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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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NOVI ISTORIZAM I ENGLESKA RENESANSA

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Apstrakt: U ovom radu predstavljen je novi istorizam, kritička praksa nastala početkom osamdesetih godina 20. veka. Novoistorijska kritika se zasniva na sinhronijskom proučavanju, kako književnog, tako i neknjiževnog teksta koji pripada jednom kulturnom sistemu, a oslobođena je analize ideja, književnih žanrova i motiva izdvojenih iz šireg društvenog konteksta. U centru pažnje novoistoričara su politički kontekst i funkcija književnog dela i tekst kao činilac istorijskih zbivanja. Takođe, u sferi novog istorizma nalaze se interesovanje za kulturu, društvo, politiku, institucije, životne uslove klase i polova, socijalni i materijalni kontekst i njegovu osnovu.

Prikaz stavova i analiza iz radova najpoznatijih novoistoričara, pre svega Stivena Grinblata, predstavlja novi vid sagledavanja engleske renesansne književnosti sa stanovišta odnosa moći, politike i drugih društvenih odnosa i prilika ranog modernog doba.

Ključne reči: rano moderno doba, renesansa u Engleskoj, spektakl moći, cirkulisanje društvene energije, politika, kulturno-istorijski kontekst.

Novi istorizam

Uvod

Novi istorizam je kritička praksa nastala početkom osamdesetih godina 20. veka, delom iz zasićenosti novom kritikom i iz otpora prema starom istorizmu, kao i zbog potrebe da se, pod uticajem Mišela Fukoa (Michel Foucault), razmatraju politički kontekst i funkcija književnih dela u vremenu njihovog nastanka i u budućim vremenima recepcije tih dela. Novoistorijska analiza književnih dela podrazumeva sinhronijsko proučavanje teksta koji pripada jednom kulturnom sistemu, a oslobođena je analize ideja, književnih žanrova, motiva izdvojenih iz šireg društvenog konteksta. U centru ove kritike je i pitanje subjekta, odnosno ličnosti pisca, koja se više ne smatra potpuno nezavisnom i slobodnom mislećom, usled svekolikog uticaja ideologija, institucija, jezika koji je oblikuju. Ovi stavovi su najpre izraženi u radovima Stivena Grinblata (Stephen Greenblatt), književnog kritičara, istoričara, teoretičara književnosti i rodonačelnika novog istorizma, koji je proučavao dela engleske renesansne književnosti.

Mišel Fuko i Žak Derida (Jacques Derrida), poststrukturalisti i istraživači tekstualnosti, otkrivaju, svako na svoj način, pravila i nužnosti na kojima počiva stvaranje značenja i definišu postmoderna shvatanja tekstualnosti, iz čega je

proizašao njihov uticaj na književnu teoriju i kritiku s kraja 20.veka (Bečanović-Nikolić 2007: 263-264).

Od strukturalizma, koji se pojavio šezdesetih godina 20. veka, preko poststrukturalizma, možemo pratiti razvoj dominantnih stanovišta nauke o književnosti. Prema strukturalistima jezik oblikuje naš svet, pa je prema tome, sve samo tekst, jer jezik ne odražava svet, nego ga oblikuje, dok bi poststrukturalisti tvrdili da je sve samo interpretacija (Lešić 2003: 10-12). Žak Derida, tvorac dekonstrukcije, govorio je, između ostalog, o zadatku književnog kritičara da u tekstu otkrije takozvane centre moći, odnosno one sveprisutne pojmove Boga, čoveka, sveta, energije, i da dekonstruiše njihova suštinska značenja, na taj način rasterećujući tekst i razotkrivajući odnose koji ti pojmovi tvore u složenom svetu, a kojih ni sam pisac nije svestan. Suštinski, ovakav pristup predstavlja pogled na ono što je zanemareno, previđeno, skriveno, čijim razotkrivanjem shvatamo dubine teksta i značenja. Oktrivanjem dubinskih slojeva i značenja teksta, dolazi se do pojma istorije, jer svaka reč nije prosti označitelj, već nosilac više slojeva smisla i katkad različitih značenja koja su se očuvala protokom vremena. Kao logičan sled ovakvog razvoja razmišljanja u vezi sa jezikom, značenjima i književnim tekstrom, rađaju se ideje kasnije nazvane jednim imenom novi istorizam (Lešić 2003: 13-17).

Predstavnike novog istorizma zanima istorija prisutna u tekstu, i to ne samo književnom, već svakom drugom tekstu, u vidu pravnog dokumenta, hronike vremena, dvorske ili crkvene prepiske, lične prepiske. Oni istovremeno postavljaju pitanja društvene uloge i značaja književnog teksta. Za novi istorizam se kaže da se velikim delom zasniva na Fukoovom poststrukturalističkom mišljenju, ali ga i interesovanje za politiku i kulturno-istorijski kontekst, takođe, dovodi u vezu sa Fukoom, s jedne strane, i sa starim pozitivističkim istorizmom, s druge. Kako su Fukova kritika stare istoriografske prakse i njegova teorija istorije sveprisutne u radovima na temu engleske renesanse, autora poput Stivena Grinblata i Luisa Montrouza (Louis Montrose), novi istorizam se često naziva i „Fukoovim nasleđem“ (Bečanović-Nikolić 2007: 265). Novina koju donosi Fuko je podela na totalnu istoriju koja jednu epohu prikazuje kao jedinstvenu celinu sa jedinstvenim duhom vremena i pogledom na svet i, njoj suprotstavljenu, opštu istoriju koja otvara novi prostor diskontinuiteta i disperzije, a koji Fuko naziva epistemom, epistemološkim poljem (Bečanović-Nikolić 2007: 266).

David Šporer u radu „Poetika renesansne kulture: novi historizam“ navodi da teoretičari književnosti s kraja 20. veka sa polja proučavanja književne forme prelaze na proučavanje sadržine dela, što je i odlika novog istorizma koji gotovo da u prvi plan stavlja ovu novinu. Shodno tome, interpretirajući i englesku renesansnu književnost novoistoričari se posvećuju političkim i društvenim pitanjima u tumačenju književnih tema, što predstavlja novinu u odnosu na dotadašnja istorijska i teorijska proučavanja književnosti (Šporer 2007: 5-7). U sferi novog istorizma nalaze se interesovanje za istoriju, kulturu, društvo, politiku,

institucije, životne uslove klase i polova, socijalni i materijalni kontekst i njegovu osnovu (Lešić 2003: 20). I Grinblat, analizirajući načela novog istorizma, navodi da se tekst nikada ne odvaja od konteksta, odnosno kulture kojoj pripada. Književno delo nije samo umetnička tvorevina, već sadejstvo složenih funkcija dela u kulturi u kojoj je nastalo. Takođe, književna dela su sastavni deo istorijskih procesa i nastaju u interakciji različitih društvenih i političkih tokova i zbivanja koja se očituju u ovim delima. Ali za predstavnike novog istorizma ni jedan tekst nije izravno svedočanstvo o vremenu u kojem je nastalo, jer trpi uticaj ideologije toga vremena, kao i vremena u kojem biva interpretirano, te stoga zahteva pažljivo čitanje (Lešić 2003: 26).

Engleska renesansa

Kada je engleska renesansa u pitanju, zagovornici novog istorizma pokušavaju da rekonstruišu svakodnevnicu elizabetinskog Londona u svetu odnosa različitih ljudi prema običajima, političkim i ostalim društvenim zbivanjima, sve sa ciljem pronalaženja obrazaca koji su na sceni u određenoj kulturi, a svoj izraz nalaze i u književnosti. Svakako, prema Šporeru, u dramama se jednostavno ne može zaobići odnos politike i poetike, a teoretičari novog istorizma naglašavaju da drame i nisu bile namenjene uskom krugu čitalaca, niti dvorskoj eliti, te otud ideja o isprepletenosti drame i života zajednice, ali i ideja o cirkulisanju društvene energije i povezanosti umetnosti i društva, koju je uobliočio Stiven Grinblat (Šporer 2007: 14). Citirajući različite teoretičare novog istorizma, poput Stivena Ordžела (Stephen Orgel) i Stivena Malejnija (Steven Mullaney), David Šporer navodi njihovo poređenje antičkog teatra, koji se prostorno nalazio u srcu zajednice, i elizabetinskog u prostorno marginalnom, ali središnjem mestu u svetu ispitivanja ideala kulture toga doba i podneblja (Šporer 2007: 15-16).

Pitanja moći i vlasti su isto tako u sferi Fukooovih ispitivanja, o čemu će biti dosta reči i u radovima Stivena Grinblata o engleskoj renesansi. U svetu Fukooovog shvatanja diskurzivne tvorevine, engleska renesansa se ne posmatra kao jedinstvena epoha, već se ispituje sukob vladajućih i podrivajućih, subverzivnih težnji, ideologija i procesa, koji svoj izraz nalaze u književnosti i u pozorištu. Teoretičari novog istorizma govore o državi koja nameće jedinstveni diskurs ili diskurzivnu praksu. Sloboda govora i mišljenja u renesansnom društvu predstavlja odstupanje od tog diskursa koji je indirektno represivan i ulazi u sve sfere društva. Tu slobodu govora koja predstavlja disonantne tonove, različitost, nekonvencionalnost, neobičnost, predstavnici novog istorizma uočavaju i ističu u delima engleske renesanske književnosti (Lešić 2003: 27-29).

Zagovornici novog istorizma idu i korak dalje od posmatranja renesanse kao doba otkrića čovekove individualnosti, preporoda klasične kulture i izlaska života iz krutih stega crkve. Džonatan Dolimor (Jonathan Dollimore), recimo, govori o renesansi kao dobu između srednjeg veka, u kome se čovek posmatra kao

esencijalno biće koje po svojoj suštini pripada isključivo Bogu, i prosvetiteljskog humanizma u kome se prvi put javlja ideja o čoveku kao jedinstvenom, celovitom biću sa sopstvenim identitetom (Howard 2002: 71). Teoretičarka Džin Hauard (Jean Howard) smatra da je upravo ovakvo posthumanističko shvatanje čoveka i života ponovo došlo do izražaja u 20. veku, postindustrijskoj eri, punoj protivrečnosti, raskida sa starim ideologijama i tenzija zbog nadolazećih ideja, što je probudilo naročito interesovanje i za nov pristup proučavanju renesansne književnosti (Howard 2002: 72-73). I upravo u renesansi kao prelaznom periodu moguće je, sa tačke gledišta predstavnika novog istorizma, posmatrati sukobe suprotstavljenih ideologija i društveno istorijskih protivrečnosti.

