие* С50, *Анніє* С50, *Дамасиппа* С51, *оддаюћи* С52, *Тулліана* С55.

Видимо да је употреба удвојених сугласника ограничена на лексеме посебног карактера. Углавном су у питању ријечи страног поријекла, најчешће имена, или су у питању консонантске секвенце као у примјеру *izza*. Љубиша најчешће пише удвојено сугласнике *б*, *đ*, *з*, *л*, *м*, *н*, *п*, *с*, *т*, *ц*.

5. СКРАЋИВАЊЕ РИЈЕЧИ

Поменућемо и Љубишино скраћивање ријечи, које се, ипак, не јавља често: *А.Б.Ц.* П6, *Д* П27, *н.пр.* П56, *Н. С. Књазом* П58, *Св. Књазу* П63, *Dr* ШМ22, (у овом примјеру Љубиша је надредно написао слово *р*).

У примјеру *телёфу* П52 Љубиша је знаком ~ (повијена титла у виду лука)⁶⁵ скратио ријеч *телеграф*. Уочили смо и сљедећа скраћивања:

Лап_ Кнеж_ П8, *Х. Р.* П13,

С. Петка П45, *С. Митар* П45, *С. Неђеља* П45, *С. Петком* П52, *С Спиридон* П54.

Љубиша понекад скраћује и презимена, на примјер: *F* П8, *F* П8 (с Филиповићем).

Код скраћивања ријечи понекад користи двије тачке уместо једне: *благ*: П13 (благородним), *аустр*: П13, *т: є*: С53.

6. ПИСАЊЕ ВЕЛИКИХ И МАЛИХ СЛОВА

У језику Стефана Митрова Љубише присутна су колебања и недоумице у писању велоког слова, било да је ријеч о властитим именима и присвојним пријевима изведеним од њих, географским називима, именима народа, титулама, називима празника и сл.

⁶⁴ Исп.: Пижурица1989:53–55; Остојић 1976:63–64.

⁶⁵Уп. овакво скраћивање ријечи у старој ћирилици код Петра Ђорђића (Ђорђић 1990:184–185). Забиљежено и у језику владике Данила (Младеновић 1973:44).

У категорији властитих имена и присвојних приједва изведенних наставком -ов, -ев, -ин поред великог почетног слова долази и мало:

мыло П2, *мило* П2, поред *Мыло* П2, *Мило* П2,

христова П19, *вуга* П25, 34, *петру* П28, *вуко* П33, *митар* П33, *будисављевић* П34, *вукалова* П38, *марковића* П40, *гаша* П40, *маркову* П44, *већетине* П49, *ласер* П58, *мошковом* ГО4, *махмута* ГО4, *гордина* ГО6, *махмутова* ГО9, *бушатлија* ГО10, *махмутову* ГО11, *Šćepannadimkommalij* ШМ22,

поред: *Махмут* ГО10, *Махмутом* ГО11, 13, *Ђорђе* П21, *Дадића* П22, *Дражића* П23, *Мицор* П23, *Тановићем* П51, *Софијине* П52, и много других примјера.

Називе земаља, градова, и географских области Љубиша понекад пише малим почетним словом:

велебића П5, *буџва* П37, *далматију* П42, *budvi* П42, *браћи* П45, *горажда* П48, *горажде* П58, *цирничкој нахији* ГО1, *средњега и црнога мора* ГО2, *приморја* ГО5, *скадарског језера* ГО6, *скопљачко поље* ГО10, *малисију* ГО15.

Назив *Црна Гора* Љубиша пише на следећи начин: *Црнојгори* П12, ГО18, *Црнагора* П58, *Црнугору* П58, *Црнойгори* С28, *Crnojgori* ШМ4, *Crnugorci* ШМ42, поред: *цирнојори* П12, П63, *цирнегоре* ГО5, *цином гором* ГО10, *Црна гора* ГО14.

И код имена народа присутна су колебања, па тако поред примјера написаних малим словом:

турчину П16, ГО4, *хрватима* П19, *sloveni* П42, *ћех* П42, *турчин* ГО2, *млечић* ГО4, *циногорца* ГО6, *србе* ГО10, *маликора* ГО10, *циногорка* ГО12, *циногорци* ГО12, *словинац* ГО14, *турчина* ГО14, *енглез* ГО16, *власи* ГО16, *бугари* ГО16, *срби* ГО16, 18, *грци* ГО16, *циногорка* ГО17, *турци* ГО18, *сиса* ШМ37,

биљежимо и оне писане великим: *Црногорца* ГО26, *Turčin* ШМ11, *Mlečić* ШМ11, *Turci* ШМ24, *Latin* ШМ24, итд.

Неуједначени су и примјери употребе великог почетног слова код присвојних приједва:

Југославенства П5, *Црногорским* П12, *Бокешкоме* П16, *Српске* П16, *Турскоме* П17, *Которске* П52, *Jugoslavenske* П68, *Већку* П69, *Crnogorskoga* П71, *Римскога* С4, *Грчку* С25, *Ruskom* ШМ4, *Moškovskoj* ШМ4, *Mletačkijeh* ШМ5, *Turskom* ШМ5, *Srbskijeh* ШМ8, *Crnogorsku* ШМ12, *Ruski* ШМ13, 26, *Grčkoga* ШМ15, *Zecku* ШМ16, *Pravoslavnoj* ШМ17, *Božja* ШМ18, *Crnogorske* ШМ20, 40, *Mahinski* ШМ20, *Turskuzemlju* ШМ21, *Latinsku* ШМ21, *Dubrovačkoj* ШМ22, *Kotorskoga* ШМ25, *Cetinskoga* ШМ35, *Bosanski* ШМ37, *Dukagjinski* ШМ37, *Arbanaški* ШМ37,

поред: *тrogирске* П6, *српског* П18, 58, *српске* П18, 26, 63, *српскоме* П18, *српска* П19, *српски* П26, ГО 10, *српску* ГО9, *jugoslavenska* П16, *југославенске* П16, итд.

У писању имена мјесеци такође налазимо често употребу великог слова:

Мая П1, *Августа* П3, *Октобра* П5, *Новембра* П6, *Травња* П7, *Септембра* П10, П65, *Марта* П17, *Априла* П18, *Јулија* П26, *Децембра* П43, *Марча* П50, *Рујна* П61, *Prosincap* П11, *Rujna* П68, 69, *Studenoga* П69, *Октобрија* С30, *Јунија* ГО13,

поред: *октобра* П22, *марча* П58.

И у називима титула биљежимо доминантнију употребу великог слова вјероватно као израз почасти и поштовања:

Његово Величанство Цара и Краља П10, *Патрик* П10, *Књазом* П12, 37, 58, *Министар* П14, *Бискупом* П14, *Цара* П39, *Комесар* П45, *Књазу* П55, *Knjaza* П72, *Цари* С1, *Вође* С2, *Консоли* С18, *Султану* ГО3, 10, *Краљу* ГО16, *Vladici* ШМ4, *Gospodara* ШМ5, *Knez* ШМ9, *Proto* ШМ16, *Srdar* ШМ16, *Vladike* ШМ16, *Carici* ШМ17, *OčeTodosije* ШМ18, *Vladika* ШМ19, *Vojvodom* ШМ23, *Knezom* ШМ23, *Konzula* ШМ25, *Sultani* ШМ26, *Providuru* ШМ28, *Duždu* ШМ28, *Gospoda* ШМ45,

поред: *car* ШМ6.

Имена празника региструјемо написана великим почетним словом: *Паску* П14.

Љубиша такође пише велико слово и у следећим примјерима:

Русизма П6, *Делегацији* П8, *Купалишту* П9, *Кума* Рада П52, *Комисију* П54, *Намјесник* П55, *Цркву* П59, *Obćinsko* П69, *Namjestnik* П70, *Силе* С5, *Manastir* ШМ9, *Providnik* ШМ13, *Manastiru* ШМ15, 32, *Crkvi* ШМ18, *Vjeru* ШМ18, *ManastirPodmainski* ШМ19, *SrbskogaCarstva* ШМ20, *ManastirupodMahinama* ШМ22, *Bogoradiš* ШМ24, *Carstvo* ШМ40, *Сенатцка* С36, *Бога* П6, 46, С20, 51, 52, ГО4, 14, *Бог* П58, ГО2, *Bog* П67, ШМ1,5, *Бозима* С1, *Бози* С33, *Богове* С52, *Boga* ШМ16, *Bogoradiš* ШМ24, *С. Петка* П45, *С. Митар* П45, *С. Неђеља* П45,

поред: *бога* С52, *боже* П7, *бог* П44, 45, С35.

7. НЕКЕ ПРАВОПИСНЕ ОСОБЕНОСТИ

Код преношења ријечи у нови ред Љубиша пише двије цртице и то не на средини већ на крају реда _. Често умјесто тачке на крају реченице пише црту (П29), а понекад и двије тачке (ГО7). Понекад подвлачи реченице, тако нпр. у П1, подвучене су двије – једна цијела и једна пола. Умјесто цртице користи често двије црте код полусложеница: *повјесно=црквено право* П10, *upravno=sudstvenih vlastih* П67, *laži=cara* ШМ25, *bez=pristrane* ШМ48. Такође користи двије црте умјесто једне за одвајање уметнутих дјелова: *хтио би омладину србску поставити као*

контролу држави = закључи = *ја* знам ... П8. Користи само доње наводнике као нпр. „*PomozBoguneznadanotaćina*,“ ШМ1, П15. У писмима је такође карактеристично да понекад прелази са једног писма на друго, или да чак само једну ријеч напише другим писмом. У некима чак користи и италијански. У писмима писаним ћирилицом налазимо реченице или поједине ријечи писане латиницом. Тако, нпр. региструјемо у П6, 7, 9, 16, 17, 22, 31 (на крају писма прелази на латиницу), П42 (већи дио писма је латиницом писан). Код писама писаних латиницом, Љубиша не мијеша писма, тј. не користи ћирилицу.

Љубиша често редни број пише без тачке, тако да се не разликује од основног броја:⁶⁶

на 9 јуна П1, 26 Августа 862 П3, 22 октобра 867 П5, 5/25 Новембра 1867. П6, 4/3868 П7, 8 Просинца 1868. П11, 16/28 Дек. П12, 18/5 Марта 870 П17, 21/2 марта/априла 870 П18, 14 јулија 871 П26, 21 августа 871 П28, Петак 16/7 П62, 11/128/4 римски П63, 6 септембра 1878 П65, 23 Рујна 1867 П68, 29/12 868 П71.

8. УПОТРЕБА АПОСТРОФА

Љубиша пише апостроф у следећим случајевима:

а) у везнику као: *ка'* П9, *ка'* П67, ШМ12,

б) на крају глаголског прилога времена садашњег:

помагаюћ' С1, *описивајућ'* С3, *устручавајућ'* С15, *препоручујућ'* С21, 45, *уфајућ'* С21, 52, *надајућ'* С26, 58, *неуфајућ'* С27, *одрицајућ'* С30, *уздајућ'* се С31, *договарајућ'* се С44, *узмицајућ'* С56, *ругајућ'* С52, *споменуюћ'* С58,

в) у облицима инфинитива:

прћтит' С6, *рећ'* С7, *узет'* С15, *одобрит'* С19, *говорит'* С20, *посоколит'* С20, *быт'* С40, *указат'* се С41, *здрожит'* се С41, *повѣдат'* С44, *веселит'* се С48, *ослободит'* С50, *имат'* С51, *напанут'* С52, *умножит'* се С56, *бранит'* С58,

г) код 1. лица једнине аориста умјесто *х*:

прокле' С52, *доби'* С52, *непомилова'* С52, *зна'* С52, 53, *уљуби'* С53, *би'* С52, *познадо'* С53, *нађо'* С58,

д) на крају радног глаголског придјева који се завршава на *-а < -ао*, као и код неких именица: *проша'* С52, *помиса'* С20,

ђ) ради означавања испуштеног вокала у средини или на крају ријечи:

служ'те С20, *не'ма* С51, *Mark' Antonije* ШМ14, *ал'* С39, *л'* С20, 31, 51, *ел'* С52, *друг'* С27, *тисућ'* С30, 46, 52,

е) код именице човјек: *čо'јеће* ШМ11, *čо'јек* ШМ12,

ж) на крају ријечи у функцији покретног вокала:

⁶⁶ Исп. исто Суботић 1981:153.

свак' С2, 20, 43, 52, 61, *рад'* С2, *тад'* С6, *нек'* С20, 52, *том'* С52, *коег'* С52,

з) умјесто јера: *тек'* С7, 11, 14, 26, 36, 43,

и) код императива: *ротоз'* ШМ23,

ј) и у неким другим примјерима, као:

неог'ори С40, *педепсам'* С46 га *новац'* измузена С23, *Бог'ме* С51, *прав'* ШМ20 (по праву).

Љубиша користи и ^ знак да обиљежи дуги вокал, да означи самогласничко r, и у сличним примјерима:

намјесникâ П12, *државâ* П12, *рâд* П28, 55, од *колâ* П39, *мôж* ли П50, *пâд* П54, *селâ* П55, *đâ* П12, 59, С59, ГО3, *опекâ* П59, *dâ* П68, ШМ2, *пôнось* С3, *ôдаху* С6, *râна* С20, *рôкъ* С36, *Mârie* С59, *чôестству* ГО1, *коњаникâ* ГО1, *прескурâ* ГО6, *чôек* ГО6, 8, 10, 14, *допрô* ГО7, *умрô* ГО8, *cô* ГО8, *искубô* ГО8, *кôца* ГО9, *стô* ГО12, x2, *окô* ГО13, 15, 26, *спаијâ* ГО13, *крапанâ* ГО13, *мôга* ГО14, *мôму* ГО15, *Сеоцâ* ГО17, *чôека* ГО17, *мôбу* ГО19, *косâ* ГО22, *bônicî* ШМ3, 6, *rô* ШМ5, 14, *тôбе* ШМ15, 25, *okôcrkve* ШМ20, *naokô* ШМ23, *sô* ШМ27, *rôdne* ШМ42.

9. ЗАКЉУЧАК

Графијска и правописна рјешења Стефана Љубише била су у складу са временом и приликама у којима је живио. Комплексност Љубишине графије и правописа огледају се прије свега у чињеници што је код њега заступљена и стара графија али и вуковска, што је писао и ћирилицом и латиницом. Тако је у графији присутан традиционални начин обиљежавања појединих гласова у раној фази стваралаштва. Каснији Љубишини аутографи писани су Вуковим правописом са спорадичном употребом стarih слова (врло ријетко ю, ћ, є, љ, нешто чешће i, Á). Наравно да је све то имало одраза и на Љубишина рјешења.

У аутографима писаним латиницом евидентан је талијански утицај код сугласника ћ (обиљежава га као gj/dj), мада употреба ових обиљежавања није равномјерна у свим његовим дјелима, што значи да Љубиша није имао одређених правила за употребу једног или другог начина обиљежавања. Сугласник ћ у истим ријечима налазимо обиљежен и на један и на други начин, што значи да Љубиша није имао неких одређених правила кад користи један а кад други начин.

Присутна су сва три правописна принципа. Наглашеније присуство етимолошког принципа говори нам о чвршћој вези са традиционалним начином писања. Томе иде у прилог чињеница што је вуковски фонетски принцип касно прихваћен у Црној Гори, тек „1871. године када га је почeo

примјењивати часопис Црногорац⁶⁷. У каснијим Љубишиним дјелима осјећа се удаљавање од традиционалног наслеђа и приближавање стандардном језику.

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SUPPLEMENT TO STUDYING THE ISSUE OF ORTHOGRAPHY

Abstract

This work discusses the orthographic characteristics of the autographical writings of Stefan Mitrov Ljubisa. Considerations of the orthographic practice of this 19th century writer and the tracing of particular orthographic processes enable us to better examine the literary expression of that time. From the first of Ljubisa's autographical works that originate in the period between 1849 and 1862 written in the Old Slavic script, to the later ones between 1867 and 1878 written using Vuk's alphabet, with sporadic use of old letters, Ljubisa's

⁶⁷ Вукова реформа графије и ортографије званично је прихваћена у Црној Гори 1863. у настави цетињске основне школе. У администрацији црногорске државне управе, у школској и осталој документацији није био прихваћен Вуков правопис све до 1871. године када га је почeo примјењивати часопис Црногорац (Остојић 1989:50).

indecision and uncertainty, moving to a firm stance and clear views on the linguistic norm. The complexity of Ljubisa's script and orthography are reflected most of all in the fact that in his writing both old letters and Vuk's alphabet are present; that he wrote in both Cyrillic and Roman scripts. Hence in his handwriting a traditional manner of marking individual sounds in an early phase of their development are present. Ljubisa's later autographical writings are written in Vuk's orthography with sporadic use of Old Slavic letters. There are three orthographical principles present. The more emphasised presence of etymological principles speaks to us of a firmer link with the traditional manner of writing.

Keywords: Stefan Mitrov Ljubisa, orthography, script.

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This work discusses the orthographic characteristics of the autographical writings of Stefan Mitrov Ljubisa. Considerations of the orthographic practice of this 19th-century writer and the tracing of particular orthographic processes enable us to better examine the literary expression of that time. From the first of Ljubisa's autographical works that originated in the period between 1849 and 1862 written in the Old Slavic script, to the later ones, written between 1867 and 1878 using Vuk's alphabet, with sporadic use of old letters, we can follow Ljubisa's indecision and uncertainty, as he was moving to a firm stance and clear views on the linguistic norm. The complexity of Ljubisa's script and orthography is reflected most of all in the fact that both old letters and Vuk's alphabet are present in his writing. He also wrote in both Cyrillic and Roman scripts. Hence, in his handwriting, a traditional manner of marking individual sounds in an early phase of their development are present. Ljubisa's later autographical writings are written in Vuk's orthography with sporadic use of Old Slavic letters. There are three orthographical principles present. The more emphasised presence of etymological principles speaks to us of a firmer link with the traditional manner of writing.

Keywords: Stefan Mitrov Ljubisa, orthography, script.

EUFEMIZAM – ATRIBUT ENGLESKOG JEZIKA U POLITIČKIM NOVINSKIM ČLANCIMA O IMIGRACIJI

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Apstrakt: Jedan od najproduktivnijih morfo-semantičkih procesa u jeziku jeste eufemizacija. Motivisana tabuom, ona predstavlja važan alat u savremenom svakodnevnom diskursu u pronalaženju pozitivnih alternativnih jezičkih izraza koji odgovaraju senzibilitetima svakog pojedinca. Eufemizme je potrebno proučavati ne samo sa jezičkog aspekta, već i socio-kulturološkog jer jezik utiče na kulturu, na naš stav o socijalnim problemima i oblikuje našu ontološku i etičku stvarnost. Ciljevi ovog istraživanja jesu identifikacija i analiza eufemističkih izraza za termin *migrant* koji se mogu pronaći u političkim člancima najčitanijih dnevnih listova u Velikoj Britaniji i Sjedinjenim Državama koji se bave tematikom imigranata, i to u smislu određivanja njihovog konotativnog značenja, odnosno podela istih na pozitivne, negativne ili neutralne eufemizme, zatim da se prikaže podudarnost njihove upotrebe u britanskoj i američkoj štampi, odnosno, šire, u britanskom i američkom varijetu engleskog jezika, i, na kraju, da se odredi učestalost upotrebe pronađenih primera u jezičkom korpusu (COCA). Jezik ovogmedija ima svojih specifičnosti i razlikuje se u nekoj meri od svakodnevnog diskursa, pa predstavlja značajan izvor eufemizama. Analiza primera pokazuje njihovu učestalost, raznovrsnost, različitost u konotativnom značenju.

Ključne reči: eufemizam, politička korektnost, diskurs, štampa, migrant, imigracija.

Uvod

Tema imigracije je sama po sebi dovoljno važna da opravda pažnju koja joj se posvećuje. Sve više je prisutna negativna retorika prema imigrantima u javnom diskursu, a naročito u medijima. Mediji su stavljeni u službu anatemizacije imigranata i izbeglica, a jezik koji se koristi u njima jeste diskriminoran i neprijateljski. Prisutna je neprecizna generalizacija koja za posledicu ima klasifikaciju ove grupe građana kao ljudi niže kategorije. Javno mnjenje je pod velikim uticajem negativne retorike koju aktivno stvaraju političari i mediji. Izrazi koji se koriste za imigrante nose različite konotacije i imaju veliki uticaj na formiranje stavova prema doseljenicima. Ovaj rad polazi od pretpostavke da se jezik koji se

upotrebljava u političkim tekstovima dnevne štampe razlikuje u nekoj meri od javnog diskursa. Jedna od njegovih specifičnosti jeste upotreba eufemizama.

Eufemizacija predstavlja jedan od produktivnijih lingvističkih procesa u engleskom jeziku. Eufemizmi kao blage, prijatne i neuvredljive reči radije se koriste u javnom diskursu od izraza koji su neprijatni, grubi ili strogi. Politička korektnost jeste jedan od najvažnijih motivacionih faktora za njihovo stvaranje jer se dovodi u direktnu vezu sa odbijanjem i odbacivanjem diskriminatornog i uvredljivog jezika. Alen i Baridž (Allan i Burridge 1991, 153) govore o upotrebi eufemizama kao o „zamagljivanju stvarnosti“, što je verovatno najbolji izraz za opis cilja upotrebe eufemizama u političkom diskursu. Jezik politike, da bi ostvario svoju manipulatornu ulogu, u velikoj meri koristi eufemizme. Svako vreme proizvodi eufemizme kako bi sakrilo ili skrenulo pažnju s određenih sramotnih stvari i nerešenih problema (Burchfield 13), a to je posebno primetno u političkom diskursu koji je visoko eufemiziran. U politici svakog vremenskog razdoblja i svakog političkog mandata postoje teme koje bi sagovornici najradije izbegli, ali ne mogu sakriti sve što bi hteli. Strategija kojoj tada pribegavaju jeste eufemizacija tema o kojima radije ne bi govorili, ali moraju. Veza između štampe i društva je veoma složena i zahteva pažljivu konceptualizaciju da bi razumeli zašto tekstovi, uopšteno, i tekstovi koji se odnose na imigraciju jesu kreirani baš na taj način, a ne drugačije. Štampa pruža pristup svakoj informaciji i ima moć da oblikuje stavove jer svaka lingvistička komponenta upotrebljena da prenese poruku nije predodređena ili slučajno odabrana (María Martínez Lirola xi).

Eufemizacija omogućava simbolički legitimitet koji pomaže u ublažavanju percepcije neprijatnih situacija ili stavova i tabu tema izbegavanjem jezika koji može biti negativno konotiran. Često se događa da pre nego što se imigranti i azilanti nađu u prihvatnim centrima, već su anatemisani u zvaničnim izveštajima i medijima kao delikventi, prestupnici, kriminalci nedostojni pomoći i pažnje. Značajno sredstvo koje omogućava ovakvu karakterizaciju migranata jeste jezik eufemizama, ili, često, disfemizama, odnosno izraza na relaciji eufemizam – neutralan izraz (ortofemizam) – disfemizam (Grange 4).

Uzveši u obzir lingvističke procese koji se odigravaju u specifičnom diskursu politike i novinskih političkih članaka, ovaj rad se fokusira na jedan od njih – eufemizaciju. Ovo istraživanje sprovedeno je u tri dela – prvi deo vodi identifikaciju i objašnjenju nekih eufemizama pronađenih u najčitanijim britanskim i američkim onlajn dnevnim listovima; drugi deo podrazumeva određivanje konotativnog značenja eufemizama za termin *imigrant* koje smo pronašli u tim dnevnim listovima. U okviru trećeg dela proučavali smo frekventnost upotrebe istih eufemizama u jezičkom korpusu – COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English) koji se zasniva internet bazi podataka koja sadrži 520 miliona reči i izraza iz različitih jezičkih registara, pisanog i usmenog govora.

1 Teorijski okvir

1.1. Eufemizam

Žil i Viman (Giles and Wiemann 265) smatraju da način na koji se jezik koristi ima veliki uticaj na to kako shvatamo i osećamo društvene pojave, a to je najočitije kada upotrebljavamo eufemizme. Njumen (Newman 51) tvrdi da su eufemizmi neuvredljivi izrazi koji zamenjuju one koji bi mogli biti uvredljivi. Po Alanu i Baridžu (1991, 3) to su izrazi koji teže da ne budu uvredljivi i da ublaže uticaj izraza koji mogu biti uvredljiviji. Adams smatra (Adams 48) da je eufemizam napor koji se čini da bi nešto zvučalo lepše nego što stvarno jeste. Enrajt (Enright 3) ističe da bi svet prestao da funkcioniše da ih nema, i da bi nas opšte neprijateljstvo prekrilo. Međutim, on pravi razliku između dobronamernog eufemizma i onoga koji se koristi u svrhu propagande i laži.

Negativniji stav o eufemizmima daje Luis (Lewis 108) koji kaže da oni ponekad ne uspevaju da obave svoju funkciju. Neki lingvisti eufemizme vide kao močno sredstvo manipulacije. Veruje se da se ovakav jezik koristi da bi se ljudi lakše ubedili i zavarali. Informacije koje se daju su prikrivene, lažne, manipulativne, pa takvo jezičko izražavanje nema primarni cilj da informiše, već da obmanjuje.

Eufemizmi se koriste u različitim sferama bez razmatranja kakav eufemizam upotrebiti i kada. Klasifikacija eufemizama nije jednostavna jer ne postoji jedinstven kriterijum, pravila i principi na osnovu koje bi se razvrstali. Roson (Rawson 10) deli eufemizme na pozitivne i negativne, što nije dovoljno precizno, pa uvodimo i treću kategoriju – neutralni – zbog prirode eufemizama koje smo pronašli u novinskim člancima, a koji se ne mogu svrstati ni u jednu od navedenih kategorija. Pozitivni ili stilistički eufemizmi, po Rosonu, uveličavaju i čine da loše stvari izgledaju lepšim i značajnijim nego što to zapravo jesu, da se izbegne neprijatna situacija, da se bude učтив i postigne saradnja u diskursu. Negativni eufemizmi se odnose na zamenu pejorativnih reči manje uvredljivim, ali koji sadrže u sebi negativne konotacije. Neutralni eufemizmi bi bili oni koji neutralno prenose poruku i njihova pozadina je neutralna, rasterećena konotacija.

Prethodna istraživanja iz oblasti političke korektnosti (npr. Rees 1991, Allen 1995, Bush 1995, Cameron 2002, Smith 2002 itd.) teže shvatanju ublažavanja potencijalno opasnih jezičkih struktura kao primarne funkcije lingvističkih oblika koji su u vezi sa političkom korektnošću. Ova istraživanja lingvističke političke korektnosti su rađena na osnovu modela koda u komunikaciji, što je, ujedno, i njihov primarni cilj. Politički jezik pripada svetu okolišanja i političkog dvostrukog govora (Allan i Burridge 1991, 5).

Same definicije eufemizama su, ustvari, eufemizmi jer njihova suština je prevara, obмана, zavaravanje, izbegavanje istine, jer slušalac mora uzeti u obzir namere i motive govornika, kontekst u kojem se koriste, što nije nimalo lako. Eufemizmi postoje da se izbegne uvreda ili neprijatnost, ali i da se manipu-

liše, nešto prikrije ili skrene pažnja sa određene stvari ili situacije, što povlači za sobom pitanje etičnosti upotrebe eufemističkih reči i izraza (Gorčević 312). Ova vrsta eufemizama se često naziva *doublespeak* ili *dvostruki govor*. Luc (Lutz 233), koji je ujedno i tvorac ovog termina, definiše dvostruki govor kao jezik koji izbegava, menja ili poriče odgovornost, jezik koji prikriva ili sprečava misli.