Šekspirove istorijske drame bave se osetljivim političkim pitanjima. Prema Grinblatu, pozorište u doba engleske renesanse postoji da bi se ono što je subverzivno u jednoj kulturi, ispraznilo, kanalisalo, istupilo oštricu, na taj način sprečavajući nastanak svakog radikalizma i otpora u društvu (Bečanović-Nikolić 2007: 283). Jedan od Grinblatovih stavova je i da je Šekspir shvatio da se održavanje autoriteta vladajuće klase ne postiže samo pukom demonstracijom sile i moći, nego i u manipulisanju određenim sistemom odnosa koji svoj iskaz nalaze u književnosti i pozorištu tog doba (Bečanović-Nikolić 2007: 295). Stoga je, prema ovom autoru, poetika elizabetinske vlasti, u ključnim aspektima neodvojiva od poetike Šekspirovog pozorišta. Kod pozorišne publike toga doba se istovremeno stvara sumnja u vladajući poredak, a potom negira, stvarajući napetost koja izaziva katarzičko dejstvo, a na taj način se raspršuju sve potencijalno revolucionarne težnje. Mnogi kritičari Grinblata i njegovu ideju o instrumentalizovanju subverzije od strane vladajuće klase radi uspešnog održavanja poretka u društvu ocenjuju kao vrhunski cinizam uperen protiv vlasti, koju Grinblat vidi kao isključivo manipulatorsku, koja se poigrava svojom moći zarad postizanja ciljeva, a veličanje upotrebe subverzije sa ciljem održavanja postojećeg poretka ovi kritičari tumače kao negiranje bilo kakve mogućnosti promene u društvu, jer vlast stvara iluziju postojanja opozicije, odnosno subverzivnih društvenih težnji (Šporer 2007: 19-20).

Prema Grinblatu, isti mehanizmi manipulacije moći javljaju se u različitim kulturama i razdobljima istorije, što ilustruje u radu „Nevidljivi meci: subverzija vlasti u renesansi.“ Ovaj način interpretacije Grinblat kasnije primenjuje na razumevanje veoma složenog odnosa vladajućeg, konzervativnog i subverzivnog diskursa u Šekspirovim istorijskim dramama. U pomenutom radu, Grinblat, između ostalog, posmatra susret dve kulture, indijanske i evropske, stavljajući na uvid i preispitivanje Makijavelijevu tezu o religiji kao sredstvu održavanja ljudi u strahu. Naime, i indijanski sveštenici i poglavice manipulišu verovanjima, dok ih njihov narod poistovećuje sa bogovima. Zadivljeni nepoznatim spravama i veština nama Engleza, domoroci od njih traže pomoć hrišćanskog Boga, obećavajući da će useve podeliti sa njima, čemu su kolonizatori i težili. Ovde je prisutan i Makijavelijev stav da je za nametanje vladavine od suštinskog značaja, najpre fizička

prinuda, ali da ona nije dovoljna, te je Indijance trebalo ubediti da je hrišćanski Bog svemoćan. Ovakvi stavovi izneseni u to doba smatrali bi se subverzivnim, jeretičkim, suprotstavljenim postulatima hrišćanstva, ali upotrebljeni u korist Britanske imperije, gube jeretički smisao i postaju suština manipulacije vladajuće klase u zaštiti sopstvenih interesa i održanja poretka.

U radu „Kolanje društvene energije“, Stiven Grinblat kaže da je u svojim prvim esejima i razmatranjima o engleskoj renesansi, u Šekspirovim delima video sudar totalnog umetnika, samosvojnog po talentu, duhu i obrazovanju, s jedne strane, i totalitarnog društva koje uspostavlja nevidljivi sistem upravljanja nad svim vidovima života zajednice, s druge. Kasnijim proučavanjem samooblikovanja u renesansi uviđa da niko ne može biti isključivo samosvojan, kao da ni moć koju predstavlja država nije monolitna, već puna pukotina, zbrka, konflikata (Greenblatt 2003: 76-77).

U književnom delu koje imitira stvarnu životnu situaciju, Grinblatu su vidljivi jasni tragovi koji nagoveštavaju stvarni život. On smatra da ne možemo na isti način doživeti Šekspirovu dramu kao gledalac s kraja 16. veka, ali da možemo osetiti život, odnosno energiju koja je u to delo ugrađena. Govoreći o tom dobu engleskog društva, Grinblat dalje kaže da je umetnost stvarana uporedno sa drugim proizvodima kulture, kao što je i sama zgrada pozorišta, jedan ograđeni prostor za koji se plaća ulaz i postoji niz pravila o tome šta sme i ne sme biti prikazano na sceni. „Ovako doslovno shvaćena institucionalizacija prostora umetnosti čini renesansni teatar posebno zgodnim za analizu cirkulacije društvene energije u kulturi“ (Greenblatt 2003: 93). Šekspirova dela su, između ostalog, bila u živoj vezi sa kupoprodajnom praksom toga doba, a i sam njihov tvorac je, kao jedan od deoničara pozorišta Glob, imao materijalne koristi u tom vidu društvene transakcije. U elizabetinskom teatru bilo je dozvoljeno prikazivati sveto i profano, antičko i savremeno, priče iz Engleske, ali i iz dalekih zemalja. Aluzije na monarha, iznošenje osetljivih pitanja monarhije nisu bile zabranjene, ali su autori s tim u vezi morali biti pažljivi. Na sceni su prikazivani likovi Jevreja, Turaka, predstavnici katoličke crkve koja je bila stavljena van zakona, kao i veštice, demoni, vile, duhovi.

Jezik prikazivanih dela je bio slobodna mešavina govora dvorskih i crkvenih velikodostojnika i svakodnevnog jezika nižih staleža, stihovi su se smenjivali sa najprostijom prozom. Na sceni je cirkulisala i ogromna socijalna energija koja kod gledalaca izaziva osećaj pročišćenja, doživljaj harizme, empatije, seksualnog uzbuđenja, budi kolektivne snove, strepnje, čežnje, divljenja, strahopoštovanje.

Stiven Malejni navodi da drama nije imala status književnosti, niti poezije, ali da su se na sceni izražavale određene ideje, da su se izazivale ideološke i političke kontroverze i tako proširivale granice znanja i predstavljanja. S obzirom na to da pismenost nije bila uslov za odlazak u pozorište, drama je imala ulogu javne predikaonice za predstavljanje, promišljanje, oblikovanje i preoblikovanje najrazličitijih osećanja i misli, na taj način delujući kao savremena sila funda-

mentalnog preoblikovanja političkog, društvenog i psihološkog subjekta ranog modernog doba u Engleskoj. Kraljevska vlast je dozvoljavala pozorište, dok je stalna borba vođena sa gradskim vlastima (Spremić 2011: 52).

Esej „Improvizacija moći“ (“The Improvisation of Power”) Grinblat počinje poređenjem Spenserovih i Marloovih likova, princa Artura iz *Vilinske kraljice*, oličenja vrline, zaštitnika devičanskog reda kraljice Glorijane i Marloovog Tamerlana iz istoimenog dela *Tamerlan*, skitskog Biča Božjeg, oličenja groteskne surovosti i neumerenosti. Poredеći ih navodi da su oni dva lica veličanja moći, kao i da svaka moć i vlast poseduju oba lica koja u različitim situacijama pokazuju. Pojedinačni doživljaj nečije moći zavisi od pozicije te osobe, tako da će, kako Grinblat kaže, irskom pešadincu Spenserov princ velikodušnosti izgledati kao Bič Božji. Govoreći dalje o stavovima koje Makijaveli iznosi u *Vladaocu*, prema kojima svaki vladar treba da ima oba lica moći, Grinblat prelazi na sociološke rasprave o tipu svesti zapadnog čoveka koji se definiše kao psihička pokretljivost (Greenblatt 2011: 292). Zapadni čovek je prilagodljiv novim situacijama u društvu jer je kod njega sistematski razvijan mobilni senzibilitet, podstaknut, najpre, fizičkim pokretanjima stanovništva u doba istraživanja i osvajanja novih teritorija, a potom razvijan putem masovnih medija u savremenom dobu. Nasuprot ovom senzibilitetu stoji statični duh čoveka tradicionalnog istočnog društva. Iznevši ove stavove, Grinblat dalje kaže da je korene mobilnog senzibiliteta prepoznao i u renesansnom društvu. Ovakav ugao gledanja čini se da je u skladu sa dotadašnjim Grinblatovim idejama o proučavanju međusobnih odnosa ljudi i kulture kojoj pripadaju, gde književnost predstavlja plodno tle za taj vid istraživanja. Autor, takođe, podseća na postupke ranih kolonizatora prema domorodačkom stanovništvu koje je u veoma kratkom vremenskom periodu gotovo uništeno porobljavanjem, zabranom bavljenja zemljoradnjom, širenjem zaraznih bolesti. On tako dolazi do termina improvizacija (Greenblatt 2011: 295) koji uvodi u povlačenju paralele između istorijskih dešavanja i postupaka nekih likova Šekspirovih drama, poput Jaga. Grinblat improvizaciju definiše kao prilagođavanje novonastalim okolnostima ili zatečenoj situaciji, koje podrazumeva i sposobnost da se iz toga izvuče korist ili da se neko čak, kao Jago, poigrava, improvizujući vrednosti vladajućeg poretka. Evropski osvajači su bili u stanju da upotrebe domorodačka verovanja u svoju korist i da ih tako bez prisile obmanu, recimo, da se ukrcaju na njihove brodove, obećavši im da ih vode na ostrva za koja domoroci veruju da su rajska, a u stvari su ih vodili u svoje rudnike zlata kao radnu snagu.

Korene improvizacije Grinblat u renesansi vidi i u prihvatanju i improvizovanju rituala katoličke crkve od strane anglikanskih crkvenih autoriteta, kao i u sistemu obrazovanja koji od tog perioda počinje da neguje model obrazovanja učenika po kome se on ospozobljava da podjednako dobro zastupa dijametalno suprotne stavove. U skladu sa navedenim, većina Šekspirovih drama je za ovog teoretičara izraz kulturnog modusa negovanog u doba renesanse.

Zaključak

Novi istorizam i engleska renesansa

Novoistorijska tumačenja Šekspirovih tragedija predstavljaju vredno polazište svih mogućih interpretacija i doživljaja drama, jer rasvetljavaju mnoga skrivena mesta u dramama, zaodenuta društvenim praksama i uvreženim mišljenjima, a iskaz su, nekad, najdubljih ljudskih strahova i poriva. Za savremenog čitaoca novoistorijska kritika je dragocena u nastojanju da se pronikne u razloge određenih postupaka dramskih likova, njihove dileme i uzroke tragične sudbine. Ova kritička praksa vredna je i svima koji nedovoljno poznaju politička zbivanja ranog modernog doba u Engleskoj, postojanje određenih ideologija i religioznih doktrina, koje se prepliću i u dramama kao moćnom sredstvu oblikovanja renesansnog čoveka. Usredsređenost i opseg novoistorijske kritike nastaje da budu sveobuhvatni. Tako u tumačenje uključuju i neraskidivu povezanost ličnih poriva, strahova, u pokušaju da razjasne do koje mere su oni društveno uslovljeni. Ova kritika nam daje uvid i u određene metafizičke tabue – zakona krvi i patrijarhata, objašnjava shvatanje nužnosti celovitosti prerogativa vlasti oličenih u vladaru, prikazuje promenu dominantnog diskursa, koja se ogleda u engleskoj renesansnoj drami, a koju nameće vladar kao vrhovna vlast u državi. Uvodi kao pojmove i objašnjava korene i uticaj političke mizoginije i manipulisanja određenim konstruktima svesti. Takođe, objašnjava uticaj pojedinih religioznih doktrina na prihvaćena shvatanja u društvu. I upravo ovakav vid kritičkog sagledavanja dela nastalih u doba renesansnog preobražaja u Engleskoj veoma je blizak savremenom čitaocu, formiranom u doba globalne razmene informacija i preplitanja najrazličitijih kulturnih, ideoloških i političkih uticaja u svim sferama društvenog života.