1.2. Politički diskurs u kontekstu migracija

Gradečak-Erdeljić i Varga (2) za politički diskurs kažu da je jedan je od najproduktivnijih izvora novostvorenih izraza različitih nivoa leksičke složenosti, od pojedinih leksema, do složenih idiomatskih struktura. Oni još kažu da su eufemizmi po samoj svojoj prirodi kombinacija pragmatičnog načela učitivosti i veštog retoričkog sistema zamagljivanja činjenica, te su stoga sastavni deo većine političkih govora, dakle usmene komunikacije, a posredstvom javnih medija i one pisane (2). Van Dijk (2002) naglašava da sama struktura teksta ne definije političku prirodu teksta, već značajnu ulogu imaju i, recimo, vreme, situacija, okruženje, publika itd. Budući da je politički diskurs rezultat rada i promišljanja, tu su uključeni i teme, povezanost teksta, argumenti, leksički stil, retorička obeležja (eufemizmi), a koji pomažu u zaključivanju o kognitivnim, društvenim i političkim funkcijama teksta ili govoru.

Političari se ne koriste jezikom proizvoljno – njihovi javni nastupi i komentari su svesno i pažljivo konstruisani sa određenim ciljem na pameti. Način na koji pristupaju delikatnim i neprijatnim temama je od vitalnog značaja. Oni teže da izbegnu reči ili izraze koje mogu nositi neprijatne asocijacije da ne bi ostavili negativan utisak na slušaoce. Da bi se bezbedno bavili neprijatnim temama a da ostanu politički korektni ili da ne krše određene društvene konvencije, političari posežu za eufemizmima (Crespo-Fernández 6).

Migracijska kriza predstavlja međunarodni globalni problem koji svoju eskalaciju doživljava 2015. godine u okviru granica Evropske unije. Ilegalne imigracije oduvek su postojale, ali su danas u ekspanziji, naročito u zemljama čije su ekonomije nerazvijene i nestabilne, a demografski parametri u porastu. Tome doprinosi brz proces globalizacije, razvoj korišćenja novih tehnologija što utiče na brže kretanje ljudi, kapitala i roba preko nacionalnih granica (Vučković, Vučković 59).

2 Metodološki okvir istraživanja

2.1. Problem istraživanja

Upotreba i zloupotreba javnoga govora kroz manipulaciju rečima, kao i mnogi medijski izazovi, upućuju na to da se život u svetu politike i medija neophodno doživljava i kao svojevrsno verbalno nasilje. Priroda eufemizama podrazumeva kombinaciju pragmatične uljudnosti i retoričke sposobnosti zamagljiva-

nja činjenica, i kao takvi čine sastavni deo političkog diskursa. Iako je eufemizacija postala prihvaćena i ustaljena praksa, ona se ne odriče dvosmislenosti izraza u svetu tendencije namernog skrivanja pravog značenja reči u političkom tekstu. Diskurs medija, naročito štampe, predstavlja posebno zanimljivu oblast s obzirom da nudi obilje izvora za analizu i omogućava snažan okvir za eksperimentisanje u jeziku, posebno u polju lingvistike i sociologije, pa ga sa tog aspekta treba proučavati.

Ovo istraživanje sprovedeno je da bi se došlo do saznanja da li jezik novinskih članaka koji se bave imigracijom sadrži eufemizme i kakvog su kara-ktera. Potreba za njihovim proučavanjem proizilazi iz činjenice da je politički motivisan jezik drugačiji do nekog stepena od drugih žanrova i stilova, pa je kao takav vrlo interesantan za istraživanje. Glavni razlog odabira političkih eufemizama o imigraciji za analizu jeste činjenica da uprkos značajnom broju postojećih istraživanja u ovom polju, još uvek se javlja potreba za novim proučavanjima različitih aspekata njihovog na-stanka i upotrebe.

2.2. Predmet istraživanja

Imajući u vidu potencijal eufemizacije u jeziku štampe, odnosno politički motivisanim člancima, kao i zastupljenost eufemizama u engleskom jeziku (britanskoj i američkoj varijanti), ovaj rad se bavi proučavanjem jednog od visoko produktivnih morfološko-semantičkih procesa – stvaranja eufemističkih reči i izraza u engleskom jeziku ovog specifičnog medija. Ovo istraživanje je oblikovano primarnom težnjom da se kroz novinske tekstove o imigraciji dođe do saznanja da li se u njima koriste eufemizmi i kakva je njihova priroda, kao i to da li se govornici britanske i američke varijante engleskog jezika koriste istim eufemističkim substitucijima za termin *imigrant*.

2.3. Cilj i zadaci istraživanja

Identifikacija eufemističkih izraza za termin *migrant* koje smo pronašli u političkim člancima najčitanijih dnevnih listova u Velikoj Britaniji i Sjedinjenim Državama koji se bave tematikom imigranata, i to u smislu određivanja njihovog konotativnog značenja, odnosno podelu istih na pozitivne, negativne ili neutralne eufemizme jeste glavni cilj ovog rada.

Ostali ciljevi jesu da se prikaže ekvivalentnost njihove upotrebe u britanskoj i američkoj štampi, odnosno, šire, u britanskom i američkom varijetu engleskog jezika, kao i učestalost ovih eufemizama koja se određuje uz pomoć jezičkog korpusa (COCA) koji je dovoljno reprezentativan po pitanju varijacija komunikativnih izvora (reigistara, sociolekata, dijalekata, pisanog i govornog jezika).

Zadaci istraživanja:

- Teorijski pristup definisanja termina eufemizam, politička korektnost i dvostruki govor.
- Identifikacija eufemističkih izraza u novinskim člancima političke sardzine koji se odnose na imigraciju.
- Klasifikacija eufemizama za izraz *migrant* prema konotativnom značenju – eufemizam sa pozitivnom, negativnom ili neutralnom pozadinom.
- Prikaz podudarnosti britanskih i američkih eufemizama za termin – migrant.
- Određivanje učestalosti upotrebe odabralih eufemizama za termin *migrant* kroz jezički korpus (COCA).

2.4. Hipoteze istraživanja

Glavna hipoteza istraživanja jeste da se u političkim tekstovima britanskih i američkih dnevnih listova, odnosno da se u oba jezička varijeteta engleskog jezika, britanskom i američkom, koriste isti eufemizmi za izraz *imigrant*.

Ostale hipoteze su:

- Eufemizmi u vezi sa temom imigracije se koriste u velikoj meri.
- Većina eufemizama za termin *imigranti* sadrži negativne konotacije, bez obzira što je uloga eufemizama zamena ružnih izraza lepšim.

2.5. Metode i tok istraživanja

Metode istraživanja korišćene u ovom radu su deskriptivna metoda u delu gde se definiše i objašnjava proces eufemizacije, odnosno političke korektnosti i dvostrukog govora, kao i analiza sadržaja u delu definisanja i analize pronađenih primera.

Izvor jezičkog inventara jesu zvanične internet stranice prominentnijih i popularnijih dnevnih časopisa Velike Britanije i Sjedinjenih Država. Tu spadaju internet sajtovi sledećih novina: *Metro*, *The Guardian*, *The Mirror*, *The Sun* od britanskih, a *New York Post*, *The New York Daily News*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* i *USA Today* od američkih.

Drugi deo istraživanja oslanja se na analizu frekvencije upotrebe eufemizama u jezičkom korpusu (COCA). S obzirom na tip i obim istraživanja, od većeg broja pročitanih novinskih članaka, u naruži izbor ušli su tekstovi koji po mišljenju autora sadrže primere koji najbolje oslikavaju ovaj lingvistički proces – eufemizaciju – koji se dešava unutar ovog specifičnog jezičkog registra. Članci su uglavnom novijeg datuma, a razlog je da se dođe do najsvežijih eufemizama pošto je njihov rok vremenski ograničen usled pejorizacije izraza. Neki od izabranih

eufemističkih reči ili izraza mogu biti osporeni što zavisi od različitih senzibiliteta i shvatanja koncepta eufemizma samih čitaoca.

3 Eufemizmi o imigraciji

Na štampu se generalno gleda kao na pouzdan izvor informacija sa potencijalom da propagira ideologije, društvene pojave i verovanja. U tom smislu, očigledno je da društvena uloga štampe može biti potcenjena: može da utiče na naše znanje, vrednosti i društvene kodove kroz lingvistička i semiotička značenja, ponekad skrivena ispod leksičkih eufemističkih dvomislenosti, održavajući slobodan i učitiv diskurs. Pod novinskim izveštajem van Dijk (van Dijk 1988b, 4) podrazumeva onu vrstu teksta koja pruža informacije o skorijim događajima. Ria (4) proširuje ovu definiciju, podrazumijevajući pod vešću informaciju o skorijim događajima koji su od interesa za dovoljno veliku grupu ili koji mogu uticati na živote dovoljno velike grupe ljudi (Lakić 106). Novinski članak predstavlja poseban žanr koji je predmet istraživanja velikog broja lingvista.

Iako novinarska etika uči novinare da uvek objektivno izveštavaju i govore istinu, pa samim tim i izbegavaju eufemizme, oni se teško mogu izostaviti jer teme i problemi u kojima se savremeno društvo nalazi zahtevaju pažljiv odbir reči, naročito kada se govori o stvarima koje su u vezi sa imigracijom.

Germany unveils integration law for refugees [...] Asylum seekers face cuts to support if they reject mandatory measures [...] Germany has announced new legal measures requiring migrants and refugees to [...] Austria announced it was ready to step up measures to discourage people from making the journey to Europe from countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria [...] While the numbers of people arriving in central Europe have dropped off. (The Guardian, 14. april 2016.)

Primeri u rečenicama koje slede odnose se na aktuelnu situaciju priliva migranata, najviše iz Sirije, Iraka i Avganistana u zemlje Evropske unije, prvenstveno Republiku Nemačku, ali i Veliku Britaniju. Izraz *High immigration* ukazuje na visoku stopu dolaska imigranata, dok se izraz *low-skilled migration* odnosi na one imigrante sa niskim stepenom obrazovanja, odnosno sa ne završenim stručnim školama. Izraz *needs to come down* se odnosi se na smanjenje stope ili potpuni prekid prijema migranata.

Low-skilled migration has been too high and needs to come down. We need much stronger action to stop illegal immigration. [...] There will be no unskilled migration from outside the EU. (The Daily Telegraph, 14. april 2016.)

High immigration would be important for “*maintaining a flexible supply of labour.*” (*The Sun*, 15. april 2016.)

Zbog svoje specifičnosti, politički tekstovi obiluju eufemizmima, pa se tako unutar samo jednog teksta, ili samo dela teksta, može pronaći veliki broj. U samo jednom delu novinskog teksta *BREXIT will only work if the UK keeps up “relatively high” levels of immigration* nalaze se sledeći eufemistički izrazi – *will be a blow, leave campaigners, would cut immigration, new found freedoms, to balance up the economic shock, High immigration, for maintaining a flexible supply of labour, to concentrate on attracting more skilled migrants, an economic disaster, a utopia, tough choices, Brexit, nothing comes for free.*

Findings will be a blow to some Leave campaigners who say leaving the EU would cut immigration. [...] The country could then thrive outside by using its “*new found freedoms*” from Brussels to *balance up the economic shock*, but only if it meets three conditions. [...] *High immigration* would be important for “*for maintaining a flexible supply of labour,*” it adds. But the think tank also admits that the UK would be able to *concentre on attracting more skilled migrants.* Dubbing Brexit neither “*an economic disaster*” nor “*a utopia,*” Open Europe’s Chairman Lord Leach added: “*There are tough choices involved in Brexit – nothing comes for free.*” (*The Sun*, 15. april 2016.)

Ono što je interesantno u delovima koji sadrže eufemističke konstrukcije jeste da se ponekad i sami autori novinskih tekstova služe navodnicima, najčešće kada navode specifični izraz od samog izvora jer ga oni ne interpretiraju i ne komentarišu, već samo originalno prenose, pošto sam izraz nije transparentan (npr. *working opportunities, mess, wholly and deliberately misleading to the uninformed reader, all communities of believers to solidarity and responsibility, situation of intense suffering* itd.).

[A]im of Germany’s first ever *integration law* is to make it easier for *asylum seekers to gain access to the German labour market.* [...] with the government promising 100,000 new “*working opportunities*”, expected to include *low-paid welfare jobs.* [...] But Blunt in his letter claimed *Hammond’s denials were so narrowly drawn as to be “wholly and deliberately misleading to the uninformed reader.”* (*The Guardian*, 14. april 2016.)

Vatican spokesman Federico Lombardi told reporters the pope would make the visit to call “*all communities of believers to solidarity and*

responsibility" amid a "situation of intense suffering."(The Guardian, 14. april 2016.)

Politička korektnost se dobro uklapa u definiciju prototipnog manipulativno-komunikativnog ponašanja koje ispunjava jedan od preduslova za manipulaciju – informacija prenešena izjavom mora biti od koristi govorniku.

"You've got Europe and a number of Gulf countries who despise Gaddafi, or are *concerned on a humanitarian basis*, who are *calling for action*," Obama was quoted [...] It also recently emerged that UK special forces are *already operating on the ground* in Libya helping the government fight Isis. [...] "Today, on the ground in Syria and in Iraq, *Isil is on the defensive*," said Obama. "Our 66-member coalition, including Arab partners, *is on the offensive. We have momentum, and we intend to keep that momentum.*" (The Guardian, 14. april 2016.)

Skriven u političkoj korektnosti, postoji još jedan razlog zbog opadanja popularnosti eufemizama, a to je njihova upotreba u političkom kontekstu, odnosno naročito osetljivojoblasti – imigraciji.

Germany unveils *integration law for refugees*.

Asylum seekers face cuts to support if they reject mandatory measures such as classes in language and culture.

Germany has announced *new legal measures* requiring migrants and refugees to integrate into society [...] *asylum seekers face cuts to support if they reject mandatory integration measures* [...] On Thursday Austria announced it was ready to step up *measures to discourage people* from making the journey to Europe from countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria.

While the numbers of people *arriving* in central Europe have dropped off, witnesses report *desperate scenes in camps* on either side of the Mediterranean. (The Guardian, 14. april 2016.)

4 Medijski tretman pojma *imigrant* u britanskim i američkim dnevnim novinama

Prema UN-u, izbeglica je osoba koja je napustila svoju zemlju u strahu od progona zbog rase, nacionalnosti, pripadnosti određenoj grupi ili političkoj

opciji. Izbeglice odlaze u nadi da spasu svoj život ili slobodu, dok migranti odlaze iz vlasitih država kako bi poboljšali ekonomsku perspektivu (Tursić i Stojanović 206). Posmatrano sa pravnog aspekta nema nikakve dileme u razlici pojmova izbeglica i migrant. Osnovna razlika se nalazi u motivu imigriranja – promena prostora življenja zasniva se na dobrovoljnom preseljenju ili promena prostora življenja zasniva se na prinudnom preseljenju.

U javnom diskursu često se susreće nerazumevanje i mešanje stručnih termina razlikovanja kategorija – „tražitelj azila“, „azilant“, „neregularni migrant“ itd. Skorašnja istraživanja koja se bave tematikom imigracije o stanovištu populacije prema „nezakonitim imigrantima“ i tražiteljima azila izražava negativan stav iz sledećih razloga – strah od gubitka društvenog identiteta, nacionalne kulture i nacionalnog jedinstva, strah od gubitka ekonomskе stabilnosti i zaposlenosti domaćeg stanovništva, strah od bolesti i zaraze epidemijama, strah od povećanja stope kriminala i devijantnosti, kao i strah od terorizma. Isto tako treba reći kako mediji, kada ne raspiruju politiku straha, vrlo retko izveštavaju i donose priče o pozitivnim primerima saradnje i prihvatanja imigranata i izbeglica u lokalnim zajednicama, u društвima primaoca, što bi uticalo i na kreiranje izraza sa pozitivnom konotacijom jer bi se strah prema njima smanjio (Župarić-Ilić 101).

Ovaj deo istraživanja je zasnovan na korpusu sa ciljem da se odredi konotativna pozadina eufemizama koji se koriste u dnevnoj štampi u Velikoj Britaniji i Sjedinjenim Državama kao i u kojoj meri se mogu pronaći u jezičkom korpusu (COCA). Tabela 1 pokazuje status koji eufemizmi za izraz *imigrant* imaju u britanskim i američkim dnevним novinama i ukupan broj njihove upotrebe u jezičkom korpusu (COCA).

Eufemizam	Eufemizam za <i>imigrant</i> u britanskim dnevnim onlajn časopisima	Eufemizam za <i>imigrant</i> u američkim dnevnim onlajn časopisima	Status	COCA
<i>aliens</i>	Aliens, immigrants, religion, and the health service in Britain (The Guardian, Aliens, immigrants, religion, and the health service in Britain, 28. jul 2015.)	Lawmakers probably meant no harm when they codified the term “alien” into the landmark 1952 bill that remains the basis of America’s immigration system.(The New York Times, Time to Retire the Term ‘Alien’, 20. oktobar 2015.)	negativan	15085 Spoken 1731 Fiction 6775 Magazine275 2 Newsp. 1488 Academic233 9

<i>alien absconders</i>	Most <i>alien absconders</i> skipped deportation hearings or disappeared after receiving a deportation notice, known colloquially as a "run letter." (The Guardian, America launches hunt for 6,000 illegal Arabs, 9. januar 2002.)	Called "fugitive aliens" or " <i>alien absconders</i> ," they have nearly doubled in number since 2001, now totaling more than 636,000. (The Washington Post, U.S. Targeting Immigrant "Absconders", 5. maj 2007.)	negativan	1 Spoken0 Fiction0 Magazine0 Newsp.1 Academic0
<i>alien residents</i>	I am an immigrant, with a Green Card aka as <i>Alien Resident Card</i> (ARC), since January 2003.(The Guardian, Undocumented New York students undeterred in their fight for higher education, 3. mart 2015.)	<i>Alien Residents</i> Need Permits to Leave Cuba (The New York Times, Alien Residents need permits to leave Cuba, 17. jun 1959.)	negativan	6 Spoken0 Fiction0 Magazine1 Newsp.3 Academic2
<i>asylum applicants</i>	Asylum applications outnumbered BIRTHS in Austria Austria separately said asylum applications had outnumbered BIRTHS in the country.(The Sun, 330,000 asylum seekers protected by EU last year alone, as scale of migrant crisis is revealed, 21. april 2016.)	to grant deserving refugees humanitarian visas to live in Italy while their <i>asylum applications</i> are being processed.(Daily News, Pope Francis bringing 12 Syrian Muslim refugees with him from Greece to Italy, 16. april 2016.)	neutralan	14 Spoken0 Fiction2 Magazine3 Newsp.5 Academic4
<i>asylum seekers</i>	330,000 <i>asylum seekers</i> protected by EU last year alone, as scale of migrant crisis is revealed.(The Sun, 330,000 asylum seekers protected by EU last year alone, as scale of migrant crisis is revealed, 21. april 2016.)	Human rights groups have denounced the deal as an abdication of Europe's obligation to grant protection to <i>asylum-seekers</i> . (Daily News, Pope Francis bringing 12 Syrian Muslim refugees with him from Greece to Italy, 16. april 2016.)	neutralan	253 Spoken35 Fiction3 Magazine43 Newsp.88 Academic84

<i>border crossers</i>	He and three other Mexican would-be <i>border crossers</i> had just arrived, filthy, sunburned, thirsty and exhausted. (The Guardian, Altar, Mexico: how the 'migrant oasis' for would-be border crosser became a trap, 14. oktober 2015.)	Those indicators ranged from the number of <i>border crossers</i> with known or suspected terrorist ties to marijuana seizures. (The Washington Post, AP Exclusive: Color index for US border security is rejected, 22. april 2016.)	neutralan	41 Spoken8 Fiction2 Magazine12 Newsp.9 Academic10
<i>displaced persons (D.P.)</i>	Boris told The Sun: "The terrible problem with Iraqi <i>displaced persons</i> is something that touches the British people very much."(The Sun, 'We have nothing, please tell UN about us', 24. januar 2015.)	Her favorite figure is <i>the displaced person</i> , the uncomfortable cosmopolitan, the insecure native – the denizen of nowhere, dressed in "a torn-up life" (The New York Times, Displaced Persons, 3. oktober 1996.)	neutralan	270 Spoken46 Fiction19 Magazine41 Newsp.50 Academic114
<i>emigrants</i>	North Korean <i>emigrant</i> women on the state of their country, one year into Kim Jong-un's reign. (The Guardian, North Korean emigrant women on the state of their country, one year into Kim Jong-un's reign.11. decembar 2012.)	Our readers are aware that there is a bill before Congress for the amelioration of the condition of steerage passengers by <i>emigrant</i> vessels. (The New York Times, The Overcrowding of Emigrant Ships A Suggestion from the Commissioners of Emigration, 18. Maj 1996.)	neutralan	981 Spoken9 Fiction93 Magazine156 Newsp.87 Academic636
<i>Expatriates(expat)</i>	Italy's swing state, pundits say, is abroad - in fledgling, two-year-old electoral districts like North America and South America where <i>expatriates</i> elect their own representatives to parliament.(The Sun, <i>Expats</i> to swing Italian election? 7. april 2008.)	It's also the feeling that we get from the best novels about <i>expatriate</i> life – that to leave home for other shores is to lose track of your old self, and perhaps to find a new one.(USA Today, Americans abroad: Great expatriate stories, 12. februar 2014.)	pozitivan	465 Spoken39 Fiction44 Magazine85 Newsp.168 Academic129

<i>Foreignnationals</i>	Even though the deportation of <i>foreign nationals</i> blocked under European legislation forms a small proportion [...] (The Guardian, The foreign-national offenders that the government can't deport, 22. oktober 2014.)	The Constitution literally uses the same phrase to cover both, giving Congress the power to "regulate Commerce with <i>foreign Nations</i> , and among the several States. (The Washington Post, Why the Migration or Importation Clause of the Constitution does not imply... 19. april 2016.)	neutralan	361 Spoken116 Fiction13 Magazine34 Newsp.80 Academic118
<i>foreign-born</i>	The statistics show 86,111 of London newborns in 2010 – or 64.7 per cent – had at least one <i>foreign-born</i> parent. (The Sun, Most London babies have foreign parent, 22. februar 2012.)	Nearly half of the city's small business owners are <i>foreign-born</i> , even though immigrants make up [...] (The Daily News, It's just good business: immigrants likely to set up shop in NYC, 23. april 2016.)	neutralan	820 Spoken48 Fiction11 Magazine87 Newsp.194 Academic480
<i>foreigners</i>	<i>Foreigners</i> will be able to use taxpayers' cash to sue British soldiers for potentially years to come after a government court defeat. (The Sun, 1. april 2016.)	Too Many <i>Foreigners</i> . (The New York Times, Too Many Foreigners, 16. april 1995.)	neutralan	6059 Spoken894 Fiction1016 Magazine107 9 Newsp.355 Academic137 4
<i>guest workers</i>	Business leaders in the US have reportedly reached agreement with the nation's largest federation of unions over a proposed <i>guest worker</i> programme for low-skilled migrants (The Guardian, Guest worker deal clears way for US immigration bill, 30. mart 2013.)	The United States averages about a million new permanent legal immigrants a year and hundreds of thousands more <i>guest workers</i> . (The Washington Post, The CNN Miami Republican debate transcript, annotated, 10. mart 2016.)	positivan	465 Spoken203 Fiction14 Magazine53 Newsp.93 Academic102

<i>illegal aliens</i>	Vargas has revealed he is one of at least 11 million <i>illegal aliens</i> living in the US and his confession comes as the issue is rarely out of the headlines.(The Guardian, US journalist Jose Antonio Vargas: I'm an illegal alien 22. jun 2011.)	New legislation is being pushed that would give <i>illegal aliens</i> the right to vote in New York City's 2017 elections for mayor (New York Post, New bill could give illegal aliens voting rights in New York City, 22. februar 2016.)	negativan	1042 Spoken548 Fiction34 Magazine137 Newsp.226 Academic97
<i>illegal entrants</i>	Fourteen people were arrested on suspicion of being <i>illegal entrants</i> to the UK. In addition, a man was arrested on suspicion of assisting illegal entry. (Metro, Boy, 7, rescued from suffocating... 8. april 2016.)	Federal engagement was insufficient to begin with and the crush of <i>illegal entrants</i> is draining what resources they have in the area. (The Washington Post, With the border crisis, Obama's competency declines further, 1. jul 2014.)	negativan	20 Spoken0 Fiction0 Magazine5 Newsp.8 Academic7
<i>illegal immigrant</i>	An <i>illegal immigrant</i> who arrived in the UK as a stowaway and committed more than 20 offences will receive damages for false imprisonment.(The Sun, Criminal immigrant to be paid damages, 13. maj 2011.)	[...] but he stopped short Sunday of saying she would back voting rights for <i>illegal immigrants</i> . (New York Post, New bill could give illegal aliens voting rights in New York City, 22. februar 2016.)	negativan	2774 Spoken904 Fiction30 Magazine232 Newsp.1419 Academic189
<i>illegal residents</i>	St Agnes Place was the longest continually squatted street in London until the <i>illegal residents</i> were cleared in 2005. (Metro, Police smash temple "drugs ring," 12. april 2007.)	Accused of Being <i>Illegal Resident</i> . Gallo father held as <i>illegal resident</i> - Albert Gallo, 60-year-old father (The New York Times, Accused of Being Illegal Resident, date???)	negativan	32 Spoken5 Fiction1 Magazine3 Newsp.15 Academic8

<i>immigrants</i>	Lord Green: After Osborne's shocking <i>immigration</i> claim, it's time we got a grip on <i>immigrants</i> before it's too late.(The Sun, Lord Green: After Osborne's shocking immigration claim, it's time we got a grip on migrants before it's too late, 20. april 2016.)	The <i>anti-immigration</i> rhetoric that has driven some candidates' campaigns is leading many <i>immigrants</i> to become citizens, Wernick said.(New York Daily News, mmigrants from Dominican Republic, Ecuador share their Citizenship NOW! success stories, 23. april 2016.)	neutralan	20001 Spoken3161 Fiction444 Magazine271 7 Newsp.6386 Academic729 3
<i>Immigrant workforce</i>	Agriculture has long been US industry's most profitabl sector – at the expense of a virtually indentured <i>immigrant workforce</i> .(The Guardian, Field work's dirty secret... 31. januar 2013.)	The <i>workforce</i> is becoming more diverse, and the neighborhoods with the highest concentration of <i>immigrants</i> are experiencing economic growth (The New York Daily News, Immigrants account for a third of New York City's economic activity: report, 5. november 2015.)	negativan	4 Spoken0 Fiction0 Magazine3 Newsp.0 Academic1
<i>legal immigrants</i>	When his wife became a US citizen in 2008, he became a lawful <i>legal permanent resident</i> .(The Guardian, Immigrant facing deportation could be first to benefit from US drug law reform, 28. mart 2016.)	A private college in Arizona is charging students a fee to fund a scholarship for <i>legal immigrants</i> , a controversial move [...] (New York Post, College forces students to fund scholarship for illegal immigrants, 7. april 2016.)	negativan	475 Spoken124 Fiction1 Magazine60 Newsp.213 Academic77

<i>legal residents</i>	Trump has not said how he would handle cases in which the <i>legal US residents</i> in question preferred to stay put. (The Guardian, Donald Trump wants to deport 11 million migrants: is that even possible?, 27. august 2015.)	A draft of a White House immigration proposal obtained by USA TODAY would allow illegal immigrants to become <i>legal permanent residents</i> within eight years.(USA Today, White House immigration plan offers path to residency, 17. februar 2013.)	positiv	265 Spoken55 Fiction4 Magazine65 Newsp.121 Academic20
<i>migrants</i>	When the smoke cleared, four <i>migrants</i> were dead and 20 more wounded, along with one guard. (The Guardian, Libya faces influx of migrants seeking new routes to Europe, 9. April 2016.)	More than 1 million <i>migrants</i> and refugees crossed the Mediterranean last year. (Daily News, Some 500 migrants feared dead after overloaded ship goes down in Mediterranean, 20. april 2016.)	neutral	3983 Spoken266 Fiction56 Magazine636 Newsp.769 Academic225 6
<i>migrant workers</i>	Residents are campaigning to stop a blue movie studio being turned into bedsits over fears it would attract <i>migrant workers</i> — because they prefer the porn stars.(Mirror, Porn studio's neighbours campaign against plan to convert building into housing for 'transient migrants', 18. april 2016.)	During the rest of my weekend trip, I noticed how many <i>migrant workers</i> there were in the countryside (The New York Times, Malaysia's Immigrant Worker Debate, 28. mart 2016.)	neutral	637 Spoken74 Fiction52 Magazine79 Newsp.147 Academic285
<i>naturalized citizens</i>	Polanco is inclined to support Hillary Clinton, she said, but her daughter (who is also a <i>naturalized citizen</i>) is encouraging her to support Bernie Sanders. (The Guardian, Donald Trump's remarks spur Latino "naturalization blitz" before election, 26. januar 2016.)	NBA referee Petraitis becomes <i>naturalized US citizen</i> .(USA Today, NBA referee Petraitis becomes naturalized US citizen, 22. decembar 2015.)	neutral	111 Spoken20 Fiction4 Magazine13 Newsp.31 Academic41

<i>outsiders</i>	Yedidya from Jerusalem warns that any nation's shared culture would be imperilled by too many <i>outsiders</i> [...] (The Guardian, The Guardian view on debating migration, 26. Mart 2016.)	"In Japanese, 'gaijin' means <i>outsider</i> , but in a pejorative way [...] Brazil is a nation of immigrants, but most of them are European. (The New York Times, Cable TV notes; chapters of the immigrant experience, 4. Avgust 1985.)	negativan	7335 Spoken1307 Fiction814 Magazine155 4 Newsp.1752 Academic201 8
<i>people</i>	International migration: where do <i>people</i> go and where from?(The Guardian, International migration: where do people go and where from?, 12. jul 2012.)	About 500 <i>people</i> were briefly detained and 10 police officers were lightly injured, a police spokesman said.(The New York Times, Anti-Immigrant AfD Says Muslims Not Welcome in Germany, 1. maj 2016.)	neutralan	1495 Spoken590 Fiction34 Magazine233 Newsp.410 Academic228
<i>refugees</i>	[...] from the encouragement given by Pope Francis to the <i>refugees</i> on the Greek Island of Lesbos last Saturday.(New York Post, The truths of Passover speak to us all, 22. april 2016.)	The tragedy ranks among the deadliest in recent years on the often-treacherous sea voyage along the central Mediterranean by <i>refugees</i> and migrants from Africa, the Middle East and beyond [...] (Daily News, Some 500 migrants feared dead after overloaded ship goes down in Mediterranean, 20. april 2016.)	neutralan	10936 Spoken826 Fiction585 Magazine165 5 Newsp.3150 Academic272 0

<i>residents</i>	Though all <i>residents</i> will be eligible to apply for the new ID, called IDNYC, undocumented New Yorkers are expected to benefit most. (The Guardian, Undocumented immigrants in New York get ID cards to open bank accounts, 12. januar 2015.)	A Connecticut town has agreed to pay \$450,000 to settle a civil rights lawsuit by Latino <i>residents</i> and to adopt what a lawyer [...] (The New York Times, East Haven Settles Suit on Civil Rights, 9. jun 2014.)	pozitivan	217 Spoken0 Fiction1 Magazine18 Newsp.115 Academic83
<i>settlers</i>	Australia's earliest <i>settlers</i> were descended from people who left Africa, scientists have confirmed. (Metro, Strewnth! Proof we're all from Africa, 8. maj 2007.)	A decade ago, the last Israeli soldier left Gaza and the last <i>settler</i> was evacuated from there. (New York Post, Biden slams Israel even after terror hits Jerusalem, 19. April 2016.)	neutralan	15 Spoken0 Fiction1 Magazine3 Newsp.3 Academic8
<i>transmigrants</i>	Adi and his family are Javanese <i>transmigrants</i> settled in Sumatra from Java. (The Guardian, Joshua Oppenheimer: why I returned to Indonesia's killing fields, 7. Jun 2015.)	It makes sense that a great city of immigrants is also a city of <i>transmigrant</i> souls. (The New York Times, Buddha in Every Borough, 8. septembar 2002.)	neutralan	92 Spoken0 Fiction0 Magazine0 Newsp.0 Academic92
<i>unauthorized immigrants</i>	It automatically publishes a response which reads: "People aren't illegal. Try saying ' <i>undocumented immigrant</i> ' or ' <i>unauthorized immigrant</i> ' instead." (Metro, There's a Twitter bot that's correcting people who use the term "illegal immigrant," 3. avgust 2014.)	"[...] and it does not impair the executive's ability to set priorities for determining which <i>unauthorized immigrants</i> to remove," Keller wrote. (The USA Today, Texas immigrants rest case with Supreme Court, 27. novembar 2015.)	negativan	48 Spoken0 Fiction0 Magazine7 Newsp.21 Academic20

<i>Un-documented (alien)</i>	<p>She and her husband, both <i>undocumented</i>, have lived in Brooklyn's Bay Ridge neighborhood for more than a decade without the financial security of even a bank account. (The Mirror, George Clooney uses 'suffocating' press attention to highlight global injustice , 23. april 2016.)</p>	<p>Critics say the city law shields <i>undocumented aliens</i> who commit serious offenses, including [...] (New York Post, This NYC law shields illegal aliens who commit crimes, 6. mart 2016.)</p>	neutralan	55 Spoken15 Fiction2 Magazine9 Newsp.18 Academic11
<i>Un-documented immigrants</i>	<p>New IDNYC card, introduced in New York on Monday, will give <i>undocumented immigrants</i> an ID card to open bank accounts and enter federal buildings. (The Guardian, Undocumented immigrants in New York get ID cards to open bank accounts, 12. januar 2015.)</p>	<p>Together with their families, according to the institute, there are at least 10 million people (including legal immigrants, citizens and <i>undocumented immigrants</i>) who live in [...] (The Washington Post, Who will be affected by the Supreme Court's big case on immigration, 18. april 2016.)</p>	negativan	674 Spoken168 Fiction2 Magazine97 Newsp.305 Academic102
<i>Un-documented workers</i>	<p>Experts point out that some employers are all too eager to take on <i>undocumented workers</i> and exploit them for their willingness to work long hours for low pay.(The Guardian, Undocumented worker's grim reality: speak out on abuse and risk deportation, 28. mart 2013.)</p>	<p>The country has some eight million legal <i>foreign workers</i> and an estimated two million to three million <i>undocumented workers</i>[...] (The New York Times, <i>Indonesia Asks Saudis to Extend Deadline for undocumented Workers</i>, 10. jun 2013.)</p>	negativan	292 Spoken95 Fiction1 Magazine31 Newsp.108 Academic57

visitors	Overseas <i>visitors</i> and migrants are to be charged for using NHS accident and emergency services in England under measures announced by [...] (The Guardian, Tourists and migrants to be charged to use NHS emergency services, 30. decembar 2013.)	Puneet Bhalla, who came to the U.S. in January 1998 on a non-immigrant exchange <i>visitor</i> visa to complete his medical residency [...] (USA Today, Congress considers tighter restrictions on family visas, 8. Novembar 2013.)	neutralan	49 Spoken1 Fiction4 Magazine8 Newsp.17 Academic19
wetbacks	There's one giggle for every dozen or so pokes at Catholic celibacy, "wetback" fashion or Black's ludicrous [...] (Metro, Nacho Libre, 10. avgust 2006.)	[...] who in a controversial 1954 campaign called "Operation Wetback," deported 1.5 million Mexican nationals back to their home country by bus and ship. (New York Daily News, Donald Trump vows to implement a 'deportation force'... 11. april 2015.)	negativan	107 Spoken0 Fiction66 Magazine12 Newsp.13 Academic18

Tabela 1 – Eufemizmi za pojam imigrant sa primerima u britanskim i američkim dnevnim onlajn časopisima i njihov konotativni status, kao i frekventnost upotrebe u jezičkom korpusu (COCA).

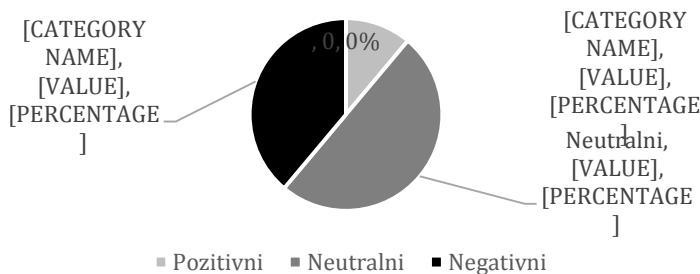
Tabela 1 sadrži sledeće elemente po kolonama:

1) *eufemističke zamene izraza imigrant*; u političkim tekstovima koji se bave temom imigracije britanskih i američkih dnevnih listova došli smo do konačnog broja eufemizama koji stoje kao zamena izrazu *imigrant*. Od 43 izraza koje smo identifikovali u novinskim tekstovima, 36 izraza smo dalje analizirali u kontekstu, a kasnije i u korpusu. Neki izrazi su izostavljeni pošto su pronađeni samo u jednim ili drugim dnevnim listovima, britanskim ili američkim (*alien immigrant, outlander, non-dom(icile), nonnative, new arrival, legal alien i adoptive citizen*).

Eufemizmi za izraz imigrant u kontekstu – britanske (2) i američke (3) dnevne onlajn novine; pored dela teksta u kojem se nalazi eufemizam, kolona sadrži i izvor teksta, naziv i datum izdanja članka. Većinu izraza iz britanske štampe pronašli smo u američkim novinama, što potvrđuje njihovu ekvivalentnost.

4) *status eufemizima u smislu konotativnog značenja* (pozitivni, neutralni i negativni); što se tiče konotativnog značenja 36 identifikovanih eufemističkih zamena za izraz *imigrant* – 4 izraza su sa pozitivnim konotacijama (11 %), 18 je neutralnih (50 %), a 14 sa negativnim konotacijama (39 %).

Konotativno značenje eufemizama za izraz "imigrant"



Konotativno značenje ovih izraza određeno je na osnovu konteksta u kojem se nalaze. Kontekst igra jednu od presudnih uloga u određivanju konotacije izraza u dатој komunikacijskoј situaciji.

Nasuprot eufemističkom govoru, jezik koji se koristi u terminologiji o imigraciji i azilu je često disfemističan i sadrži negativne konotacije. Bilo da se pokreće populistička retorika ili kritika, negativni diskurs o migraciji i azilu postaje sredstvo da se opravdaju političko delovanje i reakcije demonizacijom političkih meta, simbolično dajući legitimitet oštrim i neprijatnim reagovanjima. Izraz *illegal aliens* se koristi za imigrante u mnogim zvaničnim dokumentima Evropske unije više od jedne decenije. U javnoj percepciji ovaj i slični izrazi inkriminisu imigrante i azilante. Fundamentalne predrasude javljaju se u rasističkom diskursu gde se za ne-evropske imigrante kaže da su lenji i nepoverljivi, da su kriminalci i prevaranti itd. a sa druge strane, antirasistički govor rukovodi se pozitivnim stavom prema njima (van Dijk 2000, 91).

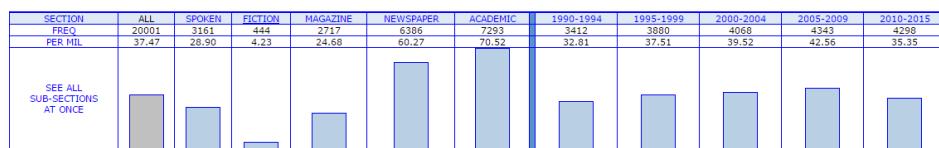
Sve veći broj najvažnijih medija, naročito u Sjedinjenim Državama, počinju da prepoznaju potencijalno štetan uticaj negativnog govora u polju migracija. Februara 2013. novinska agenija Asošejtid Pres (Associated Press News Agency) odlučila je da izbaci iz upotrebe izraz „illegal“ kada se odnosi na migrante, koristeći ga jedino kada je ulazak migranata u zemlju nelegalan. I druge međijske kuće preporučuju novinarima da se uzme u obzir kontekst u smislu objašnjenja legalnog statusa migranata (Grange 6).

5) *frekventnost upotrebe eufemizma u jezičkom korpusu (COCA)* – u ovoj koloni opisani su rezultati analize u Koki (COCA) i ona sadrži ukupan broj pronađenih eufemizama, kao i njihov broj u specifičnim izvorima – govoru (spoken), proza (fiction), časopisi (magazines), novine (newspapers) i akademski tekstovi (academic). Korpus predstavlja jezik i sva njegova značenja zabeležena u tekstovima pogodnim za analizu tog jezika, a frekventnost označava koliko se puta jedna jezička jedinica pojavljuje u određenom korpusnom kontekstu.

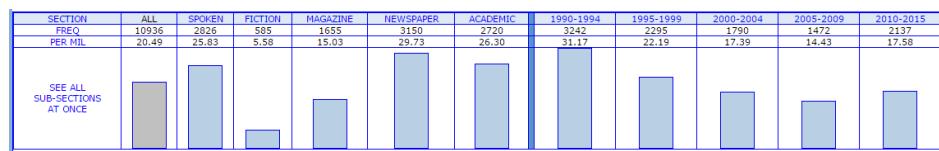
Frekvencijski podaci koji smo dobili iz elektronskog korpusa značajno olakšavaju subjektivne procese, čineći ih istovremeno objektivnijim. Korpus pru-

ža kontrolu nad kontekstom pošto potvrđuje frekventnost upotrebe ovih izraza u određenim izvorima pisanih ili govornog jezika.

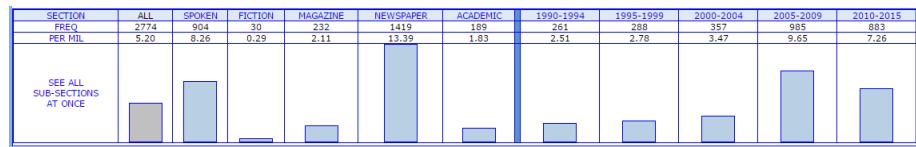
Dijagrami 2, 3, 4 sadrže primere najprominentnijih eufemističkih jezičkih entiteta analiziranih u korpusu (*refugees*, *immigrants*, *illegal aliens*, *undocumented immigrants*, *migrant workers*). Primeri su prikazani tako da se vidi njihova upotreba u različitim izvorima – govor, beletristika, časopisi, novine i akademski tekstovi. Ono što izdvaja ove primere od drugih jeste njihova učestalost jer se javljaju češće nego ostali entiteti, a najviše se nalaze u novinskim člancima. Najčešći izraz jeste *immigrant* koji se javlja 20.001 put, zatim *refugees* 10.936, a *illegal immigrant* 2.774 puta.



Dijagram 3 – Immigrants



Dijagram 2 - Refugees



Dijagram 4 – Illegal immigrants

4 Zaključci o rezultatima istraživanja

Jezik javnog diskursa, naročito jezik medija jeste izložen promenama koje teku u skladu sa opštim društvenim napretkom, pa se kao posledica javljaju novi eufemistički izrazi. Politički tekstovi sa temom imigracije nisu izuzetak. Eufemistički izrazi u ovim tekstovima koji su nastali kroz različite lingvističke procese, s jedne strane, služe svojoj funkciji – zamenjuju reči i izraze koji se u savremenom diskursu izbegavaju usled vredanja senzibiliteta na različitim osnovama, a sa druge strane, učestvuju u stvaranju novih jezičkih konstrukcija koje doprinose razvoju jezika. Pozitivna strana upotrebe eufemizama, pa čak i negativnih eufemizama, bila bi da jezik čine zanimljivijim, kreativnijim, funkcionalnijim, a negativna da jezik postaje restriktivan, dvosmislen, manipulativan. Međutim,

eufemizam gubi svrhu ako je cilj da zamenjeni izraz ima isti efekat u dekodiranju jezika. Eufemizam može funkcionišati jedino ako slušalac razume oba značenja izraza – denotativno i eufemističko. Eufemizmi se mogu prepoznati i razumeti na osnovu konteksta izjave, a njihova interpretacija zavisi od znanja, gestikulacije i iskustva slušaoca (Dominguez i Benedito 24).

Cilj ovog rada bio je da se u novinskim člancima sa političkom pozadini nekih najčitanijih britanskih i američkih dnevnih onlajn listova, a koji se bave temom imigracije, identifikuju eufemistički izrazi za termin *imigrant* u navedenim časopisima u smislu određivanja njihovog konotativnog značenja – da li su pozitivni, negativni ili neutralni, kao i da se prikaže ekvivalentnost njihove upotrebe u britanskoj i američkoj štampi, odnosno, šire, u britanskom i američkom varijetu engleskog jezika.

Eufemizmi koji se koriste u političkim tekstovima o imigraciji specifični su za oba jezička varijeteta – britanskom i američkom. Većina eufemizama koji su pronađeni u britanskim novinama (36 od 43) našli su se i u američkim dnevnim listovima, pa se dolazi do zaključka da se u ovom jezičkom specifikumu koriste isti eufemizmi, što potvrđuje glavnu hipotezu. Potvrđena je i hipoteza da se eufemizmi u vezi sa imigracijom koriste u velikoj meri kroz analizu primera pronađenih u jezičkom korpusu. Međutim, hipoteza da većina eufemizama za termin *imigrant* sadrži negativne konotacije delimično je potvrđena. U smislu konotativnog značenja od 36 analiziranih izraza, 18 je neutralnih, 14 sa negativnim i 4 sa pozitivnim konotacijama. Ali, i ovaj rezultat treba uzeti sa rezervom, jer se i sama procena oslanja na subjektivni sud, intuiciju i lične senzibilitete, i gde se jedina pomoć može naći u proceni konteksta. Ono što je sasvim sigurno to je da su pozitivni izrazi jako retki, što ujedno označava i sam odnos stanovnika jedne zemlje prema imigrantima.

Učestalost upotrebe eufemizama u ovom specifičnom jeziku političke štampe jeste velika zbog potrebe da se iza nedovoljno preciznih i jasnih izraza krije „drugačija“ istina koja je uslovljena nepredvidljivim okolnostima. Analizom primera u jezičkom korpusu (COCA) potvrdili smo da se eufemizmi u novinskim člancima o imigraciji koriste u velikoj meri. Izrazi koji se najčešće koriste jesu *immigrants, refugees, illegal immigrants, undocumented immigrants, migrant workers, aliens, foreign-born* itd.

Jezik medija omogućava snažan okvir za eksperimentisanje u jeziku, posebno u polju lingvistike, ali i u nekim drugim oblastima, šire gledano, kao što su sociolingvistika, psiholingvistika, kulturologija itd.

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EUPHEMISM – AN ATTRIBUTE OF ENGLISH IN POLITICAL NEWSPAPERS ARTICLES ON IMMIGRATION

One of the highly productive morphological processes in language is euphemisation. Motivated by taboo, it represents a significant means in contemporary day to day discourse in search for alternative language expressions suitable for each individual's sensibility. Euphemisms should be studied not only from linguistic aspect, but socio-cultural as well since language impacts culture and our attitude towards social problems; it also shapes our ontological and ethical reality. The goals of this paper are to identify and analyze euphemisms for the term *immigrant* that can be found in political articles in the most prominent daily newspapers in Great Britain and The United States which deal with immigration in the sense of determining their connotative meaning (positive, neutral, negative), then to confirm equivalency in their use in British and American press, and wider, in British and American variety of English, and, finally, to determine their frequency in the language corpus (Corpus of Contemporary American English). The language of the media has its specific features and is different from day to day discourse to some extent, thus presenting a significant source of euphemisms. Analysis of examples shows their frequency, variety, dissimilarity in connotative meaning.

Key Words: euphemism, political correctness, discourse, newspapers, immigrant, immigration.

CODE-SWITCHING AND TRANSLANGUAGING IN THIRD LANGUAGE TEACHING OF GERMAN

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Abstract: Due to the fact that most of the previous research on code-switching deals with natural discourse, the tutorial situation has been chosen for the subject of this study because it is radically different from code-switching in natural discourse. In this study the investigated tutorial situation deals with linguistic code-switching and translanguaging in third language teaching of German. The study attempts to emphasize and describe the most remarkable features of code-switching and translanguaging as teaching strategies and also to identify their functions used by the teacher and to explain the reasons for them. Several explanations for code-switching in the beginner language classroom are relevant to the present study, including, for instance, topic switch, and affective and socializing functions which often interact together.

The present study constitutes a small-scale research of code-switching and translanguaging that sets out from a series of recordings taken on a weekly basis during two hours of German classes in the summer term 2014. The recordings present the classroom interaction between a Croatian German teacher and third year undergraduate students in the beginner foreign language classroom. The recorded material and the student's book *Njemački turizmu 1 / Deutsch im Tourismus 1, N. Blažević* served as a basis for a detailed analysis of the patterns of code-switching and translanguaging among German, English and Croatian. The analysis of various kinds of code-switching and translanguaging has clearly shown that the teaching situation affects the code-switching patterns in some respects. Although very preliminary, the study has highlighted the beneficial aspect that code-switching and translanguaging may have not only in teacher – learner interaction in the foreign language classroom, but also in foreign language learning generally.

Key Words: linguistic code-switching, translanguaging, functions of linguistic code-switching, third language teaching of German, trilingualism.

1. Introduction

The issue of linguistic code-switching (hereafter CS) used as a teaching strategy in the more formalised context of the classroom has been chosen for the subject of this study in order to highlight and explain the most prominent features of CS used in different situations by the teacher in third language

teaching of German. Accordingly, a teacher's personal experience supported by individual examples of linguistic CS at the Faculty of Tourism and Hospitality Management, Opatija (Croatia) are presented in this paper. Linguistic CS in third language teaching reveals trilingualism which builds on already attained student's bilingualism.

2. Theoretical Framework

The phenomenon of CS has attracted a great amount of research as it concerns a fundamental part of our lives, communication and interaction, so that the literature on CS is rich, drawing interest from various disciplines such as linguistics, sociology and anthropology and creating a wide range of opinions on the issue as to why people choose a certain linguistic variety over another one.

In this paper the focus is on the teacher's use of CS. Alternation between languages in the form of CS is a widely observed phenomenon in foreign language classrooms. Numan and Carter (2001, 275) briefly define the term as "a phenomenon of switching from one language to another in the same discourse."⁶⁸

It should be emphasized that the teacher's use of CS is not always performed consciously; which means that the teacher is not always aware of the functions and results of the CS process. Therefore, in some cases CS may be regarded as an automatic and unconscious teaching strategy. However, it necessarily provides some basic functions which can be identified as beneficial in language learning environments. These functions are listed as *topic switch*, *affective functions*, *socializing and repetitive functions* by Mattson and Burenhult (61). A brief explanation is provided in order to gain a general idea about them.

In *topic switch* cases, the teacher alters her/his language according to the topic that is being discussed. This is mostly observed in grammar instruction, when the teacher shifts the language to the mother tongue of the students in dealing with particular grammar issues, which are taught at that moment. In these cases, the student's attention is directed to the new knowledge by making use of CS and accordingly by making use of the mother tongue. At this point the student's mother tongue is used as a metalanguage.⁶⁹ It builds in fact a bridge from known (native language) to unknown (new foreign language content) in order to transfer the new content and meaning as it is also suggested by Cole (12) who claims: "a teacher can exploit students' previous L1 learning experience to increase their understanding of L2."

⁶⁸ Discourse is meant as the student's and teacher's naturally occurring language use in a foreign language classroom.

⁶⁹ Metalanguage is a language used to speak about the other language.

In addition to the function of CS named as topic switch, the phenomenon also carries *affective functions* that express emotions. In this respect, CS is used by the teacher in order to build solidarity and intimate relations with the students. As mentioned above, this is not always a conscious process on the part of the teacher.

Closely related to affective functions are *socialising functions*, i.e. when the teacher signals understanding and support by using the student's first language. It seems as if the teacher switches code when she/he wishes to make a learning situation more relaxed.

The following explanation for the functionality of CS in classroom settings is its *repetitive function*. In this case, the teacher uses CS in order to transfer the necessary knowledge for the students in a clear way. Following the instruction in the target language, the teacher switches to the native language in order to clarify meaning, and in this way stresses the importance of the foreign language content for efficient comprehension. However, the tendency to repeat the instruction in the native language may lead to some undesired student behaviour. Namely, a student being sure that the instruction in the foreign language will be followed by a native language translation may lose interest in listening to the former instruction.

Over the years arguments in favour and against the exclusive use of the target language in foreign language teaching have been debated. Based on the author's own fairly long professional experience and on the fact that the language teacher has also experienced language learning, the sole use of the target language in foreign language teaching is opposed. It can, namely, in some situations (especially when used as metalanguage in explaining grammar issues) lead to misunderstanding and at the same time it can also present a stressful experience for a student.

In order to avoid stress and misunderstanding, besides CS *translanguaging* (hereafter TL) is also implemented in the foreign language classroom. TL means drawing on all of the linguistic resources that one has in order to "make sense" (Garcia16). In our case it relates to the flexibility provided by a foreign language teacher who uses Croatian, German and English as languages for different purposes in order to create a student's understanding in learning a target language. It should be made clear that the teacher should not be regarded as a trilingual who can choose freely among different codes. The teacher is, namely a monolingual foreign language teacher who has skills in a foreign language / foreign languages and whose task is to teach this language to other monolinguals. On the other hand, the teacher's multilingualism should be perceived as an advantage, even if the teacher teaches one language.

For the purposes of this study we use a fairly flexible definition of CS, namely, to indicate instances when the teacher switches from one language to

another; and also of TL, which means implementing all the linguistic resources that one has in order to successfully teach a foreign language.

3. Material and Method

This study is based on a small-scale qualitative analysis attempting to emphasize and explain the most remarkable features of CS and TL used by the teacher in interaction with the beginner foreign language classroom. It involves written lesson preparations and lesson observations of the third year undergraduate students at the Faculty of Tourism and Hospitality Management, Opatija – twenty three Croatian students and six Erasmus students from Spain, Greece and Romania. It is evident that such combination of domestic and foreign Erasmus students can lead to trilingualism in the classroom.