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NEW HISTORICISM AND ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

This paper presents new historicism, a critical practice founded in the early 1980s. New historicist readings are based on the synchronic study of both literary and non-literary texts that belong to a cultural system. These readings exclude the analysis of ideas, literary genres and motifs isolated from the wider social context. The focus of new historicism is on the political context and function of literary works and on the text as a factor of historical events. However, the scope of new historicism interest includes culture, society, politics, institutions, living conditions of social classes and genders, and social and material context.

The presented views and analyses from the works of the most influential new historicists, primarily Stephen Greenblatt, represent a new kind of perception of the English renaissance literature from the standpoint of the relations between power, politics, and other social relations and conditions of the early modern age.

Key words: early modern age, English Renaissance, the display of power, the circulation of social energy, politics, cultural and historical context.

TORTURE AS A MANIFESTATION OF ALIENATION FROM THE SPIRITUAL AND DIVINE IN THE NOVEL *PINCHER MARTIN* BY WILLIAM GOLDRING

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Abstract: The modern world, in which an individual is increasingly lost, questions the belief in religion and religious dogmas, resulting in suffering and torture. The novel *Pincher Martin* is concerned with exploring human nature through the representation of individual human tragedy and torture. Defying God and Heaven, Golding examines the limits of human selfishness as well as the immortality of the human spirit that is willing to fight even in hopeless situations. The choice between the divine and the earthly can often be tedious because of Golding's standpoint that humans are evil by nature. The archetypal vision of a loner on a cliff who faces God reflects a new dimension of torture in the modern world.

Key Words: William Golding, *Pincher Martin*, torture, religiosity and modern world.

One of the features of Golding's novels is human suffering due to the loss of faith and values. Modern man is spiritually exhausted and he is more and more moving away from God and he prefers to rely on his inner being rather than on religion. Golding relates human imperfections and their spiritual darkness to the concept of original sin. His philosophy is based on the principle that man is wicked and therefore limited in his attempts to oppose various forms of evil in life. The writer, both symbolically and thematically, uses the expulsion from Eden myth to emphasize the need of individuals to go through pain and suffer misery before they reach salvation or partial awareness of the complexity of life. Since they have to live in a world in which paradise is lost, his characters are forced to learn and accept their fall from the idealistic world of Eden to see and face the world of everyday reality. Therefore, Golding is trying to actualize experience and to impose reality upon his characters.

In *Pincher Martin*, Golding discusses the personal darkness of Pincher's spiritual torment after death. As the author said:

Christopher Hadley Martin had no belief in anything but the importance of his own life; no love, no God. Because he was created in the image of God he had a freedom of choice which he used to centre the world on himself. He did not believe in purgatory and therefore when he died it

was not presented to him in overtly theological terms. The greed for life which had been the mainspring of his nature, forced him to refuse the selfless act of dying. He continued to exist separately in a world composed of his own murderous nature. His drowned body lies rolling in the Atlantic but the ravenous ego invents a rock for him to endure on. It is the memory of an aching tooth. Ostensibly and rationally he is a survivor from a torpedoed destroyer: but deep down he knows the truth. He is not fighting for bodily survival but for his continuing identity in the face of what will smash it and sweep it away - the black lightning, the compassion of God. For Christopher, the Christ-bearer, has become Pincher Martin who is little but greed. Just to be Pincher is purgatory; to be Pincher for eternity is hell. (Babb 66-67)

The cry of Pincher's ego for salvation as well as his refusal to surrender to the selfless act of dying represent the negation of God, religion and all that is spiritual. In the split second that separates him from death, Pincher creates an image which conveys the world of consciousness into which he is trying desperately to escape:

The jam jar was standing on a table, brightly lit from O.P. It might have been a huge jar in the centre of a stage or a small one almost touching the face, but it was interesting because one could see into a little world there which was quite separate but which one could control. The jar was nearly full of clear water and a tiny glass figure floated upright in it. The top of the jar was covered with a thin membrane – white rubber. He watched the jar without moving or thinking while his distant body stilled itself and relaxed. The pleasure of the jar lay in the fact that the little glass figure was so delicately balanced between opposing forces. Lay a finger on the membrane and you would compress the air below it which in turn would press more strongly on the water. Then the water would force itself farther up the little tube in the figure, and it would begin to sink. By varying the pressure on the membrane you could do anything you liked with the glass figure which was wholly in your power. You could mutter, – sink now! And down it would go, down, down; you could steady it and relent. You could let it struggle towards the surface, give it almost a bit of air then send it steadily, slowly, remorselessly down and down. (Golding 8-9)

The image of a glass figure in the jar that is helpless in the water that depends on some superior force represents Martin who refuses to die and acts as God. He increases the pressure on his own rubber membrane so that his figure comes up to the surface of a world he himself creates. However, if the novel ironically

illustiates Nathaniel's lecture on "the sort of heaven we invented for ourselves after death, if we aren't ready for the real one," (Golding 183) then the essence of the experience is the knowledge that existence is only possible within some unattainable game going on below the surface. The jar and the glass figure, the little world "quite separate, but which one could control," in fact only gives the illusion of control. The executor believes that he controls the power and thus fulfills his desires. But there is something that is not under our control: The "glass figure was so delicately balanced between opposing forces," the finger cannot control those forces although they can allow it while they remain permanent. There are natural forces such as water and the body, but there is also a factor that is above them and that controls them: the pressure of the real heaven which is outside the small world of the jar, the pressure of God if he exists or unfulfilled infinity of empty space if God does not exist.

According to some critics, *Pincher Martin* is a parody of the Creation Myth in *Genesis*. The protagonist survives six days, and a human hand i.e. two officers appear on the seventh day. On the first day, Martin's "will" creates sea and sky around itself, but the "will" also creates day and night and the rock. His body floats in the water, the "will" creates dawn, and images in his mind like the image of a jam jar try to tell him the truth and get between him and the urgency of his movement in the water. Although cold and hopelessness creeps over him, the "will" gathers strength and compels the mind to think: "Think, you bloody fool, think" (Golding 30).

On the second, new day of creation: "What he is inventing [...] is no Heaven" (Kinkead-Weekes and Gregor 137). Pincher makes the man of stones in the shape of the "dwarf" to make it easier for a ship to spot it. In the night of the second day, the "will" confirms his intention to survive even more. Pincher remembers Nathaniel's words: "You could say that I know it is important for you personally to understand about heaven – about dying – because in only a few years" (Golding 71). On the rock, just like in that room at Oxford, his consciousness is overwhelmed by fear and pain as the consciousness anticipates the words that must not be spoken "because in only a few years you will be dead" (Golding 72). Pincher cannot agree with Nathaniel's moral lesson at all. If he did it, it would mean that he would accept death, and that would threaten his voracious nature. Therefore, the "will" wakes itself from a dream that belongs to the past and immediately responds: "I'll be damned if I'll die" (Golding 74). From this we can clearly see that Martin invents his own heaven, because he is not ready for the real one waiting for him after death. He refuses to accept what happened to him in the same way he refuses the fact he would die when he has been alive.

The third day of creation represents the culmination of Pincher's creative achievement, he very convincingly imagines that he found in his pocket a plate with his own name: "Christopher Hadley Martin. Martin. Chris. I am what

I always was" (Golding 76). Pincher begins the process of mental reorientation by providing the names for certain parts of his imaginary island:

I am busy surviving. I am netting down this rock with names and taming it. Some people would be incapable of understanding the importance of that. What is given a name is given a seal, a chain. If this rock tries to adapt me to its ways I will refuse and adapt it to mine. I will impose my routine on it, my geography. I will tie it down with names. If it tries to annihilate me with blotting-paper, then I will speak in here where my words resound and significant sounds assure me of my own identity. [...] I will use my brain as a delicate machine-tool to produce the results I want. Comfort. Safety. Rescue. (Golding 86-87)

Martin imagines that he is the new Adam and there is an echo of genesis in his words. Trying to impose his presence on the elements as evidence of his preservation of sanity, identity and existence, Martin feels that he will achieve absolute control over uncertainty, balancing between life and death and that he will be in a position of controlling his own destiny. Once the loneliness overwhelms him, he cries involuntarily: "My God!" (Golding 79) He grabs the "dwarf" in his horror and its head falls off. This is the moment when Picher evokes a superior force, because there is no confidence in the possibility for human power to control reality. However, his "will" quickly makes the new "dwarf" which is even bigger than before. According to Mark Kinkead-Weekes and Ian Gregor:

He preaches a sermon to himself, a practical one like Ralph's, about a rescue, about survival, about what must be done to keep the body going and 'the thread of life unbroken' in spite of sickness and suffering – but there is more obviously now a Spectre to be feared for him as well as Ralph. (Golding 139)

Pincher admits that he has already had hallucinations, but he continues to impose his presence on the rock. He is afraid to sleep just as he was afraid when he was a child: "He began to think desperately about sleep" (Golding 91).

Pincher creates the fourth day, "a thinking day" (Golding 96) in which his imagination is preoccupied. He fluctuates between claim and despair: "I may never get away from this rock at all" (Golding 115). After a day of empty waiting and endurance, there comes the night when thoughts and images contain a vague threat. Pincher realizes that what he has created during the previous four days is in fact hell. He does not wake up and he is forced to admit that he hasn't slept at all.

On the fifth day, day and night lose the sustained distinction, time begins to stop slowly, and the laboriously created world begins to lose its conviction: "He shut his eyes and then opened them again but the rock and the sea seemed no more real" (Golding 124). Pincher starts to control his mind with difficulty, and his confident speech becomes replaced by desperate screams: "Christopher. Christopher! [...] Oh, my God" (Golding 130). Two arms that are reaching out to grab a disappearing identity before his eyes is one of the last movements that Pincher will make. The "will" still continues to claim that the rock and sea are real, but clearly starts to lose its enthusiasm. The truth appears in a crucial moment when Pincher's five-day creation disappears. Time stops and the abyss opens:

Something was coming up to the surface. It was uncertain of its identity because it had forgotten its name. It was disorganized in pieces. It struggled to get these pieces together because then it would know what it was. There was a rhythmical noise and disconnection. [...] There was a separation between now, whenever now was, and the instant of terror. The separation enabled him to forget what had caused that terror. The darkness of separation was deeper than that of sleep. It was deeper than any living darkness because time had stopped or come to an end. It was a gap of not-being, a well opening out of the world and now the effort of mere being was so exhausting that he could only lie sideways and live. (Golding 167-168)

Pincher's existence is completely uncertain and doomed to failure at that moment, because it depends on the memory which is losing itself increasingly. Although there is a sixth day, it is no longer under Pincher's control. There is a furious storm and Pincher can neither influence his little world anymore nor does it bring him the expected satisfaction. He cannot avoid the painful realization on that rock which is also a cellar to which all paths of his life have led and where he must be faced with the unknown he most feared. Pincher is slowly becoming aware that he hallucinates and he "understood what was so hauntingly familiar and painful about an isolated and decaying rock in the middle of the sea" (Golding 174). He built on the rock an unreal heaven, a temporary hell, and his own escape from death. Therefore, he exclaims: "I was always two things, mind and body. Nothing has altered. Only I did not realize it before so clearly" (Golding 176). Pincher is aware that the spirits from childhood's cellar cannot be locked now.

In one moment of terror he sees the old woman who lived in the darkest corner of the cellar instead of the "dwarf". After that, Nathaniel's words take on significance and Pincher realizes that Nathaniel predicts his death and his own involvement in it: "Take us as we are now and heaven would be sheer

negation. Without form and void. You see? A sort of black lightning, destroying everything that we call life" (Golding 183). Because we are selfish beings, the heaven that we could reach if we are only ready to die to ourselves, and not for others, seems completely destructive. Such a heaven destroys everything we consider the most valuable, what a saint calls perfect love, compassion, and peace. Love is unknown to a sinner like Pincher. The Creator, who formed him with the choice to accept death in order to go to heaven, gave him also the choice between love and hate. However, instead of pleasant scenes while dying, Pincher sees the spirits of the executioner and his wife i.e. Nat and Mary. Love for others, as well as love for God, seem meaningless and represent a milestone for destruction. According to Erich Fromm: "To love God, [...] would mean, then, to long for the attainment of the full capacity to love, for the realization of that which 'God' stands for in oneself" (71).

Finally there appears, on the last pages of the novel, what is either the truth or madness i.e. the last result of Pincher's crazy imagination or a projection of his mind. It is a character that completely resembles Pincher except for one: "On the sixth day he created God. Therefore I permit you to use nothing but my own vocabulary. In his own image created he Him" (Golding 196). But the character is wearing sea boots. If it is Martin, he died and united with God. If it is not madness, the character speaks with the voice of God as much as Pincher can hear, and the sea boots "good and shiny and wet and solid [...] made the rock behind them seem like cardboard, like a painted flat" (Golding 195). It is an opportunity for Pincher to face what he could be, the "self" he has rejected, i.e. the opportunity to choose again. In his conversation with God, Pincher finally faces him and remains loyal to his own selfish nature. He says to God: "I have created you and I can create my own heaven" (Golding 196). Forced to think for the last time and to choose good instead of evil, Pincher, however, prefers his tortured life to the divine beauty even though it would bring him the redemption for all the wrong he has done:

You gave me the power to choose and all my life led me carefully to this suffering because my choice was my own. Oh, yes! I understand the pattern. All my life, whatever I had done I should have found myself in the end on that same bridge, at that same time, giving that same order – the right order, the wrong order. Yet, suppose I climbed away from the cellar over the bodies of used and defeated people, broke them to make steps on the road away from you, why should you torture me? If I ate them, who gave me a mouth? (Golding 197)

Instead of sanity and heaven on the rock, Pincher chooses madness and thus loses himself. He chooses to reject the love of God. He requires black lightning and gets it. He finally goes mad, riding the rock like a horse into the storm,

holding out his identity disc and shouting: "I spit on your compassion!" (Golding 199) Pincher's self chose to remain trapped in the pattern, it stubbornly decided to remain a slave to its futile and compulsive desires. At the end of the novel, the entire physical universe, whose reality seemed so convincing, disintegrates. The destruction of the universe takes place as convincingly as its creation and the centre of Pincher's "self" pronounces his last words to God: "I shit on your heaven!" (Golding 200) Black lightning occupies Martin's ego and destroys the imaginary world that he has laboriously built. Black lightning of knowledge invades his world and does not allow him to accept divine grace and the possibility of salvation.

On the seventh day, two officers come to remove what is left of Pincher Martin. Pincher's dead body is discovered on the coast. Two officers come to remove what is left of him. One of the officers compares his dead body to a derelict lean-to on the coast: "Broken, defiled. Returning to the earth, the rafters rotted, the roof fallen in – a wreck. Would you believe that anything ever lived there?" (Golding 207)

Through Pincher's character, Golding portrays humanity's tendency to defy temporal constraints of mortality. What happens in purgatory is a reflection of what happens on earth as well. The futility of Martin's efforts to avoid his real condition is, in fact, a reflection of futility of a humanist's response to the eternal questions dealing with the existence that torture humans. Martin is an individualist who lives out of divine reality and refuses to die. According to some critics, Golding is a Christian novelist, because the primary theme of his novels is free choice between good and evil, or the choice for or against the divine purpose.

Being a tragic novelist since his characters choose evil, their existence is the result of the wrong choice. The significance of Golding's world is based on the fact that his world is a place for both the earthly and the spiritual. Christianity relies upon dualism: earth-heaven and body-soul. In this way, the body reflects the soul and is a negation of it too. Golding sees man's fall as a mythic rather than a historical event, and he is concerned with individual responsibility for the fall. The basis of Golding's work is his attitude that humans are inherently evil, and that civilization enables humans to commit evil or violence. Conflict between the human mind and its instincts means that they will finally destroy humankind if the conscience does not restrain them. Man is solely responsible for his actions, because he possesses the capacity to think and to overcome the darkness in his heart in this way. Golding's portrayal of the torture and the disturbed human relations describe man as a manipulator of others in order to satisfy his own needs and ambitions. Voracious passion of egoism overcame Pincher and prevented him to love freely and without condition. Repressed desires hidden in his heart became free. Golding implies

that chaotic state of disorder is a direct consequence of man neglecting the spiritual.

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LES RÉFÉRENCES ÉSOTÉRIQUES DANS LA CLÉ DES CHAMPS (1953) ET ARCANE 17 (1944-1947)

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Résumé: En considération des tendances matérialistes et athées de Breton, son recours à l'ésotérisme et à l'hermétisme révèle sa position un peu particulière, voire paradoxale par rapport à son irréligion proclamée. Dans son *Anthologie de l'humour noir*, Breton précise qu'il y a une même conception de l'unité du monde dans les doctrines hermétiques et dans les utopies. Notre objectif est de montrer comment cette démarche d'ensemble débouche sur une quête du surnaturel qui fonde, chez Breton, une esthétique de l'insolite évidente dans ses œuvres: *La Clé des champs* (1953) et *Arcane 17* (1944-1947).

Mots clés: Breton, ésotérisme, hermétisme, utopie, Mélusine

Dès ses premières œuvres, Breton a montré une grande incapacité à s'adapter aux conditions sociales imposées et a cherché toujours une façon d'échapper à une civilisation technicienne insupportable et sans espoir. L'intérêt pour l'occultisme et l'hermétisme se manifeste très tôt chez Breton. Parfois la fascination pour l'occulte n'est pas à l'ordre du jour parce que la curiosité de Breton se focalise sur d'autres champs d'exploration (par exemple ceux de l'inconscient, du rêve, de l'écriture automatique, du hasard objectif).

Breton revient sur la position de la femme dans le monde, sur l'occulte et sur les thèmes de la recherche des origines de la langue et de l'amour avec *Arcane 17* (1944 – 1947) et *La Clé des champs* (1953).

Dans le texte de 1947, *Devant le rideau de La Clé des champs*, Breton nous invite et nous présente à nouveau cette tradition – „sur cette tradition le silence le plus indigne, le plus vindicatif est gardé“ (Breton 3: 747). Breton mentionne comme les représentants „des lignes de pensée poétique et d'anticipation sociale – les grands conventionnels, Hugo, Nerval, Fourier“ (*Ibid.*) et pour „la persistante vitalité d'une conception ésotérique du monde“ (*Ibid.*) il cite : Martinès, Saint-Martin, Fabre d'Olivet, l'abbé Constant. „En s'abstenant jusqu'ici d'en tenir compte, la critique universitaire s'est vouée purement et simplement à l'inanité“ (*Ibid.*)

Les mêmes figures de l'occultisme et de l'utopie sont présents dans *Arcane 17*, l'œuvre tissée de références ésotériques et vouée à l'hermétisme. Pour Breton, les figures majeures sont Paracelse, Rousseau, Sade, Lautréamont, Freud, Marat et Saint-Just. Elles méritent „la place des grands aventuriers de

l'esprit, de ceux qui ont pris l'homme à bras le corps, l'ont sommé de se connaître en profondeur ou l'ont mis en demeure de justifier de ses prétendus idéaux [...]” (Breton 3: 54).

Plus loin dans le texte, Breton compare Hugo et Fabre d'Olivet, Nerval et Pythagore, Baudelaire et Swedenborg, Rimbaud et l'ouvrage de l'alchimie, Apollinaire, la Cabale juive et les romans du cycle d'Arthur. Il rappelle par ailleurs sa définition de l'ésotérisme tel qu'il le conçoit.

L'ésotérisme, toutes réserves faites sur son principe même, offre au moins l'immense intérêt de maintenir à l'état dynamique le système de comparaison, de champ illimité, dont dispose l'homme, qui lui livre les rapports susceptibles de relier les objets en apparence les plus éloignés et lui découvre partiellement la mécanique du symbolisme universel. Les grands poètes de ce dernier siècle l'ont admirablement compris, depuis Hugo dont viennent d'être révélées les attaches très étroites avec l'école de Fabre d'Olivet, en passant par Nerval, dont les sonnets fameux se réfèrent à Pythagore, à Swedenborg, par Baudelaire qui emprunte notoirement aux occultistes leur théorie des ‘correspondances’, par Rimbaud dont, à l'apogée de son pouvoir créateur, on ne saurait trop souligner le caractère des lectures [...] jusqu'à Apollinaire chez qui alternent l'influence de la Cabale juive et celle des romans du cycle d'Arthur. (*Ibid.*, 86-87).

Antoine Fabre d'Olivet (1767-1825), disciple de Delisles de Sales, était connu pour son étonnante érudition et pour ses ouvrages : le commentaire des *Vers dorés de Pythagore* (1813), *La langue hébraïque restituée* (1815-1816), *L'Histoire philosophique du genre humain* (1824), *La Vraie maçonnerie et la Céleste Culture*. Sa conception du monde met en jeu trois éléments (la Providence, le Destin, le Règne hominal) organisés en fonction du quatrième élément majeur qu'est la Divinité. La Volonté est la faculté maîtresse de l'homme et du Destin et elle est capable de dominer la Providence. Sur le plan idéologique et politique, Fabre d'Olivet se réclamait de la théocratie, dans une perspective très proche de celle de Joseph de Maistre : il critique d'ailleurs la „chimère“ de l'égalité (il vise particulièrement Rousseau) et les Lumières et de la Révolution.