The observed material is taken from the student's book *Njemački u turizmu 1 / Deutsch im Tourismus 1*, N. Blažević, and it serves as a basis for a detailed analysis of the patterns of CS and TL among German, English and Croatian. This book follows the concept of learning German after English, so that similarities and interconnections between German and English in the field of vocabulary and grammar are especially emphasized.

4. Analysis

Generally speaking about CS in a foreign language classroom, it is easy to form the opinion that the teacher switches code for one reason only, namely to make the students understand the teaching material. This is one of the main functions of CS because the main purpose of instruction is to teach the students a relevant foreign language, and since their proficiency in this language is incomplete, the teacher feels that it is necessary to use the first language in order to make her/his students understand what is being taught. However, if a more precise and deeper analysis is performed, it will clearly indicate, as mentioned above, that CS has more functions than mere translation. Through the performed analysis we tried to give the answers as to how and why a teacher of German switches codes and translanguages to fulfill pedagogical needs of the course of German for beginners.

A quick glance at the analyzed material reveals extensive use of CS in the teacher's interaction with the students. Since third language teaching builds on second language learning and is influenced by the degree of bilingualism already attained by the student, in our classroom not only English (L2) but also Croatian (L1) as the mother tongue of domestic students is used as a means of instruction and German (L3) as third language is taught as a subject. This case-study shows that the languages used are limited to certain roles (e.g. instruction

or classroom management), but can each maintain the status of a language for learning.

The study aims at identifying the functions and describing the reasons of CS and TL used by the teacher of German in order to fulfill pedagogical needs of the course German for beginners. It also highlights the beneficial aspect that CS and TL may have not only in teacher – learner interaction in the foreign language classroom, but also in foreign language learning generally.

Several explanations for CS relevant to this study include the following: *topic switch, affective functions, socialising and repetitive functions.*

4.1. Topic Switch

As mentioned above, when the teacher switches code according to which topic is under discussion; it might be suggested, for instance, that certain aspects of foreign language teaching such as grammar instruction, are preferably expressed in the mother tongue of the students. Grammar instruction is usually carried out in the student's mother tongue. The explanation for this is the fact that the proficiency of the students is not developed enough to include terms necessary in grammar instruction. Following the traditional teaching methods, we affirm that the first language is very often a necessary means of explaining instructions, rules and structures of the foreign language.

When explaining grammar – in case of grammar instruction, the first code switch is to English and than the second one is into Croatian, in order to check its understanding by the group of domestic students. The analysis has shown that the sequence of code switches varies according to the teaching situation. Here follow the examples:

1. Lesen Sie es zu zweit vor.

Pročitajte u paru.

Read in pair.

- Guten Abend. Was möchten Sie bitte?
- Kommen Sie bitte mit. Hier in der Ecke ist ein schöner Tisch.
 - Ich möchte lieber am Fenster sitzen.
 - Gefällt Ihnen dieser Tisch?
 - Ja, vielen Dank.

And then, after reading the additional question on the meaning of the underlined phrases ich möchte and Was möchten Sie follows.

ich möchte= in English *I would like*

Was möchten Sie?= in English *What would you like?*

The explanation with the English translation is followed by the Croatian translation.

ich möchte= in Croatian *Želio/Željela bih*

Was möchten Sie?= in Croatian *Što biste željeli?*

Offering the Croatian equivalents, too, is beneficial for the foreign students because it's a very common phrase in Croatian used for expressing one's wants and needs.

The grammar explanation is provided both in English and in Croatian, as well:

It is in fact a form of a verb mögen which originally means to like sth. or someone.

To je oblik glagola mögen koji znači voljeti nešto ili nekoga, odn. svidjeti se, npr. Ich mag ihn. = On mi se sviđa; and then the switch to English follows: Ich mag ihn. = I like him.

The above listed examples show that the sequence of code switches leads to trilingualism in the analyzed beginner foreign language classroom when CS is used in topic switch cases.

In natural discourse this kind of topic switch is not very common, mainly because metalinguistic conversations are rare outside the classroom. On the other hand, it is not unusual to switch code outside the classroom when a new subject is introduced.

4.2. Repetitive Functions

Following the concept of the student's textbook *Njemački turizmu 1, / Deutsch im Tourismus 1*, the instructions for exercises are written in both German and Croatian, so that besides the first code switch to Croatian a second code switch to English is also needed. Code switches to Croatian and English have a repetitive function because the same content of the exercise instruction is repeated in Croatian and English. Here follow the examples:

1. Setzen Sie die entsprechenden deutschen Wörter ein.

Nadopunite odgovarajuće njemačke riječi.

Insert the appropriate German words.

2. Hören und lesen Sie zu zweit vor.

Poslušajte i pročitajte u paru.

Listen and read in pair.

3. Lesen Sie den Text und beantworten Sie die Fragen.

Pročitajte tekst i odgovorite na pitanja.

Read the text and answer the questions.

4.3. Affective Functions

The affective function of CS can be defined as a spontaneous expression of emotions and emotional understanding in discourse with students. There are also examples, however, containing a CS along with a topic switch, but the reason for the CS appears to be of a more personal nature, so that its function is affective.

Code switches of repetitive function are applied once again in the instruction for the exercise.

Setzen Sie die passenden Formen des Perfekts ein.

Upišite pravilne oblike perfekta glagola u zagradu.

Insert the correct forms in present perfect tense of the verbs in brackets.

1. Was _____ Sie _____? (trinken)

The correct form is: Was haben Sie getrunken?

The additional question in Croatian for a Croatian student follows and it has an affective function:

* *A kako biste, vi kolegarekli npr. Što si ti pio? (How would you Mr. ... say, for example, "What did you drink?")* which is aimed at checking if a student remembers the difference in use of a polite form *Sie* = *Vi* in Croatian and the form with a pronoun *du* = *ti* in Croatian. That difference does not exist in English and due to this fact a Croatian student was asked to answer the question.

And then the explanation for Erasmus students is provided and the function of switch to English is of repetitive nature:

du

Wenn Sie fragen "Was hast du getrunken?"

This form is used only with those who with one is on familiar or intimate terms, such as: family, close friends, children ...

Sie

Wenn die Frage "Was haben Sie getrunken?" gestellt wird

This polite form implies a certain formality among people and takes into account social considerations. *Sie* is used for those people we address as *Herr*,

Frau and with other titles (such as your German teacher!) It is also polite to address co-workers as *Sie*. The verb that describes using *Sie* to address someone is *siezen*; and the verb that describes using *du* to address someone is *duzen*.

Here follows the next example with a switch to Croatian:

* Das ist auf der Seite 78, der Titel ist "Im Restaurant," možete li biti malo tiši?

The above examples, marked with a *, with switches to Croatian seem to be a change from a 'typical' classroom speech into a more personal level. In both cases specific students are addressed and indirect or direct requests are presented. There are mainly two possible explanations for this kind of CS:

- the message is so important that the teacher is not willing to risk amisinterpretation on the part of the affected students.
- the CS is affective in the sense that the teacher shows her/his irritation by using the student's mother tongue. It is in fact used as an instrument to get the students' attention, as a marker for the students to pay attention and to listen carefully.

4.4 Socialising Functions

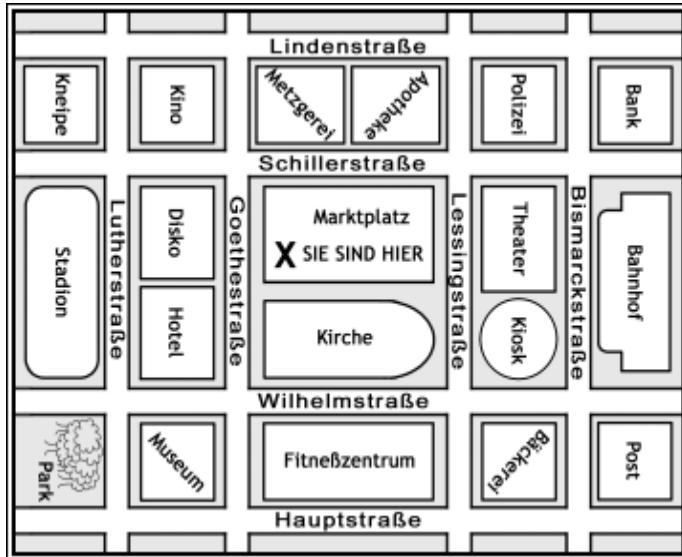
Closely related to affective functions are socialising functions, i.e. when the teacher signals understanding and support by using the student's first language. It seems as if the teacher switches code when she/he wishes to make a learning situation more relaxed. In the example that follows, the teacher tries to show solidarity with the students in their mother tongue by expressing understanding of their problems.

Code switches of repetitive function are applied in the instruction for the exercise.

1. Erklären Sie mit Hilfe des Stadtplans den Weg zum Hotel, zur Kirche und zum Museum.

Objasnite pomoću plana grada put do hotela, crkve i muzeja.

Use the map and explain the way to the



Following the negative reaction of the domestic students that the exercise is too complicated the teacher provides some kind of support in their mother tonguesaying: "Pa imate sve potrebne izraze na prethodnoj stranici, pogledajte ih i uostalom, pomoći će vam ja ili vaše kolege."

The Erasmus students in the same situation will be supported by saying:"All the necessary expressions are provided on the previous page, take a look at them, and by the way, I or your colleagues will help you."

The point is that English is mainly used as a language of instruction and its socialising function is expressed in a way, but to a lesser extent than in Croatian, because English is not the mother tongue of the Erasmus students. Accordingly, we can conclude that in the learning situations with socialising functions the Croatian students appear advantaged if compared to the Erasmus students, because of the use of their mother tongue, which is also the teacher's mother tongue.

On the other hand, there are also socialising functions where the code switches from the language that is taught into English.

In the following example the teacher switches from the language that is taught as a subject – that is German, to English as a language of instruction when one of the students arrives, to greet him in a personal way.

Öffnen Sie die Seite und lesen Sie den ersten Abschnitt und unterstreichen ...*Oh, you've arrived, Good morning Mr. Pavlescu...*

In this particular case, however, the switch might as well be ironically intended, since the student is late for class, and must then be classified as having an affective function.

4.5. Translanguaging (TL)

Through emphasizing the similarities between German and English the student's textbook concept itselfuses the concept of TL in order to achieve better teaching results.

The teacher firstly applies code switches of repetitive function in the instructions to exercises.

Was fehlt in diesem Text? Ergänzen Sie.

Što nedostaje u ovom tekstu? Dopunite.

The teacher's switch to English follows:

What's missing in the text. Complete it.

I live in Zagreb. Zagreb is _____ nice town. It is _____ capital of Croatia. We have _____ house. _____ house is very nice. There is _____ big garden, too. _____ garden is wonderful.

The exercise with missing articles in the short English text follows. It has a function of translanguaging because it helps students to interconnect the similarities in use of definite and indefinite article in English and German.

In the following instruction the teacher applies again code switches which have a repetitive function

Vergleichen Sie den englischen Text mit seiner Übersetzung ins Deutsche. Welche

Wörter sind im deutschen Text unterstrichen?

Usporedite ovaj tekst s njegovim prijevodom na njemački. Koje su riječi potcrtane u njemačkom tekstu?

The teacher's switch to English follows:

Compare this text with its German translation. Which words are underlined in the German text?

Ich lebe in Zagreb. Zagreb ist *eine* schöne Stadt. Es ist *die* Hauptstadt von Kroatien. Wir haben *ein* Haus. *Das* Haus ist sehr schön. Da ist auch *eingroßer* Garten. *Der* Garten ist wunderschön.

The student's textbook provides the explanation in Croatian for the use of definite and indefinite article:

Upamtite!

Njemački jezik poput engleskog ima određeni i neodređeni član, čija je upotreba slična upotrebi člana u engleskom jeziku. Međutim, za razliku od engleskog, u kojem određeni član uvijek ima oblik „the“, a neodređeni „a(n)“, u njemačkom se oblik člana određuje prema rodu imenice i deklinira.

The teacher translates the explanation into English by saying that its use is similar to the use in English, but in German the form of articles are defined by the noun's gender and are inflected.

5. Conclusion

The analysis of various kinds of CS has clearly shown that the teaching situation affects the CS patterns in some respects. The largest category is by far represented by topic switch, and our assumption that a switch to the first language occurs when the teacher turns to more metalinguistic discussions, grammar in particular, is largely supported by the examples.

Examples of repetitive functions can be regarded mostly as a part of a topic switch. For instance, the extensive use of repetitive CScan be attributed to the teacher's wish to be as clear as possible in the act of teaching. Since CS in natural discourse normally involves bilinguals, repetitive functions of switch are not particularly common in such situations.

As far as affective functions of CS are concerned, there is a clear tendency in these cases for the teacher to make use of the students' first language which is Croatian, for spontaneous expressions of emotions. Similar patterns apply to the socialising functions of CS. The examples have shown that the teacher switches code when she/he wishes to make a learning situation more relaxed.

Through emphasizing the similarities between German and English the student's textbook concept itselfuses the concept of TL in order to achieve better teaching results.

Although very preliminary, the present study has shown that the teacher's CS in the foreign language classroom is an interesting field of research as it also is student's CS whose analysis would provide a further contribution to the research of CS and TL.

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CODE-WECHSEL UND „TRANSLANGUAGING“ IM FACH DEUTSCH ALS DRITTE FREMDSPRACHE

Da sich die meisten der bisherigen Forschungsarbeiten über den Sprachcodewechsel mit dem natürlichen Diskurs beschäftigen, wurde für diesen Beitrag der Unterrichtsdiskurs ausgewählt, weil er sich wesentlich vom natürlichen Diskurs unterscheidet. Der Sprachcodewechsel und „Translanguaging“ bilden die Hauptpunkte des untersuchten Unterrichtsdiskurses. Mithilfe der qualitativen Analyse wird in dieser Arbeit versucht auf die ausgeprägten Merkmale vom Sprachcodewechsel und „Translanguaging“ hinzuweisen und diese als mögliche Lehrstrategie im Fremdsprachenunterricht in der Anfängerstufe zu untersuchen. Unterschiedliche Erklärungen für den Wechsel des Sprachcodes im Fremdsprachunterricht in der Anfängerstufe sind für den vorliegenden Beitrag relevant, wie z.B. Themencodewechsel, affektive und Sozialisierungsfunktionen, die oft zusammenwirken. Der vorliegende Beitrag ist eine Studie kleineren Umfangs und besteht aus einer Reihe von Aufnahmen der Deutschunterrichtsstunden, die auf der wöchentlichen Basis im Sommersemester 2014 aufgenommen wurden. Die Aufnahmen präsentieren die Klassenzimmerinteraktion zwischen der kroatischen Deutschlehrerin und den einheimischen und Erasmus-Studenten des Bachelorstudiums im Fremdsprachenunterricht für Anfänger.

Das aufgenommene Material und das Lehrbuch *Njemački u turizmu 1 / Deutsch im Tourismus 1*, N. Blažević dienten als Grundlage für eine detaillierte Analyse der Muster des Sprachcodewechsels und „Translanguaging“ zwischen Deutsch, Englisch und Kroatisch. Die Analyse der verschiedenen Arten des Sprachcodewechsels und „Translanguaging“ hat gezeigt, dass die Unterrichtssituation in gewisser Hinsicht auf die Muster des Sprachcodewechsels und „Translanguaging“ einwirkt. Außerdem zeigte sich in der Untersuchung der positive Aspekt der Verwendung des Sprachcodewechsels, und zwar nicht nur in der Beziehung zwischen der Lehrerin und Studenten, sondern allgemein im Fremdsprachenunterricht.

Schlüsselwörter: Sprachcodewechsel, Translanguaging, Funktionen des Sprachcodewechsels, Deutschunterricht im Fach Deutsch als dritte Fremdsprache, Dreisprachigkeit.

GALEB DŽONATAN LIVINGSTON RIČARDA BAHĀ(METODIČKI PRISTUP)

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Apstrakt: Smišljenom organizacijom domaće lektire ostvaruje se prioritetni cilj škole, da mlade ljude uči mudrosti srećnog življenja. Težište aktivnosti nastavnika je u samim pripremama, prikupljanju materijala i osmišljavanju časa. Razrađeni scenario je isplaniran iz koraka u korak, iz aktivnosti u aktivnost, iz zadatka u zadatak i ključna je faza u prevodenju ideja o aktivnom učenju u nastavnu praksu. Ukoliko scenario nije najbolja veza između cilja, gradiva i metoda, uvid u cjelinu nudi mogućnost da se modifikuje i doradi, prije nego nastavnik uđe u učionicu. Pojam scenario je pozajmljen iz filmske umjetnosti, tako da se nastavnik poredi sa scenaristom čije su aktivnosti najviše izražene prije početka snimanja filma, dok je na snimanju on samo konsultant i u drugom je planu. Time i nastavnik *najveći dio vremena proveđe uosmišljavanju i pripremi časa*, a na samom času djeca su u prvom planu, *dok on diskretno, iz pozadine vodi proces* (Ivić et al. 212).

Domaća lektira *Galeb Džonatan Livingston*, Ričarda Bahā, predviđena za deveti razred osnovne škole, sa svojom tematikom pruža mogućnosti nastavniku da kod učenika formira stavove i uvjerenja, i time doprinese razvoju ličnosti. Odgovornost je velika, ali plodovi koje ona donosi lančano su povezani sa kvalitetnijim životom.

Ključne riječi: duhovni razvoj, stalno učenje, smisao života, prosvjetljenje, prenošenje znanja.

Uvod

Osnova pismenosti proističe iz čitanja knjiga. Shodno tome, analizom književnog teksta postavljaju se temelji književne kulture učenika, osnove estetskog ukusa, formiraju se moralni stavovi i utiče na opšte obrazovanje u cjelini. Kruna toga rada je domaća lektira koja pokazuje koliko su učenici sposobljeni da samostalno i kritički prilaze književnom djelu, da ga razumiju i usvajaju njegove vrijednosti. Književnost ispunjava svoju dragocjenu ulogu u vaspitavanju budućih ljudi ukoliko učenici shvate značaj lektire i preimutstva koja ona donosi: širenje vidika, mudrost, kulturu, humanost, razvoj čovječanstva, bogatstvo ljepotom i maštom, bolje poznавanje sebe i svijeta oko sebe.

Imajući u vidu da pismenost malo dobija kvantitetom čitanja, a znatno više kvalitetom, istraživački zadaci se vrednuju kao stručna i metodička pomoć, kako bi se učenici blagovremeno i valjano pripremili za tumačenje književnog

djela. Čitanje knjiga predviđenih za domaću lektiru vrši se u domaćoj sredini koja nudi posebne pogodnosti jer ne dovodi učenike u vremenske tjesnace koji su česti na školskim časovima. Pri tom, pripremni zadaci omogućavaju učenicima da za pojedine misaone radnje obezbijede onoliko vremena koliko im je stvarno potrebno. Učenici imaju bolju skoncentrisanost na rad, mogućnost da ritam rada podese prema senzibilitetu i prirodnom toku mentalnih aktivnosti. Stoga, smatramo da pozitivan stav učenika prema pogodnostima koje nudi domaća sredina doprinosi afirmaciji domaće lektire. „Kad se udovolji individualnim, psihološkim imperativama rad postaje lakši i produktivniji“ (Nikolić 636).

Teorijski pristup

U organizaciji rada na lektiri važnu ulogu ima motivacija. Časovi koji su drugačiji od ostalih privlače učenike. Čitanje djela domaće lektire trebalo bi da bude motivisano i da učenici u njegovom toku ili neposredno po završetku rješavaju zadatke, da njihovo čitanje bude usmjereni čitanje (Delić et al. 71).

Pouzdana analiza književnog djela ne može se obezbijediti samo jednim čitanjem, i to doživljajnim. No, ako je istraživačko čitanje podstaknuto valjanim uputstvima ono može u isto vrijeme biti i doživljajno. Istraživački zadaci su osnovni oblik podsticanja učenika u maksimalnom iskorišćavanju i razvijanju sposobnosti. Oni svojom saznajnom funkcijom spadaju u produktivnu i problemsku djelatnost, a po kausalnoj uklopljenosti predstavljaju pripremnu radnju. Zato se i nazivaju pripremni zadaci. Imaju oblik razvijenog problemskog pitanja. Osnovni problem raščlanjuje se na nekolika radna zahtjeva. Sadržaj i dinamika aktivnosti se prilagođavaju mogućnostima i interesovanjima svakog pojedinca, boljima se mogu davati zahtjevniji, a slabijima lakši zadaci, što ubrzava napredovanje.

Stavljanje učenika u položaj samostalnih istraživača, kako pokazuje nastava praksa, ospozobljava ih za stručno učešće u interpretaciji književnog djela. Učenici usmjeravaju svoju pažnju na vodeće vrijednosti književnog djela, razvijaju radoznalost u pokušajima da riješelite literarne probleme. Organizuju svoje misli i pripremaju se da svoje sudove obrazlažu činjenicama iz teksta. Na proces doživljavanja nastavlja se proces rasuđivanja, stiče se književna kultura, koja ne podrazumijeva samo načitanost, već poznavanje književne umjetnosti. Ovom metodom suzbija se površnost u razumijevanju literarnih problema, razvija se svijest o čitanju kao ozbilnjom misaonom poslu, podstiče se aktivnost na časovima i omogućava efikasnija nastava lektire. Kod ovakvog postupka časovi domaće lektire dobijaju poseban karakter. Oni dolaze kao finalni dio posla, na njima se ne započinje nego privodi kraju rad na obradi jednog književnog djela. Producuju se doživljaji i utisci učenika, dopunjaju i proširuju njihova već stečena znanja, sistematizuju se različita mišljenja o snazi i opštoj vrijednosti čitanog djela (Rodić et al. 44).

Pripreme za obradu domaće lektire

Nastava ne trpi improvizacije i ne predaje se slučajnostima jer se uspjeh ne očekuje kao neka neizvjesna mogućnost, već se ona planski priprema i egzaktno uslovljava (Nikolić 106). U nastavi su stručno znanje i metodičko umjeće u stalnoj korelaciji i saodnosnim vezama. Za što uspješniju interpretaciju domaće lektire neophodno je pripremanje i nastavnika i učenika.

Metodički pristup

Prema programskom određenju analizi djela domaće lektire posvećujemo tri školska časa. Između časova pismene i usmene lektire ne bi trebalo da postoji velika vremenska razdaljina jer bi se izgubila cjelovitost analize i djela. Analizu romana sprovećemo na osnovu strukturalnih kategorija i njihove cjelovitosti i integralnosti. Na prva dva časa moguće je analizirati kompoziciju, fabulu, lik Galeba Džonatana Livingstona, ostale likove, tematsko-idejnu osnovu djela. Na sljedećem času sređuju se rezultati do kojih se došlo na časovima usmene lektire zbog uspostavljanja kontinuiteta cjelovitosti i razmatraju se samostalni radovi učenika. U završnoj fazi nastavnog časa nastavnik motiviše učenike za čitanje novog djela.

Usmene lektira

Na časove usmene lektire nastavnik i učenici dolaze sa pripremljenim bilješkama, knjigama sa označenim citatima, kritikama. Čas počinje utvrđivanjem spremnosti: ko je i koliko pročitao, ima li dovoljno knjiga neophodnih za uspješan čas (Marinković 177). Interpretaciju književnog djela počinjemo od snažnijih umjetničkih doživljaja, od utisaka i raspoloženja koja je književno djelo izazvalo. Nastavnik doznaće o emotivno-misaonom prijemu učenika u odnosu na djelo. Potom se raspravlja o pitanjima koja su data kao pripremni zadaci i o onima koje su učenici uočili čitajući djelo. Pripremni zadaci se tiču određivanja kompozicije, fabule, funkcije uvoda, ključnog dijaloga koji pokreće radnju, karakterizacije, teme, ideje, simbola (v. prilog II).

U pripremnim zadacima učenicima je ponuđen grafički prikaz kompozicije. Imajući u vidu da je analiza kompozicije tijesno povezana sa ostalim tipovima književne analize, ovim metodičkim postupkom učenici će određivanjem ponuđenih kompozicijskih jedinica pratiti razvojnu liniju glavnog lika i otkrivati idejnu osnovu djela. Konačan oblik grafičkog prikaza biće urađen na času (v. prilog III). S obzirom na to da je obrada ove lektire predviđena za završni razred osnovne škole, podstičući logičko mišljenje, učenici će sažetim prepričavanjem iznijeti kompoziciju djela i razvoj radnje. Zadržaćemo se na najvrednijim pojedi-

nostima. Proučićemo oblike kazivanja jer su pogodni za sistemsko usmjeravanje istraživačke pažnje i toka interpretacije. Njihovim proučavanjem prirodnim putem zalazi se u svaki kutak teksta i otkrivaju značajne pojedinosti. Uvid u motivisanje postupaka književnih likova podstaknut je istraživačkim zadacima. Imajući u vidu da je dotična lektira djelo sa psihološkom, moralnom i etičkom tematičkom, tumačenjem idejnog i misaonog područja, koje ima jaku vezivnu moć i drži na okupu više tekstovnih činilaca, ostvarićemo logičku postupnost u saznavanju umjetničkog djela. Da bi se ostvarila potpuna integracija vrednosnih činilaca, jezičkostilsku analizu otkrivaćemo uz analizu konkretnih slika i iskaza. Poštujući sve ove principe, posebnu pažnju usmjeravajući na dominantne dijelove knjige, pokušaćemo da ostvarimo integracionu nit djela i otkrijemo umjetničku vrijednost.

Istakne se problem, sačeka da se razmisli i pripremi, onda se raspravlja. Učenici pronalaze mjesta u knjizi, razmišljaju, uključuju se u diskusiju. Insistira se na dokumentovanim odgovorima, na primjerima citata. Objektivnoj istini bliži je onaj čitalac koji svoje utiske potkrijepi konkretnim činjenicama iz teksta (Nikolić 164). Njeguje se kultura uzajamnog poštovanja i tolerancije različitih mišljenja. Poželjno je da učenici postavljaju pitanja, daju objašnjenja, suprostavljaju mišljenja. O problemima daje svoj sud i nastavnik. Potom se najavljuje čas pismenog izražavanja o ovoj knjizi. Teme su formulisane tako da se vodi računa o usklađenosti težine zadatka i prijemčivosti učenika. Različitog su nivoa težine tako da svaki učenik može biti u punoj mjeri angažovan. Uz poštovanje afiniteta učenika, nastavnik daje sugestije o izboru zadataka.

Scenario	
Tok časa	
Aktivnosti nastavnika	Aktivnosti učenika
<p>Nastavna jedinica: Ciljevi časa:</p> <p>Tip časa: Oblici rada: Metode učenja:</p> <p>Materijal: Nastavnik utvrđuje spremnost učenika.</p> <p>Da li vam se dopalaknjiga? Izrazite svoj doživljaj knjige. Ko je autor? Kako je komponovana knjiga? Iz koliko dijelova se sastoji? Nastavnik pokreće učenike na samostalan rad, predlaže rješavanje pripremnog zadatka vezanog za grafički prikaz kompozicije.</p>	<p><i>Galeb Džonatan Livingston – Ričard Bah</i> Formiranje stavova, uvjerenja i sistema vrijednosti, razvijanje sposobnosti samostalnog rada na istraživanju, podsticanje motivacije za učenje i intelektualni rad, razvijanje sposobnosti komuniciranja</p> <p>Usvajanje novog gradiva Individualni rad Smisleno receptivno verbalno učenje, istraživački zadaci, učenje putem otkrića, analitičkosintetička metoda, metoda indukcije i dedukcije, konvergentno učenje</p> <p>Pripovijetka, bilješke, tabla, kreda, grafički prikaz Usmenim putem učenici se izjašnjavaju da li su ispunili osnovni uslov za realizaciju predviđenog časa.</p> <p>Učenici iznose svoje utiske.</p> <p>Autor je Ričard Bah, savremeni američki pisac. Učenici iznose zapažanje da je knjigakomponovana iz tri dijela. Uz nastavnikovu pomoć, učenici određuju položaj kompozicijskih jedinica na grafičkom prikazu u prilogu. Sažetim prepričavanjem određuju bitne dijelove fabule: I dio: -početak učenja -uticaj roditelja -odluka da ne leti -neuspjeh -lomljenje -uspjeh -Zbor -protjerivanje -dva galeba i odlazak na drugi svijet II dio: - nastavak učenja - poznanstvo sa Salivenom - poznanstvo sa Čijangom - želja da nauči druge - odluka da se vrati - podučavanje Flečera</p>

<p>Kome je posvećena knjiga? Obratite pažnju kako počinje knjiga? Koju stilsku figuru uočavate?</p>	<p>III dio: - povratak u Jato - novi učenici - odlazak Džonatanov u druga jata - Flečerovo stupanje na put saznanja</p> <p>Pravom Džonatanu Flečeru, koji živi u svima nama. Potkrepljujući svoje iskaze tekstom, učenici zapožaju da knjiga počinje slikom hiljadu galebova, s jedne, i slikom usamljenog Galeba, s druge strane, dakле kontrastom: "Ali daleko odatle, negde visoko iznad broda i obale, Galeb Džonatan Livingston je vežbao u samoći." (7)</p>
<p>Obratićemo pažnju na bitne pojedinosti djela. Nastavnik podstiče učenike da shvate funkciju uvoda.</p>	<p>Postupnim putem učenici uočavaju da je funkcija uvoda da nagovijesti različitost i posebnost Galeba. Vođeni nastavnikovim pitanjima, učenici pokušavaju da otkriju namjere pripovjedača koji se obraća nama, čitaocima; želi da se osloni na naše iskustvo sa ciljem da postigne vjerodostojnost, želi da mu vjerujemo.</p>
<p>Čita rečenicu sa 7. strane: "Galebovi, kao što znate, nikad ne oklevaju, nikad ne gube kontrolu." Kome se pripovjedač obraća? Na šta želi da se osloni? I šta time postiže? Galeb je izgubio kontrolu i „propao“. Šta se događa? Potkrijepite iskaze. Utvrdite: Šta je prioritet galebovima, a šta Galebu? Šta Galebu savjetuju roditelji i kako on reaguje?</p>	<p>Odgovaraju da Galeb ne odustaje, dokumentuju iskaz: "Ali Galeb Džonatan Livingston – koga nije bilo sramota da ponovo raširi krila [...] nije bio obična ptica." (7)</p>
<p>Koja je funkcija dijaloga između Galeba i njegovih roditelja? Kako se on osjeća? Šta ga tjera da se izdigne iznad ostalih? Kojim oblikom pripovijedanja mi doznajemo njegova razmišljanja i koji motiv se pojavljuje? (11)</p> <p>Razmotrite da li Galeb Dž. L. pokušava da nauči sve vještine letenja odjednom?</p>	<p>Utvrđuju da je većini galebova važna hrana, "ali ovom galebu letenje je bilo važnije od hrane" (8). Ukažuju na to da Galeba roditelji savjetuju ga da se ostavi letenja, da prepusti <i>niski let</i> albatrosima i pelikanima, da se ne živi od letenja, već od hrane. On pokušava da ih posluša, nastoji da krešti kao ostali, ali ne ide.</p> <p>Razmišljaju i uočavaju da je funkcija dijaloga da barem na kratko zaustavi radnju.</p> <p>Tumače da Galeb osjeća besmisao i ono što ga tjera da se izdigne iznad ostalih je traženje smisla. Zapažaju da je pripovijedanje u trećem licu zamijenjeno unutrašnjim monologom, a motiv koji se javlja, traženje smisla, javlja se u funkciji graditelja konteksta.</p> <p>Razmatraju i dokazuju primjerima iz teksta da Galeb Dž. L. prvo savlađuje niski let, pa brzinu, visoki let, skretanje, razne akrobacije u vazduhu,</p>

<p>Protumačite šta je potrebno za ispunjenje cilja?</p>	<p>premještanje iz jednog mjesta na drugo putem misli. Da bi došao do svog cilja, dijeli ga na etape koje mora postepeno prelaziti.</p>
<p>Učeći brzinu letenja, Galeb Džonatan Livingston doživljava neuspjeh. Na strani 13. uočite oblik pripovijedanja i motiv.</p>	<p>Vođeni nastavnikovim naporima, učenici oblikuju svoje stavove i dolaze do zaključka da je za ispunjenje cilja potreban trud. Upoređuju dati događaj sa sopstvenim iskustvima. Čitaju; u unutrašnjem monologu otkrivaju motiv nevjericе, u periodu krize misli da je njegov otac u pravu, da je on samo <i>bijedni, ograničeni galeb</i>. Treba da se osloboди sile koja ga tjera da uči, "više neće biti izazova niti neuspjeha."</p>
<p>Galebovi nikad ne leti po mraku, ali "Džonatan nije bio spreman da ga posluša" (16). Šta se događa? Koje osobine prepoznajete? Njegovo lomljene je kratkotrajno, ali funkcija ove pojedinosti ima širu funkciju. Koju? Razmislite!</p>	<p>Navode da Galeb Džonatan Livingston savlađuje tehniku brzog leta, shvata da je potrebno samo sklopiti krila i letjeti pomoću vrhova. Podstaknuti nastavnikovim pitanjima, usmjeravaju pažnju na psihološku analizu lika. Uviđaju da, i pre odluke i nastojanja da posluša oca, Džonatan Livingston savladava prepreke, posjeduje upornost i samostalnost.</p>
<p>U zavisnosti od toga koliko su učenici uočili predmetnost djeila, nastavnik sada ili svojom procjenom u nekom drugom povoljnijem trenutku, navodi aforizam: <i>Male duše nikad ništa ne započinju iz straha od neuspjeha, srednje odustaju čim nađe prepreka, a velike duše nikad ne odustaju</i>.</p> <p>Da li Galeb Džonatan Livingston osjeća krivicu što je prekršio obećanje koje je sam sebi dao, da će opet biti ograničeni galeb? Nađite potkrepljenje.</p>	<p>Induktivnim vođenjem učenici tumače da je funkcija ove pojedinosti u prenošenju poruke: da bismo došli do uspjeha potrebno je pretrpjeti i poraze; učenici ujedno formiraju mišljenje o datom problemu.</p>
<p>Pročitajte rečenicu na 19. strani, nakon <i>proboja</i>. Šta nam pripovjedač poručuje? Šta je sve naučio Galeb</p>	<p>Odgovaraju da Galeb Džonatan Livingston ne osjeća krivicu zbog kršenja obećanja i dokumentuju: "Takva obećanja su samo za galebove koji prihvataju vladavinu običnog" (17). Čitaju: "U tom času čitava nova era otvorila se pred Džonatanom Galebom." Pokušavaju da protumače da ova rečenica najavljuje nove događaje. Organizujući poznate dijelove teksta, učenici nabrajaju tražene elemente. Naučio je: petlju, sporo kotrljanje, spiralno poniranje, obrnutu mrtvu petlju, široki luk, linijsko poniranje. Koristeći zabilješke uviđaju da unutrašnjim monologom doznajemo o njegovoj sreći i nadi da je čitavo <i>Jutarnje jato</i> prisustovalo <i>Proboju</i>. Velikim slovom saznajemo koliki značaj za Džonatana ima vještina na visini od 2700 m, pokretom jednog perca s vrha krila za 1 cm postigne skretanje: "Koliko je život sada ispunjeniji smislim!" (19) Argumentuju da su rečenice koje Džonatan izgovara, i onda kada ima razlog za postojanje i ka-</p>

<p>Džonatan Livingston? Iz perspektive pripovjedača niječ <i>proboj</i> napisana ja malim slovom. Obratite pažnju kako sve to izgleda iz perspektive lika.</p>	<p>da ga na Zboru protjeruju, uzvične rečenice: "Oni ne razumiju. Oni greše, greše!" (20) Imajući u vidu da su uzvične rečenice praćene emocijama, učenici otkrivaju da preko njih teče lirska drama junaka, otkrivamo duševno stanje lika i njegovo žaljenje jer ostali galebovi odbijaju da "progledaju i shvate" (22).</p>
<p>Kakve su rečenice po sadržini koje Džonatan tada izgovara? Šta znamo o uzvičnim rečenicama? Koja je stilска funkcija ove jezičke pojave? U kakav bismo tok svrstali protjerivanje Galebovo?</p>	
<p>Po pravilima Jata galeb nikada ne odgovara pred Zborom. Uočite oblik pripovijedanja? Koji se sporedni motiv pojavljuje? Sa čim pripovjedač predi Jato? Čega je to simbol?</p>	<p>Određuju stupanje u <i>Centar</i> i protjerivanje Galeba Džonatana Livingstona iz <i>Jata</i> u dramatičan tok fabule.</p>
<p>Da li ovaj donekle redukovani dijalog sa motivima protjerivanja i nerazumijevanja ima statican ili dinamičan karakter? Da li Džonatan žali zbog cijene koju je morao da plati? Šta je otkrio? (22)</p>	<p>Upućeni u problematiku navode da po pravilima Jata galeb nikada ne odgovara pred Zborom, ali Džonatan monološki oblik kazivanja želi da pretvori u dijalog, traži šansu da im objasni što je otkrio, da je smisao života da bismo učili, saznavali i bili slobodni, dakle, sporedni motiv je prijateljstvo ili dobročinstvo prema drugima. Ali Jato ne želi da sluša. Pripovjedač ga poredi sa stijenom, simbolom nepokretnosti, hladnoće.</p>
<p>Nastavnik napominje i upliv komentara na kraju rečenice koji je u funkciji sveznajućeg pripovjedača. Od učenika zahtijeva da obrate pažnju na 23. stranu, i da i tu zapaze kakvo je stanovište pripovjedača. Navedite sa čim pripovjedač poredi <i>dva galeba</i>? Koji oblik pripovijedanja je korišten prilikom susreta sa dva galeba i obratite pažnjupomoću kojeg izražajnog sredstva.</p>	<p>Znajući što slijedi, ukazuju na to da je ovaj ključni dijalog u ulozi pokretača radnje, dakle da ima dinamičan karakter.</p> <p>Odgovaraju da ne žali i pokazuju na primjeru da je otkrio "da su dosada i strah i bes razlozi zbog kojih galebovi žive tako kratko, a kako ih se on oslobodio, proživeo je zaista dug život." Takođe, zapažaju i korišćenje veznika <i>i</i> među riječima kod kojih bi mogao stajati zarez, sve u funkciji jačeg isticanja. Citaju prvu rečenicu: "Došli su jedne večeri i [...]; zatim drugu: Dva galeba koja su se pojavila." Uočavaju da ovdje, pisac već upoznat sa događajima, predstavlja književnu stvarnost sa sveznajućeg stanovišta.</p> <p>Uočavaju da pripovjedač dva galeba poredisa zvjezdama.</p> <p>Zapažaju da je prilikom susreta sa dva galeba korišten opisni stil sa primjenom imenskog predikata.</p>

<p>Gdje ga vode? Nastavnik napominje da čemo se vratiti na taj pojam. Zašto dolaze?</p> <p>Šta nam poručuje ova misao?</p>	<p>Učenici pronalaze u tekstu da su dva galeba blistala, "svetlošću koja je bila nežna i prijateljska u hladnom noćnom vazduhu."</p> <p>Navode da dva galeba vode Džonatana u <i>visine</i>. Ukazuju na objašnjenje koje dva galeba daju Džonatanu: kažu mu da je jednu školu završio, i da je došlo vrijeme da pođe u drugu.</p>
<p>Ta rečenica je potvrda jedne druge, ranije izrečene. Koje?</p>	<p>Iznose stavove, povezuju ih sa ličnim iskustvima, uviđaju da ova misao kao buktinja osvjetljava znan dio strukture, suština odgovora je u tome da je cijeli život učenje.</p>
<p>Time se završava I dio knjige.</p> <p>Šta se dešava sa spolnjim obličjem Džonatanovim u tom drugom svijetu? Na šta vas podsjeća ta pojava?</p>	<p>Upoređivanjem zapažaju da je objašnjenje koje dva galeba daju Džonatanu, potvrda rečenice sa 19. strane, kazane iz pripovjedačevog ugla: da se za Galeba Džonatana otvara nova era.</p> <p>Uopštavaju da se u I dijelu govori o učenju Galebo-vom, njegovom protjerivanju i poznanstvu sa dva galeba koji vješto lete.</p>
<p>Kako biste motivisali bolji let?</p>	<p>Argumentuju da se Galebu spoljnje obliče mijenja, postaje ljepši, <i>krila uglančana, glatka, savršena</i>.</p> <p>Asocijativnim putem učenici dolaze do iskustvenih, poznatih mudrih uzreka da kada je čovjek lijep iznutra, lijep je i spolja. Razmatranje ovih problema utiče na formiranje moralnih stavova kod učenika.</p>
<p>Kojom stilskom figurom su prikazani galebovi iz I i II dijela?</p>	<p>Analiziraju. Mogući odgovor mogao bi da glasi da je Džonatanovo bolje letenje motivisano i razumijevanjem okoline; galebovi koji su došli po njega rekli su da su mu braća i da ga vode kući.</p> <p>Upoređujući, utvrđuju da je u pitanju kontrast.</p>
<p>Kakav efekat ostavlja na nas slikanje pojava u crno-bijeloj tehniči?</p> <p>Pronađite dijaloge koje Džonatan vodi sa Salivenom i Čijangom i objasnite njihovu ulogu.</p>	<p>Dokazuju govoreći da je u I dijelu galebovima važno samo kako doći do hrane, koriste kreštanje i gakanje, a u II dijelu, galebovi razmišljaju kao Džonatan, najvažnija stvar im je da dosegnu savršenstvo u letenju i koriste telepatiju.</p> <p>Analizirajući, zapažaju jak emocionalni utisak.</p>
	<p>Navode Salivenove riječi da je njihovo učenje išlo postepeno; prvo su naučili da postoji nešto drugo izuzev borbe za hranu, potom da postoji savršenstvo, i tek onda da je smisao života da pronađu to savršenstvo i podijele ga sa drugima; i Čijangove: "Ovde si da bi ponovo učio, Džonatane Galebe" (35-36). Učenici pokušavaju da objasne da su ovi dijalozi u funkciji pokretanja radnje, da utiču na</p>

<p>Nastavnik traži da pročitaju ponovo i ukažu sa čim Saliven poredi ograničenja.</p>	<p>razvoj glavnog lika, kao i da osvjetljavaju samu ideju djela – ako želimo da napredujemo, cijeli život učimo. Učenici potvrđuju iskaze Salivenovom mišlju da naredni svijet biramo u skladu sa onom što smo naučili, a ne naučimo li ništa, "naredni svet će biti poput ovog, pa ćemo ponovo morati da se borimo sa ograničenjima kao s olovnim tegovima."</p>
<p>Nastavnik navodi učenike da prepoznaju motiv koji se prenosi kroz umjetničku tvorevinu. Kada Džonatan uči <i>spiralno poniranje u formaciji</i>, ne uspijeva mu iz niza pokušaja, šta kaže Saliven?</p>	<p>Koristeći svoja već stečena znanja, uočavaju taj misaoni stav prema poredbenoj slici dva pojma sa zajedničkom osobinom, odn. najvažnijim članom po-ređenja, olovom, kao najtežim metalom. Vođeni nastavnikovim instrukcijama učenici navode Salivenove riječi: "Pokušaćemo ponovo." Prepoznaju motiv upornosti koji se kao lajt-motiv javlja i otkriva smisao knjige.</p>
<p>Kako se postavlja Džonatan kada nauči od Čijanga da putuje brzinom misli i dobije čestitke? Razmislite o Čijangovim riječima na 41. strani.</p>	<p>Konstatuju da Džonatan i tada smatra da je još početnik. Uz nastavnikovu pomoć dolaze do suštine ovakvog postupanja, otkrivaju da nije sujetan.</p>
<p>Koje je metaforično značenje ovih riječi? Ukoliko se dobije povratna informacija jer je u pitanju istina koja je možda nedokučiva dotičnom uzrastu, može se aludirati na Kišu. Obratite pažnju na sliku Čijangova dok izgovara posljednje riječi, na 41. strani. Koja stilska sredstva uočavate?</p>	<p>Usmjeravaju pažnju na Čijangove riječi: "Možemo da počnemo da vežbamo s vremenom [...] kako bi bio u stanju da letiš u prošlost i budućnost", tada će biti spreman da se suoči sa nečim što je najteže. "Bićeš spreman da se još jednom uzvisiš i spoznaš značenje dobrote i ljubavi."</p> <p>Iznose svoje mišljenje. Uz pomoć nastavnika dolaze do odgovora da je u pitanju širenje vidika, poimanje života, shvatanje da se sve ponavlja, da nije vrijedno trošiti se na nepotrebne stvari.</p>
<p>Da li je ovom slikom motivisano njegovo mjesto učitelja?</p>	<p>Usmjeravaju pažnju na sliku Čijangova dok bodri prijatelje da nikad ne prestaju sa učenjem, vježbom i nastojanjima da saznaju što više o tom načelu koji pokreće život.</p> <p>Razmišljaju i primjećuju da je vizuelna slika, dočarana hiperbolom u cilju jačeg emotivnog djelovanja:</p> <p>"Dok je govorio, perje mu je postajalo sve svetlijе i napokon je toliko blistalo da nijedan galeb više nije bio u stanju da gleda u njega."</p> <p>Tragaju za odgovorom. Utvrđuju da o etičkim vrijednostima lika, ako se sjetimo ranije izrečene konstatacije: ako si lijep iznutra, lijep si i spolja, do-</p>

<p>Nakon uvida u više vrednosnih činilaca, nastavnik traži od učenika da objasne šta je u stvari ovaj drugi svijet u kojem boravi Džonatan. Na koje značenje upućuje?</p>	<p>znajemo karakterizacijom fizičkim izgledom, čime se ujedno opravdava ili motiviše mjesto učitelja. Upoznavši bitne činioce, učenici dolaze do zaključka da je drugi svijet, odnosno <i>visine</i> u kojem boravi Džonatan u II dijelu knjige, simbol viših duhovnih stanja, u kojem se vidi čistije i bolje. U okviru konkretnog nagovještava se nešto široko, nepredstavljivo.</p>
<p>Analogno tome, kako objašnjavate funkciju Džonatanove želje da se vrati u Jato, i pored odgovaranja od strane Salivena: <i>Džone, pa oni ne vide ni vrhove svojih krila.</i></p>	<p>Bilježe na grafikonu. Upoređujući sa Salivenovim ranije izgovorenim riječima da posle dostizanja savršenstva slijedi i dijenjenje tog saznanja sa drugima, učenici dolaze do spajanja upoznatih dijelova u cjelinu i saznanja da je ta pojedinost, Džonatanova želja da pomogne drugima, proizvod njegovog daljeg razvitka i ispunjenje tih riječi. Naravno, i ove sadašnje Salivenove riječi imaju funkciju da istaknu moralne osobine glavnog lika uz poštovanje principa: budi ono što jesi.</p>
<p>Po zakonu Jata Otpadnik je zauvijek gubio pravo povratka. No, šta se dešava kad je u pitanju Galeb? U funkciji misaonog objedinjavanja umjetničkih činilaca, nastavnik predlaže osvrt na jezičkostilske osobine. Kojim stilskim postupkom su građene slike novih pristalica?</p>	<p>Bilježe na grafikonu i III fazu duhovnog razvoja. Galeb Džonatan Livingston se u III dijelu knjige vraća jatu koje ga je odbacio, u želji da pomogne drugima da spoznaju istinu. Razmišljaju i utvrđuju da Galeb još jednom dokazuje da ruši šeme. Koristeći bilješke, učenici tumače da prijavljuju, najprije, kaže da je Džonatana posmatralo "više od jednog para očiju", dakle koristi perifrazu, radi isticanja znatiželjnih očiju koje hoće da budu skrivene, ali su ipak tu i posmatraju Džonatanov let. Potom, da se stvorio još jedan krug "pretvarajući da ne vide jedan drugog", što je potvrda pređašnje konstatacije. Na kraju, stvorio se krug od hiljadu ptica kojima nije bilo stalo da li ih ko vidi. Učenici zaključuju da prijavljuju koristeći gradaciju, postupno ocrtava promjene u kolektivu običnih.</p>
<p>Kako su okarakterisani oni koji ne žele da se izdignu iz ustaljenosti iz ugla prijavljujuča?(66) Objasnite takav stav.</p>	<p>Primjerom iz teksta, zapažaju da prijavljujuči koristi samo jednu riječ: <i>gomila</i>. Kako biti dio mase uвijek nosi rizik ustaljenosti, običnosti, zablude ili nepoznavanje sebe samog, učenici razumiju i na čijoj je strani prijavljujuči i šta poručuje.</p>
<p>Razmotrite koja je funkcija Flečerovog čuđenja povodom Ga-</p>	<p>Džonatan voli tu "gomilu ptica" i kaže da se ne vole mržnja i zlo, nego ono dobro u svakome od njih (67). Zapažaju da je Flečerovo čuđenje u ulozi isticanja Džonatanovih moralnih stavova.</p>

<p>lebovog stava prema gomili ptica.</p>	<p>Čitaju: "Ne dozvoli im da šire blesave priče o meni, ili da me proglose za boga". Učenici otkrivaju odsustvo sujete. Obrazlažu ličnim stavovima. Iznose umjetnikovo kreiranje lika. Flečer sejavljuje na kraju II dijela knjige. Ljut je i gnjevan što je odbačen. Džonatan ga savjetuje da im oprosti i da se posveti učenju. Nakon niza neuspjeha, Flečer na kraju knjige i sam postaje učitelj.</p> <p>Na osnovu poznatih elemenata djela, učenici dolaze do zaključka da je Flečerov put dokaz da se uz upornost i vježbu može stupiti na put saznanja. Nakon povezivanja bitnijih slojeva djela, podstaknuti nastavnikovim pitanjima, učenici otkrivaju višak vrijednosti. Zaključuju da ovakva kompozicija poručuje da je moguće u drugima naći ono dobro i prosvijetliti ih.</p> <p>Vrednuju Flečerovu umjetničku funkciju: Flečer nema previše prostora u umjetničkoj tvorevini, ali ima važnu ulogu u osvjetljavanju same ideje djela; on je lik koji pruža optimizam i nadu da je moguće <i>pokidati lance kojima su naše misli sputane</i> (55) i pronaći sebe samog, dakle, u motivskoj strukturi njegov lik je opravdan.</p>
<p>I onda kada uči od drugih i onda kada je sam učitelj, Džonatan pokazuje istu osobinu (70). Nastavnik navodi i svoj stav koji se poklapa sa mislima Aleksandra Mela: <i>Najveći neprijatelj nažeg duševnog mira je JA, naš EGO</i>.</p> <p>Nastavnik traži od učenika da objasne Flečerovo prisustvo u djelu, da izvrše karakterizaciju. Razmislite: Flečerov put je umjetnički dokaz. Šta se sa njim želi dokazati?</p> <p>Knjiga počinje Džonatanovim učenjem, a završava Flečerovim stupanjem na put saznanja. Šta nam govori takva kompozicija?</p> <p>Šta mislite o odnosu pripovijedanog vremena koje je posvećeno Flečeru kao sporednom liku i njegovoj umjetničkoj funkciji?</p> <p>Najavljuje pismeni dio lektire i određuje zadatke.</p>	

(Napomena: Ovo je jedan, ali ne i jedini pristup djelu. Odgovore učenika dali smo kao moguće, bolje rečeno, kao željene odgovore do kojih želimo stići. Uvažavajući predanost prilikom obrade, poštjujući afinitete i obaveze prema drugim predmetima, nećemo zahtijevati da svaki učenik mora odraditi i sve zadatke vezane za pismeni prikaz lektire. Različiti su po težini, ali se i dopunjaju, tako da smatramo da ćemo samim otvaranjem problema aktivirati angažovanost i sagledavanje sopstvenih radnih sposobnosti.)

Pismena lektira

Čas pismene lektire, takođe, počinje utvrđivanjem spremnosti učenika za rad. Nastavnik obiđe učenike, letimično pogleda zadatke, kaže komentar o urednosti, što je važno jer učenici odgovornije prilaze poslu, ukoliko znaju da će nastavnik imati uvid u to (Marinković 177).

Zadaci za pismeni dio lektire su uklopljeni u ukupnu strukturu književnog gradiva i usmjereni na težište problema. Ne zahtijevamo opširnost, već se baziramo na obuhvatanje suštine problema. Pismena izlaganja treba da budu kraća, jezgrovitija, puna razmišljanja, upoređivanja, traganja, zaključivanja i citiranja. Sadržaj i dinamika zadataka je prilagođena mogućnostima i interesovanjima pojedinaca. U jednom od pismenih zadataka koristićemo metodološko povezivanje književnosti i jezika u cilju pojačavanja aktivnosti, razvijanja pismenosti i upotpunjavanja znanja. U cilju uobličavanja već analiziranog, jedan od zadataka je i otkrivanje uloge različitih načina karakterizacije, kao i definisanje prevage među njima. Kao podloga obradi bajkovitih elemenata, koje će uraditi učenici sa više afiniteta, slabiji učenici imaju zadatak da prikupe bitne elemente bajke. Dublje shvatanje djela zavisi i od usvojenih vanjezičkih znanja, i upravo je funkcija poetskog jezika usmjerena prema tom višku značenja, tako da će zadaci biti usmjereni i na buđenje kodova (v. prilog IV). Dnevnični čitanja, koje su učenici radili čitajući djelo i sada donijeli, pomoći će u sagledavanju određenih problema vezanih za analizu. Iz ovog materijala, korisnog u raspravi, obratićemo pažnju na one dijelove koji nisu bili zastupljeni tokom usmenog dijela analize, kao što su: etička i psihološka motivacija Galeba; koji su stvarni, a koji fantastični motivi u djelu; zatim, na jedan stvaralački zadatak, koji ćemo prepustiti boljim učenicima, a to su sličnosti između *Galeba Džonatana Livingstona* i *Malog princa*. Dok jedan učenik čita, ostali prate i bilježe svoje utiske o uspješnosti obrade. Produbljeni oblik interpretacije teksta prilika je i da nastavnik individualno pristupi učenicima i provjeri da li su površni ili studiozni čitači.

U toj fazi do punog izraza dolaze najrazličitije stvaralačke mogućnosti učenika, a istovremeno služi i za sređivanje rezultata do kojih se došlo na časovima usmene lektire. Uključivanjem raznovrsnih oblika usmenog i pismenog izražavanja i samostalni stvaralački rad učenika aktualizovaćemo umjetnički svijet književnog djela i učenike uputiti u istraživanje i kritičko procjenjivanje djela.