Breton lui consacre pourtant le premier *Ajours*, en évoquant l'image du chêne et du gland, tiré de la „Dissertation introductory“ de *l'Histoire philosophique du genre humain*. Breton mentionne dans cette séquence, „le philosophe inconnu“, Louis Claude de Saint-Martin (1743-1803) et son ouvrage le *Tableau naturel des rapports qui existent entre Dieu, l'homme et l'univers*, dont la réédition en 1946 a suscité un grand intérêt chez Breton. Le processus de

germination, l'émanation et la réminiscence sont traités dans la perspective de la théosophie:

Il est vrai que l'œil ne tarde pas à s'éblouir quand il s'attarde à fixer le phénomène de la germination. Du besoin dont je parle il en allait, en l'occurrence, comme de ce gland du chêne qui, ce ne doit pas être fortuit, fit trouver quelques-uns de ses plus hauts accents à un Claude de Saint-Martin aussi bien qu'à un Fabre d'Olivet. Je me bornerai à rappeler que, pour le premier, l'émanation du chêne naissant – comme de l'enfant – dans la région temporelle manifeste le dessein transcendental de tous les êtres de 'recouvrir leur ressemblance avec leur principe'¹ et qu'aux yeux du second le gland en proie au processus de germination exprime en lui la conciliation de la 'puissance d'être', qu'il appelle aussi 'providence', avec la puissance d'être ce qu'il est ou puissance d'exister en tant que chêne, qu'il appelle 'destin', ces deux puissances pouvant être subordonnées occasionnellement à une troisième, qui est la 'volonté de l'homme'. Et Fabre d'Olivet s'explique on ne peut plus concrètement sur ce point : 'Je tiens le gland, je puis le manger, et l'assimiler ainsi à ma substance ; je puis le donner à un animal qui le mangera ; je puis le détruire en l'écrasant sous mes pieds ; je puis le semer, et lui faire produire un chêne... Je l'écrase sous mes pieds : le gland est détruit. Son destin est-il anéanti ? Non, il est changé ; un nouveau destin qui est mon ouvrage commence pour lui' (Ibid., 97-98)

Au-delà de ces occultistes, Breton se réfère directement aux utopistes tels que Charles Fourier (1772-1837), Prosper Enfantin, dit le Père Enfantin (1796-1864) et Flora Tristan (1803-1844) :

Chères ombres longtemps prises entre des feux contraires, vous hier presque repliées, ombre frénétique de Charles Fourier, ombre toujours frémisante de Flora Tristan, ombre délicieuse du Père Enfantin, les risées qu'on vous a dispensées n'auront pas indéfiniment raison de vous, et j'ajoute qu'elles seules préviendraient en votre faveur les poètes. Une grande réparation vous est due, les événements actuels la préparent, ils pourraient bien la rendre toute proche et cette réparation devra être d'autant plus éclatante qu'elle aura été plus tardive. (Ibid., 58)

Breton a déjà précisé dans son *Anthologie de l'humour noir* (1940-1950-1966) qu'il y avait une même conception de l'unité du monde dans les doctrines

¹ Tiré du *Tableau naturel* de Claude de Saint-Martin.

hermétiques et dans les utopies². La même proposition est répétée dans la note du dernier *Ajours* où Breton déclare que:

Fourier et Lévi s'insèrent dans un immense courant de pensée que nous pouvons suivre depuis le Zohar et qui se diversifie dans les écoles illuministes du XVIII^e et du XIX^e. (Breton 3: 112)

Suzanne Lamy dans sa thèse de doctorat intitulé *André Breton, Hermétisme et Poésie dans Arcane 17*, constate que Breton n'était pas un initié à la tradition occulte, au sens propre du terme, mais un passionné pour les auteurs ésotériques, „pour le champ d'analogies propices à la germination qu'ils lui offraient“ (Lamy 1997, 82).

Il faut de plus constater la proximité du discours de Breton sur le couple de l'homme et de la femme avec les théories développées par Éliphas Lévi dans *L'Assomption de la femme ou le Livre de l'amour*. L'état inférieur dans lequel se trouve la femme, la recherche de l'androgynie primordial, la critique des valeurs masculines dominantes, la nécessité de la révolution à faire et la reconstitution de la „nouvelle Ève“ constituent autant de points communs à Breton et à Lévi.

Comme chez Éliphas Lévi, la femme a, aussi, un rôle central chez le Père Enfantin. Éliphas Lévi a fait de Marie, on le sait, la manifestation féminine du Saint-Esprit. La Famille saint-simonienne du Père Enfantin tenta de reconstituer le noyau de la société future où la position centrale sera tenue par la Femme-Messie.

L'idée que la réalisation de toutes les aspirations et les espérances sont possibles grâce à la femme, consolatrice et annonciatrice d'un autre monde, se rencontre aussi, chez Novalis:

la reine universelle, annonciatrice des mondes sacrés, sauvegarde de l'amour bienheureux : c'est elle qui t'envoie, tendre amante, aimable soleil nocturne ! À présent je veille, car je t'appartiens, comme je m'appartiens moi-même. En décrétant que la Nuit me fût vie, tu me fis véritablement homme. (Novalis 1990, 25-27)

Rien d'étrange si le texte d'*Arcane 17* invoque Novalis et „la grande nuit vierge“:

² „Cette cosmologie, aussi bien que les autres théories insolites qu'a professées Fourier, il serait grand temps d'établir avec précision ce qu'elles doivent et ne doivent pas à la philosophie hermétique [...]“ (Breton 2: 910).

J'ai fermé les yeux pour rappeler de tous mes vœux la vraie nuit, la nuit débarrassée de son masque d'épouvantements, elle la suprême régulatrice et consolatrice, la grande nuit vierge des *Hymnes à la Nuit*. (Breton 3: 69-70)

Breton s'exalte pour „la nuit trompeuse“ (*Ibid.*, 69) en utilisant ce cadre pour transposer son expérience personnelle à un plan plus général. Breton connaît bien le monde menacé par l'atrocité de la guerre et l'homme entravé. „Cette nuit est totale, on dirait celle de notre temps“ (*Ibid.*).

L'invocation des figures Fourier, de Flora Tristan, du Père Enfantin, d'Éliphas Lévi et de Novalis se justifie par le fait qu'ils ont fait avancer l'idée du „*salut terrestre par la femme*“ (*Ibid.*, 59). Breton, de son côté invoque plus précisément une femme :

Mélusine à demi reprise par la vie panique [...], c'est elle que j'invoque, je ne vois qu'elle qui puisse rédimer cette époque sauvage. C'est la femme tout entière et pourtant la femme telle qu'elle est aujourd'hui, la femme privée de son assiette humaine, prisonnière de ses racines mouvantes tant qu'on veut, mais aussi par elles en communication providentielle avec les forces élémentaires de la nature. (*Ibid.*, 66)

Mélusine, chez Breton, condense plusieurs aspects féminins. Dans la première partie du texte Mélusine était la petite fille au harfang qui a „le secret d'allumer instantanément, en quelque angle qu'elle veuille de l'âcre pièce, un œil étincelant et fixe, pareil au sien“ (*Ibid.*, 60), celle par qui tout „se met, non seulement à regarder, mais à faire de la lumière, et toutes les lumières s'apprêtent à communiquer, tout en gardant les aspects distinctifs de leurs sources“ (*Ibid.*, 61).

Elle est petite fille des contes, femme-enfant, femme-fée des légendes du Valois. Elle est aussi Elisa, la femme réelle dont la „main dans sa pâleur d'étoile [...], réfracte son rayon“ (*Ibid.*, 46) dans la main de l'homme aimé. En elle s'incarnent Balkis „aux yeux si longs que même de profil ils semblent regarder de face“ (*Ibid.*, 67), Cléopâtre „au matin d'Actium“ (*Ibid.*), la jeune sorcière de Michelet „au regard de lande“ (*Ibid.*). Elle est Bettina „près d'une cascade parlant pour son frère et son fiancé“ (*Ibid.*), la fée au griffon de Gustave Moreau, Hélène, Juliette, Mélisande, Héloïse, la Religieuse Portugaise. „De part et d'autre de cette femme qui, par-delà Mélusine, est Ève et est maintenant toute la femme“ (*Ibid.*, 71).

Mélusine englobe aussi la figure ésotérique majeure d'Isis qui a vaincu la mort, l'Étoile du Matin, celle qui résout les oppositions totales et dont le nom hébraïque (Phé) signifie au sens le plus haut la parole même. Mélusine, durant

ses changements, se transforme en „Canicule ou Sirius“ (*Ibid.*, 70) „Lucifer Porte-Lumière“ (*Ibid.*) et „l’Étoile du Matin“ (*Ibid.*) du XVII^e lame du Tarot.

La situation de la femme est, selon Breton la suivante : le joug l’écrase, elle ne voit nulle possibilité de jouer son rôle. Breton annonce le renversement des situations et pronostique que le temps est venu de „faire valoir les idées de la femme aux dépens de celles de l’homme“ (*Ibid.*, 65). Et Breton donne en ce sens à l’artiste et à l’art, en général, un devoir et une direction à assigner:

C'est à l'artiste, en particulier, qu'il appartient, ne serait-ce qu'en protestation contre ce scandaleux état de choses, de faire prédominer au maximum tout ce qui ressortit au système féminin du monde par opposition au système masculin, de faire fonds exclusivement sur les facultés de la femme, d'exalter, mieux même, de s'approprier jusqu'à le faire jalousement sien tout ce qui la distingue de l'homme sous le rapport des modes d'appréciation et de volition. (*Ibid.*)

Arcane 17, un véritable hymne à l’amour, le livre de l’espérance, de la résurrection et de la re-naissance est dédié à Elisa qui était, dans cette période, en détresse complète et bouleversée par la mort de sa fille. Breton la rencontre à New York, dans un restaurant français, en 1943 et il l’épouse presque aussitôt.

„Aimer, d’abord. Il sera toujours temps, ensuite, de s’interroger sur ce qu’on aime jusqu’à n’en vouloir plus rien ignorer“ (Breton 4: 1024), écrit Breton dans la préface à l’ouvrage de Karel Kupka, *Un art à l’état brut*, en 1962, mais prudence oblige, il ne faut pas se laisser abuser par n’importe quelle passion: „Dans la jungle de la solitude, un beau geste d’éventail peut faire croire à un paradis“ (Breton 3: 48).

Seul „le mystérieux, l'improbable, l'unique, le confondant et l'indubitable amour“ (Breton 1: 736) doit permettre la réalisation fulgurante de toutes les aspirations. L’amour est conçu comme grave, essentiel. L’amour permet l’accomplissement d’un miracle: la réconciliation de l’homme avec le cosmos. Par cet amour-là, dit-il, „se réalise au plus haut degré la fusion de l’existence et de l’essence“ (Breton 3:48).

Le recours de Breton aux puissances de ténèbres, aux forces maudites révèle sa position un peu particulière, voire paradoxale par rapport à son irréligion proclamée. Contre tous les matérialistes et la plupart des athées, Breton admet un foyer supérieur de réalité et en même temps, il s’oppose aux croyants parce qu’il ne s’appuie pas sur les forces célestes, mais sur une sorte d’alliance des forces maudites. L’union ou plutôt la confédération de toutes ces forces confère à la révolte cosmique une puissance victorieuse, conduit l’homme vers le point suprême et peut lui offrir la grande œuvre de la résurrection de ses pouvoirs perdus, comme Breton nous l’a montré dans *Arcane 17*.

On sait que l'irréligion des surréalistes était militante, leur ton était présenté volontiers comme iconoclaste et blasphématoire, que pour eux „Dieu qu'on ne décrit pas est un porc...“ (Breton 4: 360), et que si Breton pouvait faire grâce à sainte Thérèse, il avoue à son grand regret qu'elle n'était qu'une sainte: „[...] Thérèse d'Avila peut passer pour commander cette ligne sur laquelle se situent les médiums et les poètes. Malheureusement ce n'est encore qu'une sainte“ (Breton 2: 392).