Kvalitet čitanja neposredno utiče na vrijednost interpretacije, ali i od vrijednosti interpretacije zavisi kakve će se čitalačke navike razvijati kod učenika, kaže Nikolić (163-167). Ukoliko je čas uspio, kraj časa je i prilika da se najavi novo djelo.

Idejno-tematska osnova djela može poslužiti za korelaciju sa likovnim izražavanjem. Pogodna je i kao inspiracija za različite oblike pismenog izražavanja, koje se mogu sprovesti na nekom od sljedećih časova (npr. Sloboda je, Zamislite monolog jednog lika iz djela / Zamislite da ovu priču priča...).

Aktivnosti nastavnika	Aktivnosti učenika
<p>Nastavna jedinica: Ciljevi časa:</p> <p>Tip časa: Oblici rada: Metode učenja:</p> <p>Materijal:</p> <p>Nastavnik utvrdjuje spremnost učenika za rad. Obilazi učenike. Letimično pogleda radove. Stiče uvid o spremnosti učenika. Predlaže čitanje radova. Prvi zadatak je uočavanje u kojim se sve situacijama Džonatan izdvaja od drugih i povezivanje znanja iz jezika sa konkretnim situacijama iz djela.</p> <p>Prati. Prelazi na drugi zadatak, posmatraњe problema karakterizacije sa različitim stanovišta. Prati i dopunjuje ako je potrebno.</p> <p>Predlaže osvrтанje na bitna obilježja bajke, pitanja o putu do uspjeha i da li junaci sjede skrštenih ruku.</p>	<p><i>Galeb Džonatan Livingston – Ričard Bah</i> Formiranje stavova, uvjerenja i sistema vrijednosti, razvijanje sposobnosti samostalnog rada na istraživanju, razvijanje pismenosti, sticanje znanja primjenljivih u životu, razvijanje sposobnosti primjene stečenih znanja u novim situacijama Sistematizacija Individualni rad Smisleno receptivno verbalno učenje, istraživački zadaci, učenje putem otkrića, analitičko-sintetička metoda, metoda indukcije i dedukcije, divergentno učenje, komparativna metoda pripovijetka, bilješke, tabla, kreda</p> <p>Izjašnavaju se da li su uradili zadatke. Učenici pokazuju radove. Pismenim prikazom učenici pokazuju da su uočili Galebovo izdvajanje: na samom početku dok se ostali galebovi bore za hranu, Galeb u samoći vježba; galebovi nikad ne lete po mraiku, ali Džonatan ne sluša (16); galeb nikada ne odgovara pred Zborom, "ali Džonatan je podigao glas" (21); po Zakonu Jata Otpadnik zauvijek gubi pravo povratka, ali Džonatan insistira. Učenici zapažaju da Galeb ruši šeme. Povezuje veznik <i>ali</i> koji se koristi u suprotnim rečenicama sa primjerima iz djela. Dolaze i do psihološke i etičke karakterizacije lika. Ostali prate, dopunjaju. Izlažuproblem sa različitim stanovišta. Dolazi se do suštine pitanja: dokazuju da prevagu imaju postupci jer bez njih riječi bi bile prazne. Upoređuju svoja mišljenja. Komentarišu. Prikupljeni podaci se iznose. Dopunjaju jedni druge. Čitanje rada u kojem su pronađeni traženi elementi: dva žuta sunca (40), težnja za ljepšim i srećnjim životom, pobjeda dobrog, borba sa ograničenjima, savlađivanje prostora i vremena, zalaganje za humanije međuljudske odnose, junak bajke oličenje morala, vrline, plennitosti, optimistična. Slušaju, dopunjaju.</p>

<p>Prelazi na sljedeći zadatak: otkrivanje bajkovitih elemenata u konkretnom djelu.</p> <p>Prati, pohvaljuje.</p> <p>Predlaže razmatranje o odstupanju od ustaljenih postupaka stvaranja bajke.</p>	<p>Pismenim putem izlažu da u bajkama nema ličnih imena, već su šablonizovani, svode se na zanimanja, socijalno porijeklo. Uočili su da u ovoj knjizi oni koji uče imaju puno ime i prezime (Galeb Džonatan Livingston, Galeb Flečer Lind, Galeb Martin Vilijam, Galeb Henri Kalvin, Galeb Terens Lauel, Galeb Krik Majnard ili samo ime Saliven i Čijang); ostali su dio mase i nemaju ime. Tumače postupak: prijavljuje vrednuje one koji žele da uče, a oni koji ne žele da napreduju, zaslužuju samo da se svrstaju u grupu od hiljadu galebova.</p>
<p>Očekuje da čuje razmišljanja o podtekstu slobode i leta.</p>	<p>Čitanje, iznošenje stavova. Otkrivanje riznice znakova. Sloboda → biti ono što jesi → slušati sebe → mir → sreća. Let → visina → udaljenost → duhovno stanje.</p>
<p>Predlaže da se čuje stvaralački zadatak o proučavanju minus prisustva ličnih imena galebova koji ne rade na sebi, o potisnutim znacima.</p> <p>Analogno tome, nasuprot svjetlosti i visini treba da obrazlože njihove opozite, dijelove teksta koji ne dominiraju.</p>	<p>Razmjenjuju mišljenja. Uz pomoć nastavnika dolaze do mogućeg vanjezičkog znaka – umjetnost življenja.</p> <p>Na osnovu prijavljuječevog stava prema <i>gobili</i>, čita se rad o onome iz čega se glavni junak izdiže. Učenici su proučili estetsku funkciju potisnutog znaka: odsustvo imena za galebove koji ne žele da uče provokira čitaoca da se distancira od nerada i prikloni onima koje prijavljuje vrednuje. Učenici ukazuju da su bezimeni galebovi povezani i sa onim znacima koji nisu pomenuti, ali su vezani za njih, naime, ako tamo gdje je Galeb Džonatan Livingston funkcionišu znaci visine i svjetlosti, leta i učenja, onda su ovdje nepomenuti znaci u podtekstu: nizina, mrak, učmalost, ljenost.</p>
<p>Vrši moguće korekcije, pohvaljuje.</p> <p>Radi uopštavanja prelazi na zadatak o uočavanju kompozicije.</p>	<p>Razmišljaju. Dopunjaju jedni druge.</p> <p>Čitanje pismenog prikaza u kojem je utvrđena kompozicija djela koje počinje Džonatanovim učenjem, a završava Flečerovom mišljem da grane ne postoje i da je <i>stupio na put saznanja</i>. Obrazlažu postupak, knjiga je optimistična, pokazuje da se krug onih koji otvaraju oči širi. Uočen je i likovni prikaz na kraju knjige, koji sugerira rađanje novih učenika.</p>
<p>Postavlja pitanje o stvaralačkom zadatku pri upoređivanju ovog djela sa drugim.</p> <p>Pohvaljuje aktivne saradnike i stvaraće.</p>	<p>U pismenim prikazima povezuju obrađivano djelo sa <i>Malim Princem</i>, Antoana de Sent Egziperija. Uočavaju sličnosti: oba pisca su i avijatičari, glavni junaci nose u sebi beskrajnu ljubav prema svijetu, životu i ljepoti, grubosti ovog svijete.</p>

<p>Daje učenicima riječ ukoliko su uočili još neki problem.</p> <p>Najavljuje ekspresivne aktivnosti (likovno stvaralaštvo, pismene teme).</p> <p>Podsjeća na naredno djelo lektire.</p> <p>Motiviše za čitanje i utvrđuje se organizacija.</p>	<p>ta ih rastužuje, ali ne koleba u njihovim nazorima i idealima...</p> <p>Izjašnjavaju se.</p>
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Predlozi i preporuke u odnosu na stručnu temu

*Razviti trajnu naučnu radoznalost učenika,
vrhunska je umjetnost i umjetnost nastavnika.
(Ajnštajn)*

Prilikom proučavanja djela domaće lektire nastavnik, kao posrednik između učenika i dubljeg razumijevanja umjetničkog djela, sugestivno i nematematičivo vaspitava karaktere svojih učenika. U praktičnom smislu kompletan analiza književnoumjetničkog djela je neostvariva. Tome još doprinosi i ograničenost vremena. No, kreativna nastava ističe pravilo po kome je bolje dublje i kreativnije sagledavanje na manjem prostoru, nego plitko i površno na većem. Efekti su trajniji i jači, kako kaže Marinković (21).

Poštujući osnovne principe prilikom proučavanja djela, kao prioritet smo odredili razvojnu liniju glavnog lika. Mogući scenario je jedan, ali ne i jedini način pristupa domaćoj lektiri *Galeb Džonatan Livingston*. U zavisnosti od asocijativnih veza, povratnih informacija i kreativnosti moguće je protkati niz mogućih veza između djela i učenika i uz pomoć aktivnosti ostaviti trajne tragove u sjećanju i razvoju. Tema oproštaja, koju nismo ni dotakli u scenariju, pogodna je za povezivanje sa pjesmom R. Kiplinga *Sine moj*, koju su učenici imali prilike da čuju prilikom motivacije za čitanje domaće lektire istog pisca. Na dodatnoj nastavi, sa boljim učenicima bilo bi podsticajno govoriti o ulozi Starješine; dovesti u vezu sa Kišom i jednom od njegovih vanvremenih tema o instrumentalizaciji ljudi koji se nalaze pod sveopštrom kontrolom. Prilikom osvrtanja na Džonatanovo spoljne oblike, zainteresovanim učenicima nastavnik može pomenuti roman razvoja, u kojem se, kao i u ovom djelu, sazrijevanjem lik proljeva spolja. Nastavnik kao vodič može zastati i pred riječju *kuća* i njenom konotativnom značenju, koju upotrebljavaju dva galeba kad odvode Džonatana; misli o trci za hranom povezati sa *Biblijom*. Upravo, pristup nekom djelu dobar je ukoliko se angažuju „misaoност и emotivnost učenika и ako se odvija u sistemu“, kako kaže Delić (80).

Jedna od pet osobina koje bi trebalo da ima kreativni nastavnik jeste i da bude učenik, odnosno da ima svijest o veličini i važnosti svog zadatka i da stalno traga za novim. Upravo, on je model učenicima koje savremena nastava želi da pokrene na aktivnost, da razvije saznanju glad i interesovanje za svijet koji ih okružuje.

Pročavajući djelo predviđeno za domaću lektiru istraživačkim pitanjima podsticali smo i usmjeravali pažnju učenika ka dominantnim vrijednostima, koje su dalje razvijale kritičku misao i samosvjesnost u sagledavanju problema. U pitanjima, koje se danas vrednuju kao osnova stvaralačkog mišljenja, još je Aristotel, mislilac Antike, u IV vijeku prije nove ere, video osnovu učenja i filozofije. Ne mogu se dotaći sva pitanja, ali je važna sama vrijednost učinka i pokret misli koji neminovno vode i razvoju ličnosti.

Rad u grupi ostavljamо kao otvorenu mogućnost jer je jedan od ciljeva aktivne nastave vaspitavati mlade za život u kolektivu. Za individualni rad odlučili smo se iz nekoliko razloga: u pitanju je deveti razred, pa računamo na visok stepen radne angažovanosti; željeli smo da izazovemo razmjenu mišljenja; i treće, nema kolektiva ako nema pojedinaca.

Prilog I Primjeri motivacije za čitanje djela



*Mi imamo slobodu da budemo
ono što jesmo, što stvarno jesmo,
ovdje i sad, i ništa ne može da stane na naš put.*

Autorov crtež koji simbolizuje nadu Poruka nade Ričarda Bah-a



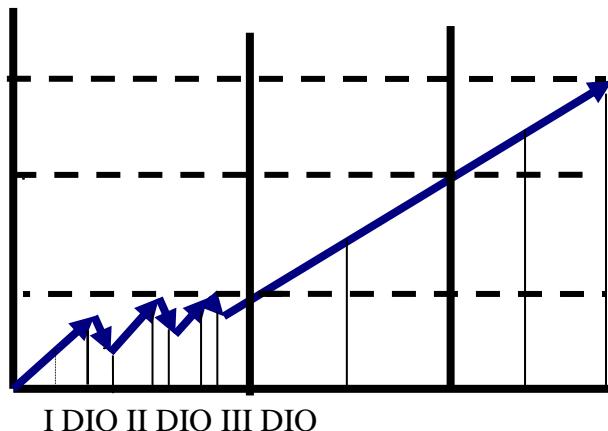
Likovno ostvarenje inspirisano književnim djelom

Ako bi naše prijateljstvo zavisilo od takvih stvari kao što su vreme i prostor, onda bi naše bratstvo propalo čim bi konačno uspeli da ih prevaziđemo. Ali ako savladaš prostor, sve što ti preostaje je Ovde. Savladaj vreme, i sve što ti preostaje je Sada. Zar ne misliš da bismo, na pola puta između Ovde i Sada, mogli ponekad i da se sretnemo? (Salivenove riječi iz knjige *Galeb Džonatan Livingston*)

Prilog II

Nastavni listić za istraživačke zadatke

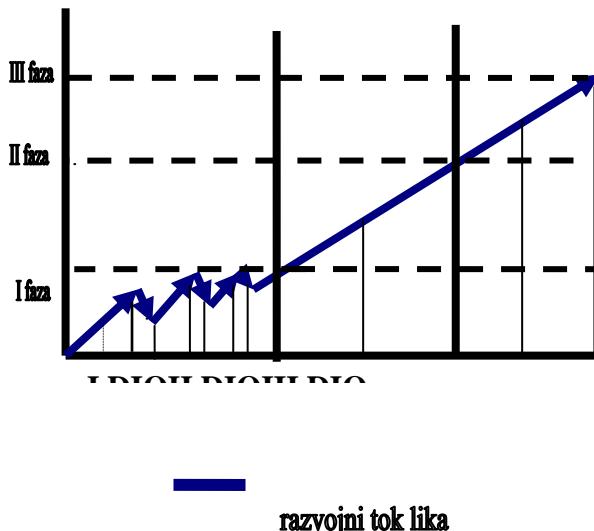
1. Na grafičkom prikazu odredite kompozicijske jedinice: početak učenja, uticaj roditelja, odluku da ne leti, neuspjeh, lomljenje, Proboj, Zbor, poznanstvo sa dva galeba i odlazak na drugi svijet, nastavak učenja, Flečer, povratak u Jato, Flečerovo stupanje na put saznanja. Plava linija prati razvojni tok glavnog lika.



2. Obratite pažnju na početak knjige i uočite stilsku figuru.
3. Razmisli koja je funkcija Galebovog dijaloga sa roditeljima? Zapazi kojim oblikom priповijedanja doznajemo Galebova razmišljanja, uoči motiv.
4. Razmisli koja je umjetnička funkcija Džonatanove krize.
5. Obrati pažnju na Džonatanovo opravdanje jer krši obećanje.
6. Pripremi se da analiziraš Galebov osjećaj Proboja.
7. Utvrди koji bi elementi u fabuli imali dramatičan tok.
8. Razmotri u kojoj su funkciji Galebovi razgovori sa Salivenom i Čijangom.
9. Uporedi Flečerov lik prvi put kada se sa njim srećemo i na kraju knjige.
10. Izdvoj u djelu emotivno obojene rečenice.
11. Uoči glavne i sporedne motive. Pokušaj da prepoznaš lajt-motiv.

12. Obrati pažnju koja stilska sredstva pri povjedač koristi (dva galeba, galebovi iz I i II dijela, ograničenja, nove pristalice, Čijang).
13. Pripremite se da obrazložite pri povjedačev stav prema onima koji ne uče.
14. Pokušaj da protumačiš simbole (visina, stijena).

Prilog III
Konačan izgled grafičkog prikaza



početak učenja	uticaj roditelja	odлука da ne leti	neuspjeh	lomljenje	uspjeh (Proboj)	Zbor (pretjerivanje)	dva galeba	nastavak učenja	Flečer	povratak u Jato	Flečerovo saznanje
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Prilog IV**Zadaci za pismeni prikaz lektire**

1. Uočite u kojim se sve situacijama Galeb izdvaja od drugih. Često se koristi veznik *ali*; uporedite sa znanjem iz jezika. Primjerima dodite do psihološke i etičke karakterizacije lika.
2. Obratite pažnju na karakterizaciju lika iz ugla monologa, dijaloga, pripovjedača i postupaka. Uporedite i objasnite koji način dobija najveću vrijednost i zašto.
3. Prikupite osobine bajke, uočite kakav je put do uspjeha (obratite pažnju na to da li junaci sjede skrštenih ruku).
4. Pronađite u tekstu pojedinosti koje idu u prilog da je ovo djelo bajka.
5. Razmotrite po čemu ovo djelo odstupa od ustaljenih postupaka stvaranja bajke (naglasak na ličnim imenima).
6. Proučite riječi sloboda, let. Koje je njihovo osnovno, a koje sekundarno značenje?
7. Utvrdi način na koji pisac počinje i završava svoje djelo. Zapazi i ilustraciju na posljednjoj strani.
8. Razmisli o minus prisustvu ličnih imena galebova koji ne rade na sebi; i ako u knjizi preovladavaju motivi visine, svjetlosti – to ne znači da u njoj ne funkcionišu znaci koji su njima opoziti. Proučite potisnute znake.

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JONATHAN LIVINGSTON SEAGULL – A STORY BY RICHARD BACH (METHODOLOGY APPROACH)

Organizing school reading enables the realization of the primary school aim and that is to teach young people the wisdom of a happy life. The focus of a teacher's activities is in planning, preparing, collecting materials and, finally, creating a lesson plan. The lesson plan must be elaborated step by step, activity by activity, task by task, so in this way the idea of active learning is transformed into the process of teaching. If the lesson plan is not connected to the lesson plan objectives, reading materials, teaching methods and techniques, it is necessary to be modified before its realization begins. The teacher can be compared to a screenwriter whose main activities happen before filming while during the filming he is only a consultant. Therefore, the teacher spends most of the time planning and creating the lesson plan, while throughout the lesson plan realization he is in the background, discreetly guiding students through the learning process. (Ivic et al. 212).

Reading Jonathan Livingston Seagull by Richard Bach is scheduled for the ninth grade of the elementary school. Its theme helps teacher develop students' attitudes and beliefs, contributing to their personal development and associating with their better life.

Key Words: spiritual development, continuous learning, the meaning of life, enlightenment, knowledge transfer.

THE ROLE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING IN METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION: AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY

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Abstract: The paper endeavors to investigate the conceptual metaphor awareness via a psycholinguistic experiment done by Serbian grammar school and EFL students. The analysis is carried to determine the extent to which the students are aware of the differences between metaphor identification processes in the two languages and whether, in an attempt to offer satisfactory solutions, they resort to applying the mother tongue knowledge in case of not being able to interpret foreign language metaphors. The psycholinguistic experiment conducted in this research is composed of 28 metaphorical and non-metaphorical sentences in Serbian and English taken from the available corpora. The experiment was conducted by presenting the participants with equal stimuli,, where they were supposed to determine whether there is metaphorical content present in the sentences or not. In the final section of the research the results of the two analyses are compared to reveal that the assumptions we set off with were mostly correct. The obtained results suggested that language proficiency, the amount of exposure to L2 and direct formal instruction in various aspects of L2 are significant factors for fast and successful metaphor identification.

Key words: metaphor, identification, metaphorical, literal, psycholinguistics

Introductory Remarks

Extended metaphoric systems are a remarkable feature of our language. People use analogies and metaphors from familiar concrete domains to explain less familiar or abstract domains: e.g., flowing water for electricity (Gentner and Gentner 1983) or a long journey for marriage (Quinn 1987). Of course, during ordinary language use people rarely think about whether words and phrases have literal, figurative, or some other type of meaning – they simply try to make sense of the discourse in relation to the present context and their own personal goals. This fact about ordinary language use raises the question of whether there is anything special about figurative language, such as employing different cognitive processes to produce and understand it as compared to nonfigurative speech. A great deal of psycholinguistic research confirms that many forms of figurative language may be interpreted in the same way as most nonfigurative discourse, although there are instances where some forms of figurative meaning

may require a lot more effort to understand and may employ special cognitive processes (Gibbs 1994). In traditional psycholinguistic terms, the human language processor is intended for the analysis of literal meanings, whereas

nonliteral, indirect, and figurative meanings are secondary products, and dependent on some prior analysis of what words and expressions literally mean. This general theory implies that nonliteral meanings should always take more time to interpret than are the literal meanings. (Traxler and Gernsbacher 837)

This study attempts to reach underneath the surface into the mechanisms of metaphor identification processes, and, hopefully, it goes beyond the recurring explanations. The assortment of sentences gathered for the purposes of this research presents the body for the ongoing investigation of metaphor awareness. Moreover, it is expected that it will endorse the acknowledged principles of organization of human thought and experience. The focus in this study will be on metaphorical and non-metaphorical expressions in Serbian and English. The theories that provide the basis for this research are the metaphor comprehension theories from the psycholinguistic point of view. Apart from these theories, the research will also refer to the previous studies dealing with the same phenomenon. Metaphorical and non-metaphorical sentences in Serbian and English, taken from the online corporuses of the two languages, were collected and used in the psycholinguistic experiment for the purposes of this research. The obtained results will be noted and analyzed through reliance on authors' observations as well as previous similar research.

Research Purpose and Aim

The primary aim of this research is to analyze, present and explain the level of metaphor identification in mother tongue and foreign language based on the results obtained via a psycholinguistic experiment done by Serbian grammar school and EFL students belonging to two age groups (1st and 2nd year of grammar school and 3rd and 4th year at the Department of English). Data collection can be characterized as objective because data were taken from online databases of the Serbian and English language corporuses, respectively. The primary method of research will be a psycholinguistic experiment comprised of the presentation of equal stimuli (metaphorical and non-metaphorical sentences in Serbian and English). Besides this, the research attempts to explain whether, in an attempt to offer satisfactory solutions, the students resort to applying the mother tongue knowledge in case of not being able to interpret foreign language metaphors. Also, the research endeavors to account for the influence of previous experience with certain metaphors, their

frequency, occurrence and metaphoricity on metaphor awareness. Finally, the research strives to emphasize the importance of the teacher/professor in improving metaphor perception based on different mechanisms operating behind it, that is, to propose adequate methods for teaching metaphor in relation to those mechanisms. Two criteria on which the entire empirical design is based have been established: (1) the correspondence and equivalence between the metaphors of Serbian and English, and (2) the difference between the participants of the two age groups (grammar school and college students), that is, the influence of the duration of foreign language learning on metaphor identification.

Theoretical Framework

Different Approaches to Metaphor

There has been a lot of debate on whether metaphor should be explored within the field of linguistics, literary studies, cognitive sciences, psychology or philosophy, which has, in turn, produced an extensive amount of literature. The earliest scholarly discussion on metaphor was first established in ancient Greece. Aristotle was one of the first who analyzed them in greater detail in his *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* (Ricœur 1978). Aristotle regarded metaphor as a sign of eloquence and brilliance, and as a suitable ornament for poetry. According to the *classical tradition*, metaphors are meant to surprise and impress the hearer, whereas in contemporary research, metaphors simply reflect the way we think. Aristotle treated metaphor as deviant and as a substitution; his metaphor involves a comparison of two semantically remote concepts which are connected by an analogy standing for the similarity between the two terms, namely, genus and species.

Another approach, radically different from the classical, was a result of a large amount of theoretical work on metaphor finally completed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's shared work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) in which they propose the revolutionary view that metaphor is an inseparable part of everyday language and thought. Their approach to the study of metaphor is also known as *cognitive* or *modern approach* and is completely opposed to everything proposed by the traditional view of metaphor. The greatest difference between these approaches lies in the way metaphor is perceived; in the classical approach metaphor was seen as a decorative addition to poetic language, whereas in the cognitive, it presents the way we perceive the world around us (Lakoff and Johnson). Lakoff and Johnson's major statement is that human thought is predominantly metaphorical in nature. However, a proper perception of a metaphor is possible only if there is a set of conceptual mappings between source and target domains. Source domains are more concrete aspects of conceptual structure, whereas target domains are less

familiar aspects of conceptual structure, and these abstract, complex target domains are expressed in terms of concrete, physical source domains (Kövecses 2010a). In order to make the connection between the source domain and the target domain, a transfer of meaning from one domain to another must be performed – a mapping. In other words, CMT (*Conceptual Metaphor Theory*) regards linguistic metaphors as instances of conceptual metaphors in specific utterances or sentences. One of the basic principles operating behind mappings in metaphor is analogy, a mechanism which functions on the basis of comparisons of mental representations, where inferences are created through patterns of relational roles. Analogy is a form of relational reasoning, whereas relational reasoning involves retrieval of structured knowledge from long-term memory, manipulating bindings in working memory, generating analogical inferences, learning abstract schemas, etc. Two situations can be said to be analogous “if they share a common pattern of relationships among their constituent elements, even though the elements themselves differ across the two situations” (Holyoak 234).

Direct and Indirect Processing Models

There are two basic theoretical approaches to understanding metaphors. The first approach, which includes direct processing models, is based on the notion that metaphor may be processed directly from the information at disposal, without rejecting the initial literal interpretation as nonsensical. Generally speaking, direct processing models assume that the literal meanings do play a certain role in constructing the metaphorical meaning; however, rejecting the entire literal interpretation before metaphor processing begins is not a necessary step here. The second general approach to metaphor comprehension is indirect and is best explained through the three-stage model of Searle (1979), also known as the standard pragmatic model. According to this model, a metaphor is first interpreted on the literal level and if the utterance is found to be in some way defective, either logically or because of surrounding context, then a search for a nonliteral interpretation is attempted. This means that the process of metaphorical interpretation can only begin after the literal interpretation has been already performed and rejected.

Sentence and Metaphor Processing

Glucksberg and Keysar (1990) argue that: “Metaphors are not understood as implicit similes. Instead, metaphors are understood as they are – as class-inclusion statements” (p. 17). It is considered that literal language processing is automatic and triggered by any linguistic input. On the other hand, figurative language processing is triggered only when the literal interpretation

fails to make sense. From all this, it naturally follows that figurative interpretations must take more time than literal, because such interpretations are taken into consideration only after a literal interpretation has been discarded as unsuitable. However, there are two basic factors for refuting this statement: firstly, fast recognition is facilitated by the previous experience with the particular metaphor; and secondly, even if the metaphor is not familiar, it can be recognized relatively quickly if it is apt. Direct experience with a metaphor may be helpful in clarifying the intended meaning so that later comprehension is facilitated. For example, experience is what helps us highlight the prominent features to be mapped from the target to the source domain where metaphor serves as a sort of conceptual bridge for the reorganization of the relevant domains.

Similar Research

When it comes to understanding nominal metaphors such as “My lawyer is a shark,” most people would understand that the source domain “my lawyer” has certain properties of the target domain “shark”, but at the same time does not have other shark properties. The characteristics of “shark” that are attributed to “my lawyer” would include aggressive or malicious, but not characteristics such as having fins or being able to breathe under water. Since these properties constitute the basis of the metaphor, they can be called metaphor relevant (MR). Metaphor-irrelevant (MI) properties, on the other hand, are those that are associated with literal sharks but are not attributed to the source domain. When people understand metaphors, metaphor-relevant (MR) properties become activated, whereas MI properties are usually inhibited. According to Gernsbacher’s (1991) structure-building model of language comprehension, the material which is relevant for discourse comprehension is enhanced while the irrelevant material is actively inhibited. Now, his model could be applied to metaphor comprehension to see whether MR and MI properties are actively enhanced or inhibited during metaphor interpretation. To answer this question, Gernsbacher, Keysar, and Robertson (1995) conducted an experiment in which participants, ranging from college students to senior citizens, were supposed to read sentences, one at a time, and to decide whether each statement made sense. The list of sentences contained figurative sentences such as “My lawyer is a shark” and literal counterpart sentences such as “The hammerhead is a shark.” The metaphors and their literal counterparts served as primes for MR (“Sharks are vicious”) and MI (“Sharks are good swimmers”) probe sentences. As expected, MR sentences were evaluated more quickly when they followed metaphors than when they followed literal sentences suggesting that MR properties become salient during metaphor comprehension. Logically, MI probe sentences were responded to more slowly following metaphors than

literal sentences. The obtained results confirmed Gernsbacher's suggestion that MI properties are not only inactive, but also actively inhibited during metaphor comprehension and participants could make use of them to perform the sensibility judgment task.

Some recent research appears to contradict the three-stage model's indirect processing approach. For example, metaphorical sentences can be read as quickly as literal sentences if the metaphors are introduced after a long supporting context. However, when they are presented with the sentences after a short context (usually consisting of one-sentence only), the interpretation of metaphors may take longer than the interpretation of literal sentences (Gildea and Glucksberg 1983). Gildea and Glucksberg demonstrated in a series of studies that judgments whether literal sentences were true or not were slowed when the false sentences were metaphors. For example, it took longer to say that a metaphor (e.g. Some surgeons are butchers) was false than it did to judge normally false sentences (e.g. Some apples are oranges). They also suggested that the metaphor interference effect occurred only when the metaphors had been rated as highly apt (good). This naturally leads to saying that a number of factors have been shown to contribute to recognizing metaphors in a faster and easier way, one of them being metaphor aptness. For example, "a highly apt metaphor is the one in which the domains of the topic and vehicle are relatively distant but the within-domain features are relatively close in semantic space" (Blasko and Connine 296).

Kintsch and Bowles (2002) conducted a research which focuses on differences in the way people interpret easy and difficult metaphors. The obtained results suggested that metaphors which are considered to be easy to understand are interpreted in similar ways by most people, whereas a much wider range of interpretations exists for metaphors that are difficult to comprehend. However, even in cases where the metaphors that the participants were asked to interpret were completely nonsensical, their answers were consistent to some extent. Even though the task of interpreting such metaphors seemed impossible, the participants did not give up and failed to respond in only 7% of the cases. Even for those metaphors that did not make any sense, the participants offered some universal suggestions which do not reflect their correct interpretation of difficult metaphors but the fact that they operate within word-based constraints. Gregory and Mergler (1990) dealt with the differences in response times for metaphors, similes and literal sentences via a yes-no or true-false verification task. Namely, the participants were presented with those three types of sentences on a computer and asked to make yes-no judgments about metaphors and similes. The obtained results suggested that the participants took more time to read metaphor sentences although simile sentences had exactly one more word than metaphor sentences.

Present Research

Instrument

The psycholinguistic experiment conducted in this research is composed of 28 metaphorical and non-metaphorical sentences in Serbian and English taken from online corpuses of these languages, respectively. There were 14 pairs of sentences where each sentence contained a keyword that is commonly used both literally and figuratively in everyday language. This means that each metaphorical sentence had its non-metaphorical counterpart containing the same word that could be used metaphorically and non-metaphorically in both Serbian and English. The keywords in question are the following: *branch* (English) – *grana* (Serbian), *heart* (English) – *srce* (Serbian), *steal* (English) – *ukrasti* (Serbian), *inflame* (English) – *raspaliti* (Serbian), *rollercoaster* (English) – *vrteška* (Serbian), *seed* (English) – *seme* (Serbian), *roadmap* (English) – *putokaz* (Serbian). As we can see in the list, most of the terms had high frequency scores in both languages (e.g., *heart/srce*, *steal/ukrasti* or *branch/grana*), and even in those cases where the terms were not that frequent (*rollercoaster/vrteška* or *roadmap/putokaz*), their frequency was comparable in the two languages. Sentences containing the keywords were taken from online corpuses of Serbian and English, respectively – *Korpus savremenog srpskog jezika na Matematičkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu* and *The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)*. The keywords were typed in the search fields of the corpuses, and then the lists of sentences containing the words were examined to select those most suitable for the experiment. After the sentences were taken from the corpuses, they were modified in terms of length, in order for each to be in the span of 10–12 words, and in terms of content, so that each could be relatively comprehensible for both grammar school and EFL students. The sentences in question are the following:

- 1) I think we need improvement in this branch of government.
- 2) A knot is a place where a branch meets the trunk.
- 3) Allie had broken his heart pretty badly, but that was ages before.
- 4) Dr. Denton Cooley performed the nation's first successful heart transplant.
- 5) His extraordinary male beauty was enough to steal her breath.
- 6) While off duty, I encountered two subjects attempting to steal a car.
- 7) You would do well not to inflame public passions with sensationalism.
- 8) You can easily inflame this book because of its dry pages.
- 9) The past year has been an emotional rollercoaster for Kate and Gerry.
- 10) The world famous rollercoaster is now in its 80th year.
- 11) He knew he had planted the seed of self-doubt in the boy.
- 12) I had planted the seed of potato that would rapidly grow.

- 13) Benedict will offer a roadmap for the Catholic spiritual future.
14) The girl bought a folding roadmap of America, and found California.
- 1) Ova visoko razvijena grana industrije pokriva veliki deo ukupnog izvoza.
2) Jedna grana klatila se više njene glave, teška od nevidljivog ploda.
3) Sada nisam u ozbiljnoj vezi, ali i meni je srce bilo slomljeno.
4) U Institutu je do sada sedmorici pacijenata urađena transplantacija srca.
5) Mislim da nju treba neko da prati, i tako krade bogu dane.
6) Priča se da neko krade dobrovoljne priloge za crkveni parking.
7) Razne provokacije će vremenom sigurno raspaliti strah među lokalnim Srbima.
8) Podjednaki, neki od krupnih komadića uglja moraju se potpuno raspaliti.
9) Od ovoga zavisi opstanak svakoga od njih na toj elitnoj vrteški.
10) U novoizgrađenom dečjem parku mogu se naći vrteške i tobogani.
11) Pokušavali su da unesu seme razdora između Srba i Hrvata.
12) Za setvu se upotrebljavaju seme i rasad visokorodnih sorti žitarica.
13) Uspeli smo da napravimo prilično dobar putokaz budućeg razvoja Srbije.
14) Liniju prati staza koja je jedini putokaz na sedam stotina kilometara.

Participants

All the participants were Serbian grammar school and EFL students belonging to two major age groups – I and II year of grammar school, and III and IV year at the Department of English. There were 80 participants in total, among whom were 1st-grade grammar school students aged 14–15; 2nd-grade grammar school students aged 15–16; 3rd-year EFL students aged 20–23; and, 4th-year EFL students aged 21–22. The research included two experimental groups: (i) the first experimental group included 40 students of English from the Department of English, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš (25 females, 15 males, average age 21.35 years-old, SD=0.77); (ii) the second experimental group included 40 grammar school students (20 females, 20 males, average age 15.58 years-old, SD=0.64). Prior to doing the experiment, each participant was asked about the age, grade/year of studies and the number of years spent studying English. We used these pieces of information to attribute them to possible answers offered by the subjects and to see how various factors in which the subjects differed could influence the obtained results. The reason why there is the largest age gap possible between the grammar school and EFL students is that this research aims to prove that the duration of learning a language and its figures of speech has an influence on metaphor identification capabilities.

Procedure

The experiment was conducted by presenting the participants with equal stimuli (14 metaphorical and 14 non-metaphorical sentences in Serbian and English one at a time on the Dell 17" computer screen), where they were supposed to determine whether there is metaphorical content present in the sentences or not. The sentences were shown in a randomized order for each participant and there were no time restrictions for providing the response. The participants were supposed to click the left button if they thought that the sentence in question was metaphorical or the right button if they thought that there was no metaphorical content present in a particular sentence. The experiment was programmed and run in a corresponding program called *OpenSesame* (Mathôt, Schreij & Theeuwes, 2012). The relevant data collected in the procedure were statistically processed.

Within-group Analysis

Experimental Group 1 –Reaction Times for Pairs of Metaphorical and Literal Uses of Target Words

Paired-samples t-tests were used to explore differences in reaction times between the pairs of metaphorically and non-metaphorically used target words in the first experimental group. Statistically significant differences in reaction times were identified in nine pairs of target words – four pairs in English and five pairs in Serbian: (i) HEART ($M_M^{70}=5747.38$, $SD_M=2466.48$, $M_L=4499.49$, $SD_L=1529.63$) $t(36)=3.07$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.21$ indicating a very large effect size⁷¹; (ii) STEAL ($M_M=4756.74$, $SD_M=2010.47$, $M_L=6184.74$, $SD_L=2781.43$), $t(34)=-3.08$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.22$; (iii) INFLAME($M_M=6514.78$, $SD_M=2603.99$, $M_L=4728.03$, $SD_L=1780.17$), $t(36)=3.92$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.30$; (iv) ROLLERCOASTER($M_M=3911.03$, $SD_M=1675.62$, $M_L=5059.72$, $SD_L=2315.81$), $t(35)=-2.68$, $p=.01$, $\eta^2=.17$ also indicating a very large effect size like in previous cases; (v) GRANA($M_M=5021.18$, $SD_M=1806.51$, $M_L=8170.74$, $SD_L=4329.02$), $t(33)=-4.06$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.33$; (vi) UKRASTI($M_M=6563.79$, $SD_M=3047.33$, $M_L=5246.82$, $SD_L=2197.10$), $t(37)=-2.25$, $p=.03$, $\eta^2=.12$ indicating a moderate-to-large effect size; (vii) VRTEŠKA($M_M=5954.06$, $SD_M=3187.38$, $M_L=4308.92$, $SD_L=1575.78$), $t(35)=3.14$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.22$; (viii) SEME($M_M=3619.44$, $SD_M=1340.15$, $M_L=5145.33$, $SD_L=2272.88$), $t(35)=-3.70$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.28$; (ix) PUTOKAZ($M_M=4994.15$, $SD_M=1898.11$, $M_L=7078.62$, $SD_L=4069.64$), $t(38)=-3.32$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.22$.

⁷⁰ Indexes "M" and "L" stand for metaphorically and literally (non-metaphorically) used words, respectively.

⁷¹ Based on the guidelines proposed by Cohen (1988, 284–287), .01=small effect, .06=moderate effect, .14=large effect.

It is obvious that in cases of HEART, INFLAME, UKRASTI, and VRTEŠKA reaction times were faster to literal compared to metaphorical instances, whereas in cases of STEAL, ROLLERCOASTER, GRANA, SEME, and PUTOKAZ, reaction times were faster to metaphorical compared to literal instances. The fact that there was a greater number of words in Serbian with significant differences in reaction times than in English may arise from the fact that the first group of participants consists of EFL students who are constantly exposed to English and its linguistic patterns on a daily basis, therefore making it possibly difficult to make fast and accurate judgments of Serbian sentences. This might suggest that they have paid more attention to the sentences written in Serbian, examining them in greater detail because their decision-making process for Serbian sentences was not as smooth as for English sentences. In other words, we may assume that a high proficiency in English somehow inhibits making judgments in the mother tongue as a result of the constant and effective exposure to English. Also, the results suggesting that certain words had faster reaction times in literal instances compared to metaphorical, and vice versa, may stem from the predominant use of those words in everyday language where their meanings are mostly literal or metaphorical, respectively.

Additional paired-samples t-tests were also conducted to compare reaction times between pairs of target words in English and their Serbian translation equivalents, in both metaphorical and literal conditions. The analysis revealed statistically significant differences in eight cases: four metaphorical and four literal conditions. These included the following: (i) BRANCH_L VS. GRANA_L ($M_E^{72} = 4274.69$, $SD_E = 1303.78$; $M_S = 8170.74$, $SD_S = 4329.02$), $t(35) = -5.26$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .44$; (ii) HEART_M VS. SRCE_M ($M_E = 5747.38$, $SD_E = 2466.48$; $M_S = 4092.77$, $SD_S = 2048.91$), $t(35) = 2.56$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .16$; (iii) STEAL_M VS. UKRASTI_M ($M_E = 4756.74$, $SD_E = 2010.47$; $M_S = 6563.79$, $SD_S = 3047.33$), $t(38) = -2.85$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .18$; (iv) INFLAME_L VS. RASPALITI_L ($M_E = 4728.03$, $SD_E = 1780.17$; $M_S = 5961.86$, $SD_S = 2059.796$), $t(35) = -3.45$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .25$; (v) ROLLERCOASTER_M VS. VRTEŠKA_M ($M_E = 3911.03$, $SD_E = 1675.62$; $M_S = 5954.06$, $SD_S = 3187.38$), $t(37) = -3.48$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .25$; (vi) SEED_L VS. SEME_L ($M_E = 3828.34$, $SD_E = 1718.10$; $M_S = 5145.33$, $SD_S = 2272.88$), $t(34) = 2.76$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .18$; (vii) ROADMAP_M VS. PUTOKAZ_M ($M_E = 5952.18$, $SD_E = 2431.14$; $M_S = 4994.15$, $SD_S = 1898.11$), $t(37) = 2.32$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .13$; and (viii) ROADMAP_L VS. PUTOKAZ_L ($M_E = 5614.53$, $SD_E = 2231.31$; $M_S = 7078.62$, $SD_S = 7078.62$), $t(34) = -2.32$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .14$.

In the majority of cases, reaction times were faster to target words in English (BRANCH_L, STEAL_M, INFLAME_L, ROLLERCOASTER_M, SEED_L, and ROADMAP_L). These results are completely consistent with the main hypothesis of this research paper; namely, language proficiency, the amount of time during which a learner is exposed to L2 and direct formal instruction in various aspects of L2 greatly

⁷² Indexes "E" and "S" stand for target words in English and their Serbian equivalents, respectively.

facilitate metaphor identification in that language. Simply put, the longer learners are exposed to a language, the easier it will be for them to identify metaphorical meanings. On the other hand, reaction times were faster to target words in Serbian only in two cases ($SRCE_M$ and $PUTOKAZ_M$).

Experimental Group 2 – Reaction Times for Pairs of Metaphorical and Literal Uses of Target Words

Paired-samples t-tests were also used to explore differences in reaction times between the pairs of metaphorically and non-metaphorically used target words in the second experimental group. Statistically significant differences in reaction times were identified in six pairs of target words – three pairs in English, and three pairs in Serbian: (i) STEAL ($M_M=5897.16$, $SD_M=2660.44$, $M_L = 7887.92$, $SD_L=4220.12$), $t(36)=-2.90$, $p=.01$, $\eta^2=.19$, indicating a large effect size; (ii) INFLAME ($M_M= 8999.24$, $SD_M=4960.90$, $M_L=6777.92$, $SD_L=3263.68$), $t(36)=2.91$, $p=.01$, $\eta^2=.19$; (iii) SEED ($M_M=7176.80$, $SD_M=4531.90$, $M_L=5102.60$, $SD_L=2118.89$), $t(34)=2.46$, $p=.02$, $\eta^2 = .15$; (iv) GRANA ($M_M=6758.97$, $SD_M=3169.07$, $M_L=10228.74$, $SD_L=6491.61$), $t(34)=-3.29$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.31$, indicating a very large effect size; (v) SEME ($M_M=4504.44$, $SD_M=1919.96$, $M_L=5468.81$, $SD_L=2085.65$), $t(31)=-2.57$, $p=.02$, $\eta^2=.18$ indicating a large effect size; (vi) PUTOKAZ ($M_M=5813.86$, $SD_M=2151.01$, $M_L=7713.09$, $SD_L=4044.97$), $t(34)=-2.66$, $p=.01$, $\eta^2=.17$.

The fact that there was an equal number of words with significant differences in reaction times between Serbian and English may stem from the fact that the second group of participants consists of grammar school students who are not exposed to English more than they are exposed to Serbian, therefore making it equally challenging to make fast and accurate judgments of both Serbian and English sentences. Put differently, for grammar school students, English is just another subject at school to which they are not predominantly exposed in their daily life so that it could interfere with or aggravate the decision-making process when it comes to their mother tongue. Consequently, they do not examine the Serbian sentences more carefully than the English sentences, which could result in an asymmetrical number of words with different reaction times in these two languages, as it did with the first group of participants. Also, it is important to emphasize the fact that with all target words in Serbian that showed statistically significant differences in reaction times, participants from the second experimental group responded faster to metaphorically used instances compared to cases of literal use. This particular result may be explained through the occurrence and frequency of the words GRANA, SEME, and PUTOKAZ in everyday communication in Serbian where they predominantly have metaphorical meanings. Conversely, with target words in English, reaction time was faster for metaphorical use only in the case of STEAL,

while in the latter two cases (INFLAME and SEED), participants reacted faster to literal uses of the two target words.

Additional paired-samples t-tests were also conducted to compare reaction times between pairs of target words in English and their Serbian translation equivalents, in both metaphorical and literal conditions. The analysis revealed statistically significant differences in six cases: four metaphorical and two literal conditions. These included the following: (i) BRANCH_L vs. GRANA_L ($M_E=5915.06$, $SD_E=2435.36$; $M_s=10228.74$, $SD_s=6491.61$), $t(34)=-4.12$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.33$; (ii) HEART_M vs. SRCE_M ($M_E=7029.64$, $SD_E=3336.64$; $M_s=4536.41$, $SD_s=2025.60$), $t(34)=4.24$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.35$; (iii) INFLAME_M vs. RASPALITI_M ($M_E=8999.24$, $SD_E=4960.90$; $M_s=6846.92$, $SD_s=3371.22$), $t(37)=2.75$, $p=.01$, $\eta^2=.17$; (iv) ROLLERCOASTER_L vs. VRTEŠKA_L ($M_E=5536.67$, $SD_E=2111.65$; $M_s=4391.58$, $SD_s=1664.59$), $t(30)=3.48$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.29$; (v) SEED_M vs. SEME_M ($M_E=7176.80$, $SD_E=4531.90$; $M_s=4504.44$, $SD_s=1919.96$), $t(34)=3.31$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.24$; (vi) ROADMAP_M vs. PUTOKAZ_M ($M_E=7465.94$, $SD_E=3231.67$; $M_s=5813.86$, $SD_s=2151.01$), $t(35)=2.54$, $p=.02$, $\eta^2=.16$.

Reaction times to these specific target words recorded in the second experimental group were significantly faster for Serbian words in all cases, with only one exception where the reaction time was faster for a target word in English (BRANCH_L). Again, this is another confirmation of the main hypothesis of this paper that language proficiency, the amount of exposure to L2 and direct formal instruction in various aspects of L2 are significant factors for fast and successful metaphor identification. Unlike the EFL students who had faster reaction times for the English words, grammar school students took more time to successfully identify words in English due to their lack of proficiency and exposure to L2.

Between-group Analysis

Reaction Times – Metaphorically Used Target Words

Independent samples t-tests revealed statistically significant differences in reaction times between the two experimental groups to seven metaphorically used words (5 in English and 2 in Serbian). These included the following: (i) BRANCH_M ($M_1=4791.64$, $SD_1=1470.78$; $M_2=6586.61$, $SD_2=3322.70$), $t(47.38)=-2.98$, $p=.01$, $\eta^2=.11$, indicating a moderate-to-large effect size; (ii) INFLAME_M ($M_1=6579.05$, $SD_1=2551.75$; $M_2=8752.10$, $SD_2=4870.98$), $t(59.23)=-2.49$, $p=.02$, $\eta^2=.07$, indicating a moderate effect size; (iii) ROLLERCOASTER_M ($M_1=3943.39$, $SD_1=1636.01$; $M_2=5045.09$, $SD_2=1794.46$), $t(71)=-2.74$, $p=.01$, $\eta^2=.10$; (iv) SEED_M ($M_1=4448.92$, $SD_1=1826.28$; $M_2=7241.92$, $SD_2=4584.26$), $t(48.72)=-3.48$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.14$, indicating a large effect size; (v) ROADMAP_M ($M_1=6011.61$, $SD_1=2546.09$; $M_2=7487.55$, $SD_2=3152.60$), $t(74)=-2.25$, $p=.03$, $\eta^2=.06$, indicating a moderate effect size; (vi) GRANA_M ($M_1=5123.06$, $SD_1=1879.04$; $M_2=6686.69$,

$SD_2=3153.43$), $t(57.36)=-2.55$, $p=.01$, $\eta^2=.09$, indicating a moderate-to-large effect size; (vii) SEME_M($M_1=3619.44$, $SD_1=1340.15$; $M_2=4677.57$, $SD_2=2064.90$), $t(61.97)=-2.60$, $p=.01$, $\eta^2=.09$.

It can be concluded that in all cases discussed above, reaction times recorded in the first experimental group were significantly shorter compared to the second experimental group. Furthermore, the effect size ranged from moderate to large. The fact that there are more metaphorically used words in English that grammar school students took time to successfully identify may suggest that they lack what is needed for fast identification, and what EFL students clearly have – a high proficiency in L2 and constant exposure to it. Not only do EFL students have an entire curriculum written in English, but they also have a direct formal instruction related to various aspects of the English language, literature and culture. The results here are yet another confirmation of the main hypothesis that the duration of language learning has a significant influence on metaphor identification.

Reaction Times – Literally Used Target Words

Independent samples t-tests also revealed statistically significant differences in reaction times between the two experimental groups to seven literally used words (6 in English and only 1 in Serbian). These included the following: (i) BRANCH_L ($M_1=4231.46$, $SD_1=1312.17$; $M_2=5897.83$, $SD_2=2606.69$), $t(51.35)=-3.44$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.14$, indicating a large effect size; (ii) HEART_L ($M_1=4586.71$, $SD_1=1601.76$; $M_2=6190.40$, $SD_2=2598.22$), $t(65.41)=-3.30$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.13$, indicating a substantial effect size; (iii) STEAL_L ($M_1=6132.97$, $SD_1=2758.95$; $M_2=7899.08$, $SD_2=4230.53$), $t(67.72)=-2.18$, $p=.03$, $\eta^2=.06$, indicating a moderate effect size; (iv) INFLAME_L ($M_1=4758.37$, $SD_1=1765.89$; $M_2=6777.92$, $SD_2=3263.68$), $t(55.09)=-3.32$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.13$; (v) SEED_L ($M_1=3811.69$, $SD_1=1702.13$; $M_2=5134.76$, $SD_2=2123.31$), $t(70)=-2.91$, $p=.01$, $\eta^2=.11$; (vi) ROADMAP_L ($M_1=5627.61$, $SD_1=2170.93$; $M_2=7128.32$, $SD_2=2884.76$), $t(68.56)=-2.54$, $p=.01$, $\eta^2=.08$, indicating a moderate effect size; (vii) RASPALITI_L ($M_1=6122.66$, $SD_1=2245.61$; $M_2=7976.14$, $SD_2=4108.19$), $t(55.43)=-2.42$, $p=.02$, $\eta^2=.07$, indicating again a moderate effect size.

Like in the case of metaphorically used words, with the above discussed target words used in the literal condition reaction times recorded in the first experimental group were significantly faster compared to those recorded in the second experimental groups. Moreover, the effect size ranged from moderate to large. The obtained results concur with the main hypothesis of this research paper that the duration of language learning greatly contributes to metaphor awareness.

Accuracy – Metaphorically Used Target Words

To explore the potential association between the achieved levels of accuracy and experimental group, *chi-square test for independence* was used. The analysis revealed a significant difference only in the case of BRANCH used in the metaphorical condition. Namely, in this case, the chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction used to compensate for the overestimate of the chi-square value when used with a 2 by 2 table) showed a significant association between experimental groups and accuracy, $\chi^2(1,80)=5.00$, $p=.03$, $\text{phi}=.28$, indicating a small effect⁷³. With all other target words used in the metaphorical condition there were no significant associations between experimental groups and accuracy. In other words, the proportion of accurate and inaccurate solutions between the two experimental groups was similar.

An additional overview of the obtained results also showed that in the majority of cases there was a higher number of correct as opposed to incorrect answers. The instances where the number of correct answers was considerably higher than incorrect include ROLLEROASTER_M (*exp. group 1*: 39 correct, 1 incorrect; *exp. group 2*: 36 correct, 4 incorrect) and UKRASTI_M (*exp. group 1*: 37 correct, 7 incorrect; *exp. group 2*: 39 correct, 1 incorrect) in both experimental groups suggesting that these two words are frequently used metaphorically in everyday language and, therefore, easy for the participants to identify. Also, the scores for the word VRTEŠKA_M were identical between the two experimental groups (*exp. group 1*: 35 correct, 5 incorrect; *exp. group 2*: 35 correct, 5 incorrect) indicating that the frequency of a word is more important for metaphor identification than the difference between age groups. The only exceptions were recorded for BRANCH_M in the first experimental group (*exp. group 1*: 15 correct, 25 incorrect; *exp. group 2*: 26 correct, 14 incorrect), and for GRANA_M in both experimental groups (*exp. group 1*: 16 correct, 24 incorrect; *exp. group 2*: 15 correct, 25 incorrect). The fact that the only words where the number of incorrect answers was higher than correct are BRANCH_M and its Serbian equivalent GRANA_M, both used in the metaphorical sense, may simply suggest that the participants are not familiar with the usage of these words in meanings other than literal. Yet, surprisingly, in case of BRANCH_M EFL students had more incorrect answers than grammar school students despite their proficiency, longer exposure and direct instruction in English.

⁷³According to Cohen (1988), .10=small effect, .30=medium effect, .50=large effect.

Accuracy – Literally Used Target Words

Like in the metaphorical condition, the only target word that showed a significant association between experimental groups and accuracy was BRANCH_L, $\chi^2(1,80)=6.30$, $p=.01$, $\text{phi}=-.31$, while with all other target words the proportion of accurate and inaccurate solutions between the two experimental groups was similar.

Besides this, there were only three cases where the number of incorrect answers was higher than the number of correct ones: (i) for BRANCH_L in the second experimental group (18 correct, 22 incorrect), (ii) for INFLAME_L also in the second experimental group (16 correct, 24 incorrect), and (iii) for GRANA_L in both experimental groups (*exp. group 1*: 14 correct, 26 incorrect; *exp. group 2*: 7 correct, 33 incorrect; please note that a similar tendency for GRANA was also recorded in the metaphorical condition). The fact that these three words were problematic for the majority of grammar school students may again be assigned to the words' rare occurrence in the literal condition, students' lacking linguistic proficiency or insufficient literal/figurative language teaching. However, since EFL students did not find it difficult to identify BRANCH_L and INFLAME_L in their target condition, this may mean that their proficiency, longer exposure and direct instruction in English were of great help in these examples.

Combined Effects of Accuracy and Experimental Group

Two-way between-groups ANOVA without post-hoc tests was used to explore the combined effects of *accuracy* and *experimental group* on reaction times for each of the target words in both metaphorical and literal conditions.

The only two cases that showed significant interaction effects between accuracy and experimental group were (i) INFLAME_M, $F(1,75)=7.21$, $p=.01$, $\eta_p^2=.09$, indicating a moderate effect size (there were no significant independent main effects of experimental groups and accuracy), and (ii) SRCE_M, $F(1,68)=8.57$, $p=.01$, $\eta_p^2=.11$, indicating a moderate-to-large effect size (the main effect of experimental group was not significant, whereas the main effect of accuracy achieved significance, $F(1,68)=6.15$, $p=.02$, $\eta_p^2=.08$, indicating a moderate effect size).