Il faut également évoquer l'image de Marie victorieuse du serpent que René Crevel esquisse, dans *Le Clavecin de Diderot* en employant des termes iconoclastes: „Cette marmoréenne personne avait des pieds, des pieds de flic, des pieds dont la pesée écrasait le serpent, un pauvre serpent qui dans une ultime convulsion relevait la tête...“ (1966, 114).

Le serpent figure bien évidemment le désir.

Dans le mythe de la malédiction, très vivant aux yeux de Breton, souvent repris, on peut voir apparaître Dieu comme un Être d'agression et de vengeance et non comme un symbole abstrait de fatum, entendu comme tel, en effet, par certains athées. Peut-être Breton subit-il l'influence de Vigny (Eloa), de Hugo (La Fin de Satan) ou de divers occultistes en écrivant que, grâce à l'amour, grâce aux puissances médiatrices de la femme, „la grande malédiction est levée“ (Breton 3: 62); la régénération du monde et la réconciliation de l'homme avec le cosmos est possible. On peut penser qu'il s'agit d'un simple recours à l'amour mais Breton, lui-même envisage le sentiment de l'amour de façon assez particulière.

Amour, seul amour qui sois, amour charnel, j'adore, je n'ai jamais cessé d'adorer ton ombre vénéneuse, ton ombre mortelle. Un jour viendra où l'homme saura te reconnaître pour son seul maître et t'honorer jusque dans les mystérieuses perversions dont tu t'entoures. (Breton 2: 744)

Et quelques pages plus loin il ajoute:

Le sexe de l'homme et celui de la femme ne sont aimantés l'un vers l'autre que moyennant l'introduction entre eux d'une trame d'incertitudes sans cesse renaissantes, vrai lâcher d'oiseaux-mouches qui seraient allés se faire lisser les plumes jusqu'en enfer. (*Ibid.*, 749)

Breton s'adresse à l'amour mais, en utilisant le surnaturel, avec une sorte de désinvolture étrange, ce qui ne l'empêche nullement de nous découvrir le fond vénéneux de cet amour, secret des ténèbres fût-il infernal. C'est cette démarche d'ensemble débouchant sur une quête du surnaturel qui fonde, chez Breton, une esthétique de l'insolite évidente dès ses premières œuvres.

Il faut mentionner aussi que, en considération des tendances

matérialistes et athées de Breton, l'idée d'esprits maudits lui est répugnante presque autant que celle de Divinité. On peut s'en convaincre à la lecture de certains passages où il déclare que l'existence d' „esprits“ (Breton 2: 385) relève d'une „terminologie nauséabonde“ (*Ibid.*), que l'idée d' „esprits-guides“ est une „lamentable plaisanterie“ de la „navrante littérature spirite.“ Ailleurs, il dédaigne des „pauvres mortels [qui] se donnaient autrefois les gants d'admonester le diable, ce qui le décidait, dit-on, à se manifester enfin“ (Breton 3: 10).

Au fur et à mesure que l'on pénètre plus profondément dans le surréalisme, on s'aperçoit que l'hermétisme en est une pierre d'angle et qu'à bien des égards il en inspire les conceptions fondamentales. En répondant en 1956 à une enquête sur le lien du surréalisme et de la tradition, Breton affirme que „le surréalisme, à l'origine, a voulu être libération intégrale de la poésie et, par elle, de la vie“ (Breton 4: 945). Le „fléau n°1“ (*Ibid.*) c'est-à-dire la logique rationaliste, qui avait tendance à paralyser tout l'élan créateur, est vaincu „par le recours à l'écriture automatique et l'extrême intérêt porté à l'activité de rêves“ (*Ibid.*). On sait d'ailleurs quel intérêt l'auteur d'*Arcane 17* porte à l'hermétisme, puisque Breton s'estime heureux, dans ses dernières pages d'*Ajours*, d'avoir démêlé ce qui lie ses poètes de prédilection à l'harmonie, à l'attraction sur lesquelles se fonde le socialisme de Charles Fourier auquel il avait dédié sa longue *Ode* de 1945. Il rattache en effet à l'hermétisme toute une pensée authentique, fondée, comme la Haute Magie, sur l'analogie, ou ce que Baudelaire, à la suite d'Emmanuel Swedenborg, nomma „correspondances“. On peut constater que la haute poésie et ce qu'on appelle la „haute science“ marquent chez les surréalistes un cheminement parallèle et se prêtent un mutuel appui.

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ESOTERIC REFERENCES IN *LA CLÉ DES CHAMPS* (1953) AND *ARCANE 17* (1944-1947)

Considering Breton's materialistic and atheist tendencies, his recourse to esotericism and hermetism reveals his slightly unusual view, which is even paradox compared to his proclaimed irreligiousness. In his work *Anthologie de l'humour noir*, Breton specifies that the same conception of the unity of the world is present in hermetic doctrines and utopias. Our goal is to show how this general procedure turns into the search for supernatural, which sets the foundation of an aesthetics of the unusual, evident in Breton's works *La Clé des champs* (1953) and *Arcane 17* (1944-1947).

Key Words: Breton, esotericism, hermetism, utopia, Melusine.

ШЕПАРДОВА ПОЕТИКА КУЛТУРЕ ЕКСПАНЗИЈЕ

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Апстракт: У раду³ је образложен покушај Сема Шепарда да опонира глобалистичким претензијама америчког политичко-културног система демистификацијом његових урбанистичких, технолошких и медијских означитеља идеје „прогреса”. Идентификација заједнице за њеном неолибералном модом представља индиректан увод у негацију не само културе већ и прошлости која ју је установила, као и будућности која без ње као матрице развоја остаје удаљена у њеној неспознатости. Шепард, с једне стране, инсистирањем на апсурдистичком антиразвоју радње пародира испразну медијску псеудостварност америчке културе, док се на импліцитном нивоу залаже не за укидање културе, колико за превредновање њених синхронијских аспеката наспрот дијахронијским који су у радњи или неприсутни или видљиви тек у циљу исмевања. Он намењује драми метафизички контекст експанзије, наспрот прагматично-догматској експанзији политике; уместо у узурпаторском правцу ка туђим културама, америчка култура би, кроз његов драмски говор, требало да се запути ка својој заборављеној преднеолибералној баштини.

Кључне речи: Шепард, апсурд, идентитет, култура, иконокластија, систем, глобализам

I – Шешардово стваралаштво и иронијске бинарности америчке културе

Идеологија промене у драмама Сема Шепарда има ефекат привременог контекста манипулације система над друштвом: идеализација статичности је, ради безбеднијег одржања, језички преиначена у потребу за прогресом. Објективно непостојање, и чак недостатак жеље за прогресом друштву нису од значаја: док постоји слика/ нужда прогреса, озваничено је и убеђење да се он у стварности одвија. Право на илузију напретка кроз постмодернистичку књижевност, филозофију и књижевну теорију, али, иронично, првенствено кроз медије као гласило самог система демистификовано је као претензија система на ширење утицаја: књижевници су ову смрт истине у корист идеологије могли само да препричају, не и да је открију,

³ Овај рад је написан у оквиру пројекта *Друштвене кризе и савремена српска књижевност и култура: национални, регионални, европски и глобални оквир* (број 178018), који финансира Министарство за науку и технолошки развој Републике Србије.

пошто је сâм спектакл информисања и панконформизма устолично не- важност појма истине. Историја Сједињених Држава с почетка XX века може бити сажета у амблему апстрахујуће довољности пружених информација. Победнички епилог светских ратова, нагли индустријско-економски прогрес и јачање медијске схеме реалности и друштва наспрот искривљености у односу на историју и време: које год ратове у будућности буде водила и кроз какве год кризе пролазила, држава је одржавана подсвесно наученом сликом просперитета оствареног на рачун победоносне прошлости. Једна- чина довољности и есхатолошког заноса будућношћу отуд можда делује као логична и одржива конструкција система, али испод слике прогреса – она исти прогрес негира. Човек послератне „ере просперитета“ изједначен је са контекстом који је на основу своје идентификације са његовим конформистичким максимама „закупио“: мисао о промени присутна је ради иронијског ефекта утврђивања система изван субјекта.

Заправо, луксузна природа појма промене заснована је на једначи- ни промене и вишку. Реалан прогрес није потребан: у постмодерном друштву-представи, довољна је теоријска чежња за њим. Дејвид Харви у свом есеју Право на град приписује експанзији индустријског процвата, коју симболизује појам града, карневалескну трансформацију грађанина у град, тј. постмодерног, апсурдистичког субјекта у предмет његовог обожавања. Пошто је ефикасно подвукao разлику између поларности довољности/ бу- дућности, као амблема праксе, и поларности промене/ вишку, као амблема теорије, послератни капиталистички систем је, безбедно удаљивши теориј- ску псеудостварност, дао дозволу за било какву врсту апсурдистичких начи- на утврђивања конкретног поретка. Човек је, према Харвију, изједначен са градом, „идејом промене“, и упоредо са њим он се такође мења и прила- гођава, иако његова урбанизована, и конформисана бит остаје једнако нео- сетљива на промене. У доколици обезбеђеној сакрализованом финитно- шћу система-теорије, обавеза која средњекласном, грађанском друштву преостаје јесте да, прагматички речено, „рашчисти терен за екстракцију си- ровина“ (Харви 2011:4), како би, препуштањем новооткривених задатака оним хијерархијски „инфериорним“ сегментима друштва који не деле њим право на уживање вечите довољности, могла бескрајно да одлаже историј- ски крај доколице, потребне да одржава систем. Процват индустријске, технолошке и војне моћи не служи да стимулише код грађанина фасцина- цију прогресом у мери у којој има задатак да, сакрализацијом вакуума, створи празнину у којој ће бити простора за ту фасцинацију.

Генерација драмских писаца којој је припадао Шепард попуњавала је ту празнину са истим правом апсурдистичке креативности којим се слу- жио систем, с том разликом што су Шепардово стваралаштво с једне и аме- ричку културу и идеологију с друге стране обликовали супротни контексти:

Шепарда сиромаштво, фрустрација и мисао о револуцији, а идеологију преобиље, конформизам и солипсистичка самодовољност. Може се претпоставити да је Шепардова „сиротињска“ уметност својим фамилијарним дискурсом, коме нису биле потребне одоре политичке коректности, управо захваљујући фрустрираном тону од почетка пишчеве каријере с лакоћом налазила пут до подсвесно афирмативног искуства гледалаца.

Нова форма се развила у оквиру економских ограничења, драма је била „огольена“, њен успех је сасвим зависио од силине саме изведбе. Резултат је био нови правац у глуми и режији. Прескоци се нису одвијали у логичном смеру. Објашњења и остали фактори више нису били потребни. [...] То није настало плански. Настало је само од себе. (Поланд-Мејлмен 1986:27)

Изневерен срачунатим хиревима система, Шепард је одлучио и сам да ка копира не само кроз опус већ и личну биографију, од промене оригиналног презимена Роџерс у Шепард, преко боемског живота који је укључивао различит спектар експеримената, до аутопародије слике становника Средњег Запада кроз „каубојске“ гестове и дијалектизме. У бинарности романтичарско-предратног и актуелног система, видео је историјски контекст сукоба генерација: предратне САД биле су ратом, бедом и изгинућима разочарани отац који је каснијом моралном декаденцијом пружио темељ за развој културе лудизма, фантазмагорије и апсурда коју ће практиковати син. У том пресеку система назире се још једна разлика Шепарда у односу на систем, у извесној мери иницирана наведеном разликом у погледу мотива очаја и задовољства: Шепард се, за разлику од система, није одрекао ременисценције прошлости, у његовим драмама и интервјуима архетипизирану у фигури оца. У луталачком и боемском животу његовог оца, у његовом бешу на потребу за ратовањем, поготово на ратни медиј материјалног издржавања којим је морао буде на услуги мајци и млађој браћи у доба Велике Депресије, видео је простор за легализацију стваралаштва концептираног од променā. Можда круцијални рани мотив Шепардове жеље да стваралачки искупи очеву издатост од стране система огледа се у пресељењу породице Шепард из градића Форт Шеридан у варош Дуарте, где су живели у кући која је пре свог преуређења у стамбени објекат била – стаклена башта.

У амбицији да настави са контекстуализацијом боемства мушких Шепарда, Сем Шепард након доста свађа напушта оца и одлучује се на каријеру путујућег позоришног глумца и драмског писца. Успутни посао црквеног редара служио је, како сам признаје, да неспретно и маскира тада још увек релативно скандалозни простор позоришта апсурда. Ипак, иако на почетку прикривена, Шепардова иконокластија ће временом задобијати све драстичније форме, које ће у неким аспектима узимати кримогени кон-

текст; наиме, према признању Шепардовог пријатеља, Чарлса Мингуса, Шепард је самог себе ословљавао „Сем Шепард” тек након што је извесни др. Сем Шепард раних шездесетих година убио своју супругу. Причињавала му је вид задовољства збуњеност публике када би улазила у позориште пред почетак његове представе подозриво се питајући о чему је злогласни убица своје жене могао да пише. Он је озваничење фарсе свог идентитета доживљавао као природан стваралачки одговор на озваничење фарсе система који, премда идеологизује прогрес, практикује *status quo*; сматрао је себе победничким ренегатом који је још у свом детињству, додуше више судбински него свесно, доживео сублимацију стаклене баште у стамбени објекат, и тиме се трајно запутио у смеру супротном од доктринарног и званичног, који налаже деградацију стварности дома у солипсизам стаклене баште. Експанзија непостојеће америчке културе прогреса условила је уметничку легализацију експанзије непостојећег идентитета: драма апсурда је учинила да јаз између реалног контекста друштва и његове метафорично-уметничке визије, друштва-представе, буде премошћен, о чему сведочи безрезервно разумевање публике шездесетих и седамдесетих година, било критично или похвално, за иконокластију Шепардових драма. Његова идентификација са убицом заправо је фарса: њега је јавност грешком именовала „оног убицу своје супруге”, док се он трезвено, типично апсурдистички, поиграо са духом друштвене моде и културе. Шепард је покушавао да стане на пут актуелној култури експанзије, која се заснива на религији антиначела – порицању онтолошких, индивидуално иманентних контекста Апсолута зарад наметања његових вештачких, друштвених контекста. За логорејичном и хаотичном драмом апсурда у друштву довољности није било потребе: сваки историјски просперитет је, ако не практично достигнут, онда макар културно догматизован са доказивањем америчке победоносности и војно-индустријске супериорности у периоду после Другог светског рата. Шепардов Апсолут је био непотребан; па ипак, не само да се он одважио на његово, несвечано и профанисано промовисање, већ је од својих првих изведби постао фаворит америчке омладине. Разлог његовим почетним успесима можда лежи у псеудонеуротској подвојености као самој бити протагонисте урбанизованог “Дивљег Запада”:

Та подела није психолошка, већ архетипска, хипостазирана у америчком мушкарцу који жуди за дивљаштвом и невиношћу, који чешне да буде на асфалту истовремено жељећи да се негде скучи и смири, који тражи апсолутну слободу али и осећа своје дужности. (Умано 1986: 2)

Систем узлудним настапајима кроз моду, технологију и медије покушава да потисне из памћења заједнице да је њена културна оствареност резултат

стварадачке апологије апсурда као неизбежног историјског беспућа. Апсолут који се шири кроз сликом светости система раслабљену свест грађанина без уметничког објашњења на које је публику подсетио Шепард нема своје признање, свој услов; он је, у супротном, тупо самонаметнута апстракција.

II – Шепардова поетика историјског прелома као темеља експанзије

Шепардове драме су, као што је наведено, разоткриле и адаптирале премису да је јачање идеологије нужности и Апсолута обрнуто сразмерно профаној и привременој природи моде која тај Апсолут одређује. Што је друштво свесније приземних основа система, упорније сакрализује божанску идеју истог система. У вечној, депресивно недостижној удаљености од друштва, прогрес више фасцинира у деструктивном него пријатном и охрабрујућем контексту, због чега је Шепард као једини залог непромењивог Апсолута именовао не прогрес, већ управо немаштину и нихилизам. Ако је ишта од античке природе будућности као катарктичког епилога друштва представе опстало у актуелном времену, то је свест о нужној пропasti непобитног контекста система, тј. превласти индивидуалних сумњи у односу на истине Апсолута. Контракултурни покрети Шепардове генерације шездесетих и седамдесетих година ритуално су манифестовали револуцију која је у дискретном смислу почела да се одвија већ након Другог светског рата. Политичка истина, као амблем „Једне”, догматске истине, урушавала се сразмерно са својим рптензијама не само на непорецивост већ и глобалну експанзију: била је, тако рећи, сама себи први опонент. Са технолошким и медијским могућностима експанзије, расла је и дозвољеност вулгаризације Апсолута: није било битно што је „истину” рекламе са билборда или флекскуле из политичке кампање било лакше него икад демаскирати и одбацити – важно је да Апсолут *per se*, макар и фабриковани, свеједно постоји.

Ми немамо више право да за било шта кажемо – сем у маркетиншке, реклами и продајне сврхе – да је непобитна истина или безусловна вредност. Да ли је истина о безусловној истини/вредности темељно и чак безобзирно – уздрмана. (Беланчић 2012: 13).

Ипак, једна непобитност за коју систем вечите довољности и стагнације може бити сигуран да неће ишчезнути са доласком нове моде јесте осећај недовољности, фрустрације и нихилистичке жеље појединца за осветом систему, тиме што ће се на сопственом примеру наругати његовом закону.

Шепардов приступ јазу између протагонистине и политичке истине дотиче се проблема који је Милорад Беланчић назвао „нимало угодним питањем”, јер у покушају да изнађе реактуелизовани катарктички епилог, он жели да измири условну и безусловну истину, тј. систем који протагониста

може, макар ослоњен тек на апсурдне границе својих способности, лично да одреди и идеологизује насупрот већ идеологизованом систему који се не ослања ни на шта осим на пуко право јачег. Начело идентитета не може бити означено предлогом „донекле”, већ или (потпуно и безусловно) постоји, или не постоји уопште.

Нема игре са идентитетом. Или нам бар то тако изгледа. Али шта ако иза те безусловне одбране става/начела идентитета стоји једна аветињска интеракција, која се профилише као интеракција безусловног и условног, као управо та „мешовита” позиција? (Беланчић 2012: 14)

Шепардов лудизам је циљао на уједињење релативистчког и иманентног аспекта истине утолико што је полагао наде у непогрешиву псевдологију апсурда, тачније, у способност апсурда да преиначи чак и идеологију депресије и ништавила у прилику за сублимацију смисла. Његови протагонисти између ништавила актуелности и одсуства сањане будућности не ритуализују систем – коме је, свакако, суђено да остане ван домена стваралаштва и историје – него саме себе. Они учествују у радњи, као аспекту стварности који се на иронијски начин одвија ван система, због чега има и нестандардну, двојаку природу: радња истовремено пресеца историју и потврђује је. Експанзивној апстракцији система, Шепард супротставља делезовски ритуал „догађаја“. Док изгледа, с једне стране, да догађај својом надбројном (supernumerary) природом надилази и чак поништава дијахронијски развој стварности, он својим отеловљењем субсумира и испуњава исти систем, вршећи својеврсно искупљење његовог монистичног не-дешавања. Дужност револуције није само да објави промену и раскид са системом, већ и да га ревалоризује. Шепард је утолико више био концептисан на ефекат саме драме/изведбе него радње унутар ње; као пуко унутардрамско одвијање, апсурдно деловање његових протагониста је било осуђено на неиспуњење catharsis-a, али у лукачевском простору „ванкњижевног“, оно концептрише и сублимира збир неуспелих напора протагониста у једну трансценденталну заокруженост догађаја. Тек оно извандрамско представља истинску тачку узбудљивости Шепардових првидно инертичних радњи, јер његова драма, схваћена првенствено као паракултурна/ контракултурна па тек потом стриктно уметничка креација, сама по себи није позив на нихилизам, иако на њега алудира. Тако, уосталом, ни догађај

никако није празнина, обамрлост, одвојен од онога што настаје. [...] Догађај је оно што Једно дарује концетрацији мноштава. Могли бисмо развити следећу формулу: у настајањима, догађај је доказ Једног, а она су његов израз. (Бадју 2010: 7)

Шепардова драма не остварује свој позив изолована од простора политичког и културног разумевања времена које ју је иницирало, она мора бити схваћена не само као ентитет који одражава свој аналогни контекст, већ који је и неопходан део тог контекста, као што парасистем опстаје захваљујући постојању система који оповргава. Његов иконокластични ефекат је индиректно призван од стране система који у својој статичности једини смислен епилог може имати у слому: експанзијом и претензијом на (непостојећу) будућност, он је у неусаглашености са сопственом реалношћу. Зато догађај има функцију ритуала који, тиме што се одиграва између прошлости и будућности, враћа ова два неактуелна времена у постојање и укида солипсистички апсолутизам садашњости. Бадју би овде репризирао Беланчића: садашњост је превреднована кроз своју "мешаност", тиме што исто времено не постоји (јер на њено место ритуал радње уводи заборављено искуство прошлости и будућности) и постоји (јер је радња катарктички сублимирала садашњост у над-време, бесконачност, победоносно супротстављајући систему сопствени контекст експанзије).