What is more, it is worth noting that in the case of INFLAME_L both experimental group and accuracy achieved significant main effects, while their interaction effect did not reach significance (accuracy: $F(1,71)=16.32$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.19$, indicating a large effect size; *exp. group*: $F(1,71)=6.80$, $p=.01$, $\eta_p^2=.09$, indicating a medium effect size; *exp. group*accuracy*: $F(1,71)=2.90$, $p=.09$, $\eta_p^2=.04$, indicating a small effect size). Also, in the case of SEME_M, there was a significant main effect of accuracy ($F(1,69)=5.41$, $p=.02$, $\eta_p^2=.07$); however, the effect of experimental group and interaction effects did not reach significance.

Based on the obtained overall results, it can be concluded that the most important main effect was achieved by experimental group, whereas the additional effects of accuracy and interaction effects between experimental group and accuracy were not at all prominent. In turn, such findings corroborate the results of tests conducted in the previous subsections dealing with between-group analyses, where the most important and salient differences were identified in reaction times between the two experimental groups.

Combined Effects of Experimental Group and Metaphoricity

Two-way repeated measures ANOVA was used to explore the effect of metaphoricity (metaphorical vs. literal condition), and the combined effect of metaphoricity and experimental group (metaphoricity*exp. group) on within-subjects reaction times to pairs of metaphorically and literally used target words. Moreover, it is important to emphasize that the effect of experimental group on reaction times has already been explored separately in previous subsections (Reaction times – metaphorically used target words, and Reaction times – literally used target words), and will, therefore, not be addressed here again.

The analysis showed that all target words in English showed a significant main effect of metaphoricity and no significant interaction effects between metaphoricity and experimental group, with the exception of ROADMAP where there were no significant effects (metaphoricity: $F(1,68)=0.04$, $p=.31$, $\eta_p^2=.02$; metaphoricity* experimental group: $F(1,68)=0.01$, $p=.92$, $\eta_p^2<.01$).

In the case of Serbian equivalents, SRCE (metaphoricity: $F(1,65)=3.51$, $p=.07$, $\eta_p^2=.05$; metaphoricity* experimental group: $F(1,65)=0.35$, $p=.56$, $\eta_p^2<.01$) and RASPALITI (metaphoricity: $F(1,69)=0.93$, $p=.34$, $\eta_p^2=.01$; metaphoricity* experimental group: $F(1,69)=1.85$, $p=.18$, $\eta_p^2=.03$) did not show any significant effects, while UKRASTI showed significant within-subjects interaction between metaphoricity and experimental group ($F(1,70)=7.90$, $p=.01$, $\eta_p^2=.10$). The remaining Serbian equivalents showed the dominant main effect of metaphoricity, as was the case with the majority of target words in English. Furthermore, it is worth noting that in all cases where the within-subjects main effect of metaphoricity was significant, the recorded effect size, i.e. the values of multivariate *partial eta squared* ranged from moderate-to-large, to very large effect sizes.

Finally, it can be concluded that interaction effects between metaphoricity and experimental group were minimal (only with one target word in Serbian), while the main effect of metaphoricity was very salient (recorded in ten out of fourteen pairs of metaphorical/literal conditions). This suggests that the distinction between metaphorical and literal conditions in which the target words from the two languages appeared influenced participants' responses to a very high degree. Moreover, this effect of metaphoricity was slightly more

salient for words in English (in six out of seven cases) than for words in Serbian (in four out of seven cases).

Discussion

In the light of what we have observed in this paper, investigating Serbian EFL and grammar school students' ability to identify Serbian and English metaphorical sentences has brought forth an extensive amount of results regarding the influence of different factors onto identification of native and foreign language figurative expressions. The analyses have given an insight into the degree of acquaintedness of Serbian EFL and grammar school students with Serbian and English metaphorical and non-metaphorical sentences. Also, we were able to observe the difference in proficiency between two different age groups, that is, the influence of longer exposure to metaphorical expressions onto achieving a deeper understanding of it. To support these findings we will now address each of our research questions.

As it was expected, the results showed that both grammar school and EFL students are generally capable of identifying metaphor to a certain extent. Naturally, there were differences between the performance of grammar school and EFL students stemming from several factors. Since EFL students have an entire curriculum written in English and a direct formal instruction related to various aspects of the English language, literature and culture, it was confirmed that they performed better in identifying metaphor written in English.

Another thought we called into question was whether relying on native language metaphors will influence the answers given by grammar school and EFL students to a certain extent. It was expected that the given answers will not concur with the expected/correct answers, especially in cases where they have not encountered a particular metaphor in English before. The results suggested that reaction times of grammar school students for the metaphorically used words were significantly faster for Serbian words in almost all cases. However, surprisingly, EFL students took more time to examine sentences written in Serbian, which means that the reverse process took place here – continuous contact with foreign language sentences influenced the answering time for the sentences in the mother tongue. EFL students' constant exposure to English and its linguistic patterns on a daily basis might account for their decision-making process for Serbian sentences being not as smooth as for English sentences. In other words, their higher proficiency in English somehow inhibited making fast and accurate judgments of the sentences written in the mother tongue, as a result of the effective exposure to English. Many examples showed that reaction times for both literal and metaphorical words recorded in the first experimental group were significantly shorter compared to the second experimental group. Again, the obtained results clearly show that EFL students' reaction times are

faster than that of grammar school students without any exception, thus confirming that proficiency, exposure and formal instruction in various aspects of English play a key role in both figurative and literal language identification.

The obtained results are in accord with the main hypothesis of this research paper that the duration of language learning has a considerable influence on metaphor identification. The results demonstrated a certain discrepancy in knowledge between the two age groups involved in the experiment. Once again, our premise was correct; namely, EFL students showed greater ability to handle metaphoricity as their knowledge of the foreign language has grown over time when compared to grammar school students. Such results clearly indicate that figurative language teaching is not as emphasized as other aspects of language teaching and that there is insufficient exposure to metaphorical expressions especially in the lower grades of Serbian education system. The overall performance of the subjects confirmed the main hypothesis of this paper that language proficiency, the amount of exposure to L2 and direct formal instruction in various aspects of L2 are significant factors for fast and successful metaphor identification.

Conclusion

This study starts with the goal to explore Serbian grammar school and EFL students' ability to identify metaphorical content in Serbian and English sentences through a psycholinguistic approach. The method chosen for studying this capacity is a psycholinguistic experiment. The main theoretical findings that inspired the research are previous studies related to metaphor perception in different languages from the psycholinguistic point of view, as well as the leading views in the developing stages of metaphor comprehension, which form the basis of the theoretical framework of the paper. The analysis was carried out in order to determine the extent to which the students are guided by the mechanisms operating behind metaphor identification processes in the two languages and whether, in an attempt to offer satisfactory solutions, they resort to applying the mother tongue knowledge in case of not being able to interpret foreign language metaphors.

In summary, we have engaged in the task of studying Serbian students' capacity for metaphor identification in the light of the psycholinguistic theory. The data presented here seems to confirm that language proficiency, the amount of exposure to L2 and direct formal instruction in various aspects of L2 are significant factors for fast and successful metaphor identification. However, the presence of conceptual metaphors in the mind does not necessarily mean that learners would activate them in the process of foreign language learning. Teachers are the ones who should incorporate both linguistic and extralinguistic features into the teaching process, so that students are trained to think

metaphorically. Instead as a mere decoration to language, metaphor should be viewed as a tool for organizing human thought and pervading world perception.

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ULOGA UČENJA STRANOG JEZIKA U PREPOZNAVANJU METAFORE: EKSPERIMENTALNO ISTRAŽIVANJE

Ovaj rad nastoji da istraži prepoznavanje pojmovne metafore kod populacije srpskih učenika gimnazije i studenata anglistike uz pomoć psiholingvističkog eksperimenta. Glavni ciljevi analize jesu da se utvrdi sposobnost učenika gimnazije i studenata anglistike da prepoznaju pojmovnu metaforu, kao i mera u kojoj su oni svesni razlika u procesima prepoznavanja metafore između dva jezika i da li, u slučaju neprepoznavanja istih, pribegavaju primeni znanja maternjeg jezika kako bi ponudili adekvatne odgovore. Psiholingvistički eksperiment sproveden u ovom istraživanju sastoji se od 28 metaforičkih i nemetaforičkih rečenica na srpskom i engleskom jeziku preuzetih iz dostupnih korpusa. Eksperiment je izведен tako što su ispitanicima prikazane ujednačene draži, gde su oni imali zadatku da odluče da li u datim rečenicama ima metaforičkog sadržaja ili ne. U poslednjem delu rada rezultati ove dve analize se upoređuju, pa se na taj način i potvrđuje većina pretpostavki sa početka rada. Dobijeni rezultati pokazali su da poznavanje jezika, stepen izloženosti stranom jeziku, kao i direktna formalna na-

stava različitih aspekata stranog jezika predstavljaju značajne faktore za brzo i uspešno prepoznavanje metafore.

Ključne reči: pojmovna metafora, prepoznavanje, metaforički, nemetaforički, psiholingvistika.

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Različiti stručni prilozi / Miscelaneous

READER IN AMERICAN LITERATURE: AN ALTERNATIVE BEYOND RACE, CLASS, NATIONALITY AND GENDER I

Miloš D. Đurić, University of Belgrade

Aleksandra Nikčević-Batričević (ed.), *Reader in American Literature: An Alternative beyond Race, Class, Nationality and Gender I*, Nikšić, Filozofskifakultet – Faculty of Philosophy, UniverzitetCrne Gore – University of Montenegro, 2015, 507

General Description

The present *Reader in American Literature* is part of deep, diverse and intense personal and professional interest of A.Nikčević-Batričević in the field of American literature beyond secure limits of race, class, nationality and gender. The first indisputable and undeniable quality of this reader lies in a clear, coherent, consistent, unmistakable and meticulous organization. It goes without saying that Professor Nikčević-Batričević's insight into and perception of the subtle aspects of these issues, which have been marginally treated so far, might be a true pointer in the realm of race, class and gender studies in literature, linguistics and culture. Pointing out "an insight into a certain number of literary texts which were crafted on American soil in the period from the beginning of the seventeenth century" (Nikčević-Batričević 7) and aiming at "insert[ing] some short biographies and selected bibliographies, as well as a choice of critical texts penned by influential critics about the poetics of the author in general or, more concretely, about the literary text included in the reader" (9), she makes a start on investigating the relationship of numerous cultural and linguistic ingredients from a novel perspective of literary theory and criticism. Drawing extensively on canonical literary practice, and applying the reading of the Other to an imposing collection of texts, the editor develops her own critical opinion in order to answer certain fundamental questions of how "the meanings that [we] as reader[s] will produce in relation to a text are affected by all the things which make [us] up as person[s]" (10). Additionally, certain aspects of English literature methodology are elaborated through vocabulary, the role of which is highlighted throughout the reader. More precisely, the editor maintains that students, who are the potential users of this textbook, should not ignore the

language component, obtained through careful reading of the texts that are included in this reader. Thus, the reader is frequently made aware of what has been accomplished in a given chapter in relation to the stated vocabulary goal (i.e. “to significantly improve [her] vocabulary and develop the capability of equal[ly]participat[ing] in the discourse on the issues of literary theory and literary criticism, and thus direct [her] ‘letter to the world’” [10]). Broadly speaking, on the one hand, the reader reaches toward a wide audience of students of English language and literature at the Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšićattending the academic subjects American Literature I and American Literature II, respectively. More specifically, on the other hand, the book isintended for scholarswhose theoretical and practical aspirations pertaining to the alternative in the American literature and its role of the Other are inspired and driven by obtaining an insight into cyclical literary movements ranging from the height of the Romance era to the full circle of American literature in the twentieth century.

Summary

The *Reader in American Literature* opens with the Introduction (7-10), provided by the editor. The editor sketches out the world of alternative that is relevant for the study of race, class, nationality and gender, including the problems related to the proper definition of the alternative and the other. The book ends with the bibliography (503-506). The rest of the book is organized into four parts.

Part I: Colonial America and Its Authors

Starting with an instance of “one of the miracles of history” in the course of which “this new land had become so solid and homogenous” the editor of the Reader relates these miracles, by way of illustration, to “differences from this pattern of culture, where they continued to exist were subordinated” (11). The editor emphasizes the role of “an expedition of Puritans who sought to create a holy communityin the New World of America, far removed from the heresies and moral corruption of England” (12). The rest of this part is organized into five chapters: Captain John Smith (11-20), William Bradford (21-32), Anne Bradstreet (33-43), Edward Taylor (44-58), and Mary Rowlandson (59-66).

Part II: The Age of reason and Revolution and Its Authors

This part, consisting of five chapter, introduces “the story of the unfolding America of the eighteenth century, as mirrored in American literature”, which is “one of more than epic adventure” (67). Elaborating on the

fact that the “American thought was still living in the Calvinistic and Lutheran world of the Reformation”, this part highlights that “by 1800 the majority of Americans had moved toward the pietism of the English Methodists” (67). Five chapters are comprised of: Benjamin Franklin (71-90), Thomas Paine (91-103), Thomas Jefferson (104-112), Phyllis Wheatly (113-119), and Phillip Phreneau (120-124).

Part III: The Age of Romanticism and Its Authors

This section shows diversified potential of “the organic theory of literary art, upon which Emerson and Thoreau so fully agreed” (125). The focus is then shifted to art that can be creation *par excellence*. It consists of ten chapters: Washington Irving (126-156), James Fennimore Cooper (157-171), Margaret Fuller (172-194), Ralf Waldo Emerson (195-224), Henry David Thoreau (225-242), Edgar Allan Poe (243-271), Herman Melville (272-297), Nathaniel Hawthorne (298-317), Walt Whitman (318-330), and Emily Dickinson (331-343).

Part IV: The Age of Realism and Its Authors

The final section, true to its title, is a stimulating and refreshing reminder of the fact that “there is no clear distinction between realism and its related late nineteenth-century movement, naturalism” (344), since these terms cannot be immediately pinned down. This section consists of ten chapters: Kate Chopin (345-365), Mark Twain (366-386), Stephen Crane (387-411), Jack London (412-428), Theodore Dreiser (429-442), Willa Cather (443-451), Edith Wharton (452-469), Booker T. Washington (470-481), Paul Laurence Dunbar (482-486), and Charlotte Perkins Gilman (487-502).

Evaluaiton

The obvious virtue of this reader lies in the undertaking of the editor who reflects on relevant and unrivalled experiences of diverse American authors in facing her challenging task of compiling such a collection of texts. The sections and accompanying chapters flow smoothly according to the layout provided by the editor. Her plan for achieving the stated goal by incorporating “different structures [that] open up” (7) has been successfully formulated. Equally commendable is her treatment of different phases of American literature that have been thoroughly observed, which is not an easy task, but is nonetheless an inevitable corollary of such an ambitious and demanding undertaking of the editor.

Regrettably, there is no index, although this would have been very useful for students wishing to explore various aspects of particular issues, which

are scattered through the book. This, however, is a forgivable omission in a multi-perspective reader of this immense scope.

This collection can be read with interest by specialists for the insights it gives into American literature. The excerpted literary chunks shed light on many aspects of idiosyncratic style of American authors. In addition to this, this collection of texts is a rich source of inspiration for students of English language and literature and those interested in American literature. Further broadening of text selection still remains to be done, but this Reader in American literature is more than a successfully compiled start.

ABOUT *THE RAVEN GIFT*, WITH DON REARDEN

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Don Reardon grew up on the tundra of Southwestern Alaska. His experience and adventures in Alaska have shaped both his writing and worldview. He is a screenwriter, a novelist, and, when the mood hits, a poet and tundra philosopher. He lives in the mountain community of Bear Valley, Alaska, just outside of Anchorage, and teaches as an Associate Professor at the University of Alaska, Anchorage. He served as the president of the board of directors for the 49 Alaska Writers and has been faculty at the Kachemak Bay Writing Conference, and was faculty at the 2015 North Words Writers Symposium in Skagway, Alaska. Much of his writing and thought is influenced from learning experiences in the Alaskan wilderness, as well as from the teachings and writings of his mentor and friend, Daniel Quinn, author of Ishmael and The Story of B.⁷⁴ In *The Raven Gift*, John Morgan and his wife Anna adventurously pursued nine-month teaching positions in the Alaskan Yu'pik community. Yet, when an artificially caused epidemic strike the isolated tundra communities, they collapse into chaos, their members are dying so quickly that the living don't have time to bury the dead, and almost no one left to tell the story.



N.D., M.K.: What inspired you to write *The Raven's Gift*?

D.R.: The inspiration to write this novel came from a million different places. For one, I was concerned about the disparity of wealth and health happening in Alaska. We're one of the richest states in the Union and have some horrific third world health and living conditions. Add to that my concerns about loss of culture and the oppressive nature of Western Culture and the devastation brought with modernization to rural areas in Alaska and my own very real loss of lives of friends and family to suicide, murder, drugs and alcohol,

⁷⁴ Cf. <http://www.donrearden.com/bio,donj.rearden.html>.

and diseases – and I guess you get the perfect storm of personal angst and emotion. All of this set against a backdrop of the stories I had grown up with; hearing the elders' scary tales of surviving the epidemics that laid waste to villages of the region. This all created a sort of "what if" scenario in my mind. If America and Alaska can ignore such a dire situation for the people now, what might they do if a major disaster struck? So I would say that is where my inspiration came from for the plot – the real inspiration came from the Yup'ik culture itself, and my love for the people and the culture. My concern, too. I'm deeply concerned about the effects of intergenerational trauma and internalized oppression upon the youth.

N.D., M.K.: You spent much time in Native communities. What was that like?

D. R.: Mostly pretty amazing. The first village I lived in was during my 2nd grade year, which is a magical time in a child's life. I moved from Montana cowboy country to a Yup'ik village on the Kuskokwim where I was the only white boy. I had my ass kicked nearly every day for a short while. But then an older kid took me under his wing and everything changed. After that, it was a pretty amazing existence for me. We moved away for a few years and I returned in junior high – and for then everything was about basketball and hunting and that fit in well with village life. I was decent at both and that worked out well for me. I was also keenly interested in participating in the culture. I ate anything that was offered and hunted for the elders. We had moved to a village that had a beautiful sense of community, with intact families and without all the drinking and fighting found in other places. I saw what was really possible in a community with good leaders and families that still hunted and fished together. That was really another magical and important time in my life. From that village we moved to Bethel, which was like moving to New York City. At the time a town of about 4,000 (and now upwards of 6,000). Still a mostly Yup'ik community, but actually pretty diverse. (Some would be surprised to know that Alaska is actually incredibly diverse. Anchorage, for example, has the most diverse school system in the entire United States.) I adjusted to living in a small town, but retained my friends in my the old villages and since Bethel is a hub for about 40 other villages, I soon had friends all over and would often visit them for school sporting and academic trips (or to go see girlfriends).

N.D., M.K.: How much of the novel is the autobiographical?

D. R.: Bits and pieces of the novel have autobiographical elements. I think when John is teaching, he is me. That is how I teach. My style. I ask questions and don't use a traditional approach. I don't believe our current

educational paradigm works, so I don't use it in my class. Rayna is the name of former Yup'ik student of mine who killed herself. Other than that, not too much is about me, so much as experiences I've had or things I noticed. I taught in the bush and watched how people attempted to transition, and went through that as a kid, so I guess in some ways that new teacher thing has elements of autobiography, but not mine personally.

N.D., M.K.: Did the stories you might have heard influence your writing?

D.R.: Absolutely. I was haunted by those stories of the elders essentially surviving the apocalypse of their culture when the epidemics hit. In one of the villages where we lived there were abandoned houses across the river from us. I could see these houses out my window. The buildings were abandoned during that small pox epidemic. The stories of loss and survival were engrained in my mind. Those and the traditional stories of the monsters and ghosts. I grew up loving those stories. What I didn't realize until I was an adult, was that those traditional monster stories were about more than just scaring the kids and keeping them from running around at night. Those stories hold the essential elements about being human beings in them. These are the stories that we have told since we became human. Without them, I think we are doomed. The indigenous human beings around the world that have the ancient stories still in tact are the last of us who know how to live and they pass that knowledge on in their stories. In some ways I think that was what I was attempting to do with this novel. To share those old stories or at least inspire a few kids to ask about them from an elder and then pass them on – so the stories and our humanity aren't lost.

N.D., M.K.: How long did it take you to write the novel?

D.R.: Teaching does consume the writing time for sure, but often I feel like it consumes more energy than time. Yet, I also find there are moments when teaching fuels me to work a little harder writing. I'm not at the point in my writing career where I can just stay home and only write. I would love that, for sure. If I could just devote my time and energy towards writing, that would be a dream to me. Perhaps I'm just not brave enough to try that? I don't know. I wrote *The Raven's Gift* off and on for about a year. Mostly in big spurts of effort and then set it aside for a while. I didn't keep track. For the next book, because so many people asked me that question, I kept track. I know exactly how many hours it took for the 1st draft. 72. That is 72 hours of solid writing. If I stopped to get up to go to the bathroom, I stopped the timing. The second round of revision took around another 40 hours, or so.

N.D., M.K.: What is the function of the stories of the shaman in *The Raven's Gift*?

D.R.: I grew up hearing only bad things about the shaman – the missionaries had successfully put the fear of god in the people when it came to shaman and their powers. As I grew older, I became more and more interested in the shaman stories and would read about them in old accounts or elder interviews on the subject. The shamanic stories fascinated me (and still do). The epidemics brought an end to the shaman's powers in the region I grew up in, because only the missionaries and doctors had the cures. Thus shaman were stripped of their ability to heal, viewed as demon worshippers and killed or forced to reform. I guess in my story I see the shaman returning with the epidemic to share their knowledge and bring healing to the people. Or at least that is what I would hope would happen if a disaster like the one I envisioned struck. I do see Rayna as a young shaman in training, I guess. They say shamanism travels in the bloodlines out there and that there are still some shaman today. I hope that is true.

N.D., M.K.: How else can we understand the presence of Yu'pik stories in the novel?

D.R.: The biggest story that is key to the novel is The Big Mouth Baby story. This my favorite story growing up as a kid, and my favorite story as an adult. I didn't expect the story to be in the novel, but then one night as I was writing, Rayna told it to my main character and I couldn't take it out. What I didn't realize until much later, after getting the book published, and putting on my professor hat to analyze the book and understand the book from outside myself, was that the novel is essentially a novelized version of that traditional tale. It serves as a metaphor of sorts, too. If we don't take care of our children, if we don't follow the rules of nurturing them, they will turn to monsters and eat us. Even the ending of the book mirrors the traditional tale in a way --- something I never planned or even understood until after I'd written the book. To me this story is one of those pieces of our human DNA. An ancient story embedded with all the wisdom we need to function as humans.

N.D., M.K.: The novel was not published in the U.S. but in Canada, why do think that was?

D.R.: I have my suspicions, but I think it had to do with the fact that in the US the publication boards have marketing people sitting at the table with the editors. I had editors at major houses that loved the book and couldn't get it past their boards and some of that was due to marketing. Is this a Sci-fi? Or

literary? Or what genre? Canada didn't seem concerned with anything other than the fact that it was a good story. They published it. Australia and New Zealand did, and then France. And then after all that – the Canadians (Oh Canada, I love you) brought the book to the US by acquiring the US rights. And then the book went on to make The Washington Post Notable list for 2013.

N.D., M.K.: Is it possible that indigenous stories like *The Raven's Gift* are more accepted in Canada?

D. R.: I do wonder if that isn't the case. Joseph Boyden is a great example of that. He's a literary rock star in Canada, as he should be, and no one knows about him here. I think one of the problems in the US is that fewer and fewer people are actually reading, too. It might not be indigenous stories so much as the publishing world here is in a bit of trouble and if you're not famous or don't have the next Hunger Games, they aren't interested.

N.D., M.K.: How was the book received in the Yu'pik community?

D. R.: The book has been adopted into the curriculum at the highschool I taught at, in their Native Studies class, so I guess that says something. People have made me beautiful artwork and wrote me the kindest notes of thanks for writing the book. I never would have dreamed of such an incredible response. Honestly, I was concerned about it. I didn't know if I would ever be able to go home. Quite the opposite. I get asked to come out, and in one village that I used to live in the teacher their created an augmented reality game for the students to imagine living after the novel ended and they are out running around the village trying to survive with wisdom they have recorded from interviews with elders. That is to me, the most amazing gift I could have ever received after writing this book.

N.D., M.K.: Who influenced you as a novelist?

D. R.: This is a funny question for me. I read so much as a kid, because we often lived in schools (so I had access to the library) or I had access to books because my parents are voracious readers. I would trace my influences from early reading of Louis L'Amour and Stephen King. I'd read all L'Amour books by second grade and started my Stephen King fix the summer before third grade with *The Shining*. From there I actually wrote more than I read I think. I wrote like a maniac all through elementary, middle school, and high school. (Still reading, of course, but my heart set more on being a writer, and being naïve about the need to move on to the classics and read more contemporary work.) I'd be remiss not to credit the act of story-telling to my dad and also to so many of the Yu'pik elders that I grew up listening to and learning from. Being a story teller isn't just about what books you've read, I think the element of learning from great story tellers is also essential.

N.D., M.K.: Who are your favorite authors outside of Alaska?

D. R.: I'm a big fan of Luis Urrea, Joseph Boyden, Sherman Alexie, and Cormac McCarthy. And that list is pretty male heavy, so I should also add Louise Erdrich, Joy Harjo, and Margaret Atwood. You also teach for a living, which must take a large part out of your writing time.

N.D., M.K.: What are you writing now?

D. R.: I just actually sold a proposal to St. Martins, here in the US, for a non-fiction thriller. I'm co-writing that with the subject, a friend, who was a part of our elite Alaskan pararescue squadron here in Alaska. I've also been working on another novel for the past few years about Arctic whaling. That book is somewhat epic in scope and one day I hope to complete it.

N.D., M.K.: You have also had two screenplays produced.

D. R.: Three, and one short. But who is counting!!! (I am – I still write screenplays. Most recently co-wrote an adaptation of Luis Urrea's *Into the Beautiful North*. Music? I was in a band called The Funky Eskimos. Does that count? I sang. We were the first and last Arctic Grunge band. (Available on itunes!) I'm a fan of Pearl Jam, Portugal. The Man, and Great Elk. Your latest novel *Moving Salmon Bay*, which is now in print in the US Actually – I haven't sold this book in the US! No luck, just like *The Raven's Gift*. The only country to publish this novel about an Alaskan village moving because of climate change is France. The book is titled "Un Dimanche Soir En Alaska." It just came out there, Sept 11th, and has been getting great reviews so far. Hopefully it will be published here in the US before we all have to move due to climate change! 13 hours ago

N.D., M.K.: Tell us about the writing community in Anchorage or Alaska in general.

D. R.: The transformation of the writing community in Alaska has been incredible to be a part of. We started a non-profit called 49 Writers and between that and this groundswell of Alaskan writers and writing coming together, we've really started to see a community emerge. As a writer I feel supported by writers and the community in general. It's pretty amazing and inspirational, really. I can only hope it leads to more Alaska Native writers emerging and being published, too.

N.D., M.K.: Many thanks, Don.

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