Недостатност као покретачки принцип наглашена је са деконструктивним амбицијама у односу на систем, које, ипак, не имплицирају деструкцију: Шепард се пита да ли је, по цену дефинитивног избегавања нихилистичког епилога система – на које драма апсурда рачуна, макар и форми хипотезе – могуће у оквиру исте радње осцилирати између краха (актuelности) и прогреса/катарзе (прошлости и будућности)? Постоји разлика између безусловности као системски наметнутог контекста и безусловности коју изналази антпозитивистички лудизам драме. Нихилизам који је мотивисао Шепарда да се служи апсурдом као фактором трагања за истином условио је, у пишчевој концепцији и режији драме али и у деловању самих ликова, употребу импровизације, која је ефикасно апологизовала стварање уметности *ex nihilo*. Залог система у радњи није нужно ни релативистички ни безусловно оријентисан: он је објашњен недостатком, недовољношћу, и уместо хира система или логичких одредница ја унутар стварности, он се нуди протагонистима путем тесног односа са њима, тј. са радњом коју они производе. Отуд идеји катарзе у Шепардовим драмама није ни потребно да заузме (трајно) место позиције, већ се задовољава лебдењем између поларности позиције и опозиције, свесна да је традиционални метафизички систем, који је имплицирао нужност безусловне и искључиве истине, у постмодерној доби увекико анахрон и стваралачки иссрпљен. Шепардови ликови ову вечитост осцилације наивно именују као „проклетство”, премда је стваралачки потенцијал недоступности трајног осећаја просперитета управо утемељен на том есхатолошком колебању заједнице између „благослова“ материјалног богатства и „проклетства“ немаштине. Заправо, Шепард жели да порекне саму бит бинарности срећног и трагичног епилога, тј. благосло-

ва и проклетства, јер до каквог год контекста катаре да дође, у радњи нам није откривен безусловни означитељ који протагонисти том разрешењу на- мењују: као да би сазнање ликова и, преко њих, публике о безусловној де- финисаности катаре, поништило апсурдистичку епистемологију драме, без чијег је позива на семантичку неподјармљивост трагање за смислом, које је за Шепарда значајније од самог смисла, неизводљиво. Тако, нпр. у драми *Проклетство гладујуће класе*, разрешење тескобе сиромаштва не доноси очекивано задовољење: Весли, син, наставља са перпетуацијом слике сиромаштва из које не жели да побегне, пошто се у међувремену идентификовао са теретом навикнутости на систем. Тиме што колье јагње, традиционални амблем метафизичког искуплења породице, он не пориче толико право на благостање колико право на одредивост. Јагње је реминисценција новозаветног испуњења историје, системске уоквирености искустава друштва у бинарност 'патња-награда', од које Весли, налик Великом Инквизитору Ф. Достојевског, жели да побегне: људи не могу да поднесу терет озна-чавања историје, јер је слобода само још једна системска илузија – појам „слободе“ не постоји ван простора семантичке, што значи, антропоцентричне реалности. Пун фрижидер није залог просперитета, као што немаштина није баријера фантазмагоричним проценама могућности. У *Закопаном де-тету*, контекст разрешења у ритуалу ископавања леша детета рођеног у инцестуозној вези сина и мајке оставља, благо речено, збуњујући ефекат: остаје недоречено да ли Тилден осуђује себе и заједницу под чијим је си-стематским притиском починио скаредни прагрех и био принуђен на живот неуроза и потискивања, или жели да искупи себе и/или заједницу испове-дајући њену грешну прошлост пред реалношћу искуства, хипостазирану у публици? Дете је прво обзнатијено а потом изнето на сцену, али тиме што није утврђен његов семантички значај, оно ипак остаје симболично „зако-пано“, у метавремену „вишку историје“. Умрло дете у радњи није ни рене-гатски мистично, ни егзегетички објашњиво: оно својим ступањем на сцену указује на припадност не-откривености, која осцилира између мрака и ја-сноће. Остварени прагрех је оксиморонски пандан Једном/ Истини, јер такође претендује на статус истинитости, коју поседује извандрамско Друго, чије је коначно појављивање шокантно мање због непосредности смрти, па и због алузије на родоскрвнуће, а више због смелости да се идентификује са актуелним системом. Кобна неодредивост присуства забрањеног члана заједнице стоји на путу експанзији идеологије безусловне одредивости.

III – Прикривање као пут ка бићу

Шепардови ликови служе се мишљу о смрти као модусом синтети-сања пречице до тренутка прогреса. Недостижност истине заснива се на на-

веденом старозаветном наслеђу раздвојености “овоземаљског” (актуелности, система) и “оноземаљског” (Другог, „историјског вишкa“). Весли у Проклетству коље јагње налик Мојсију, уместо да га прогласи за своју ипостас, налик Христу. Умирање је залог раздвојености духа и материје, која иако различитим бизарним ритуалима претендује да се врати у контекст духа, у томе никад не успева. Шепард је покушао овај јаз да премости на начин који је опонирао не само актуелном већ и ранијим историјским системима. Својом тенденцијом ка апсурду он је, представивши публици прототип савременог, ентропичног грађанина коме је сопствена урбана доколица поништила сваки морални и интелектуални оријентир, обистинио Бартову претпоставку „нултог степена ознаке“, симбола који у нихилистичком постисторијском времену не симболише више ништа, под претпоставком да би, стимулисан дозволом система, ипак могао потенцијално симболисати било шта. Да би из домена превазиђеног трагизма античке драме прешао у огољену семантику постмодернизма, Шепард је метафорички уништио древни амблем који уједињује живот и смрт – маску. Способност маске да помогне protagonisti да однесе победу над фатумом и смрћу у његовој поетици уступа место значењском нихилизму у коме је могуће безусловно именовати било какав вид фантазије за стварност; култура доколице је унела у грађанина осећај нарцисоидности који га је овластио да истовремено одбаци традиционални медиј перцепције метафизике и – сâм постане метафизички субјект. Дебора Бел изједначава маску са самим, још увек нујно скривеним бићем, чији се темељи оцртавају на флексибилном псеудолицу маске као на магијском катарктичком постольу: маска је артефактна манифестација човека без маске (културно наметнутог покрова), и за њено крајње метафизичко достигнуће узима се објава „портрета душе“ (Бел 2010: 8), као покушаја комбинованих моћи уметности, магије и религије да апстракцијом бити из човека трансцендира смртоносни историјски епилог који он, ослоњен на пуку колотечину система, не би могао избећи.

Шепардови ликови, у савременом харвијевском дискурсу „права на град“ и идентификације са његовим урбаним прописима, негирају традицију у амбицији да сами постану ипостас традиције. У драми *Икарова мајка*, немогућност сазнања идентитета правог, индиректног убице пилота имплицира лудистичку скривеност традиције у табуизирани домен апстрактног: идентитет је деконструисан и подједнако податан порицању као и потврди избора. Убиство се симболично десило на субверзивно наслућени, а неименовани Дан Независности. Прећуткивање традиције је процес обрнуто сразмеран апсурдистичкој моди скидања маске, тј. постајања маском: заборав дијахронијске синтезе система допушта иновацију новог, увек једнако безусловног Апсолута који пише сопствене максиме формације идентитета а његову историју одбацује у *damnatio memoriae*. Пошто више не постоји историја, сажета у културном подсетнику маске, не постоји ни разо-

тк rivени, демаскирани/деконструисани субјект. Уместо њега, јавља се могућност бескрајног, анархистичког развоја драме упоредо са системом: као да је класични протагониста важио за позитивистичку баријеру која се испречавала драми на њеном путу да парира систему/фатуму по способности примордијалне експанзије. Заборав означитеља празника, алегорије на државну иницијацију путем рата, остварује се као пролог пацификацији прво културе а потом заједнице, у амбицији да се постигне неолиберални идеал „владавине мира.“ Али, Дерида би нагласио да апсолутизам мира у својој бити није могућ јер владајуће Једно задржава своју аутократију вршећи насиље над собом, јер ван оквира логичких и реалних услова преддређује себи нужду централне позиције, као и над другима, јер им брани свако право не само на позицију центра већ и на само, макар и опозиционо присуство у кругу његовог система. Шепардова драма, у дискурсу демаскирања и наизглед пасивне позиције између извесности смрти дотадашње традиције и немогућности да се, бар у пракси, утврди нова, претендује да пружи драми могућност да постане глобална вредност. Његов подухват би исправа морао најти на разумљиво неодобравање публике: прво је ображложен његов мотив демаскирања као парадоксалног медија остварења идентитета, да би тај мотив за свој циљ установио исти деструктивни аспект система против ког би требало да се бори – глобалну експанзију. Да ли је у том случају, ако останемо при ставу да је Шепард, иако је своју иконокластију усмеравао ка традиционалној драми као и ка систему, ипак противник система а не уметности, могуће тврдити да глобална експанзија има и свој стваралачки, умирујући контекст, насупрот стандардно злослутном и диктаторском? Уметност овде има предност над политиком, јер спада у домен реткости, Бадјуовог „историјског вишк“а. Она нас мотивише да следимо Шепарда у још једном кораку ка демаскирању као потенцијалној слободи: да означитељ „глобално“ заменимо не-системским означитељем „универзално“. Нека вредност се открива као обмана кад постане глобална а не универзална, јер постоје ретки аспекти културе и историје који су упркос квантитативним границама препознатљиви, ако и нису владајући. Шепардово указивање на амерички заборав историје означава небивствени означитељ „Дан Независности“ као залог проређеног памћења неолибералног субјекта, које прети да уступи место глобалним епитетима нове историје система. Глобализам пориче чак и протагонистине модусе противљења забораву историје, јер сваки покушај реактуализације идентитета наилази на превару Једног: у медијима и политиком реформисаној историји, субјективо знање – макар и оно потребно, као што је ликовима *Икарове мајке* било потребно да сазнају правог кривца за смрт пилота – представља луксуз. И више од тога: када се ликови буне против идеологије Неисторије, они, парадоксално, доприносе утврђивању глобалистичког ауторитета, јер је бунт, макар у постмодернистичком дискурсу, по себи ствар фантазије и

импровизације а не конкретне опозиције. То је био мотив Шепарду да, са ослонцем на импровизацији уместо планском, рационалном стварању, рачуна на ретку способност уметности да опонира систему сопственим контекстом надилажења, али и можда још ређу комбинацију ефикасне уметничке иконокластије и моменталне прихваћености, уместо осуде, од стране тако рећи целокупне америчке публике. Протагонисти можда не могу да трансцендирају оквире система, али је то могуће, кроз сопствену јавну институцију лудистичког испитивања учинака система, самој драми.

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SHEPARD'S POETICS OF THE CULTURE OF EXPANSION

The paper is concerned with the topic of Sam Shepard's demystification of the system which promotes globalization by means of negating cultural notions of history and identity. The nation's cognizance of its archetypal values becomes redundant in the contemporary system of neoliberal conformism and faith in the alleged pacifism of the state. Shepard's dramas yield the impression

of manifestations as absurd as the system they attempt to criticize: yet, the chief aspect of their artistic success is their very reluctance to contain any discernable cultural, ethic, or even semantic trademarks. While it may seem that Shepard eventually poeticized the system's preservation rather than destruction, his intention was not directly aimed at the very system. Rather, he presented the audience with the "language competition" between drama and the system in promoting their respective forms of acclamation: the system "expands" by means of forcible cultural suppression, while drama does so by its indirect, if occasionally confusing evocation of cultural patterns.

Key words: Shepard, drama, absurd, identity, culture, system, iconoclasm

EDUCATION THROUGH ART – THEORY AND PRACTICE⁴

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Abstract: The education through art is, or at least should be, a fundamental social driver, whose overall importance in the process of humanization and creation of a fully developed personality, undoubtedly, surpasses all others. Nevertheless, although there is a number of theoretical approaches and interpretations referring to this issue, it seems that new and useful ideas are not always sufficient, and can not offer adequate solutions. The new technologies of modern education often affirm mediocrity, which paradoxically can be competitive only to itself, more and more void of individual differences among protégés, particularly those who are demonstrating their distinct artistic gift. Thus, we can rightly ask whether in so designed system of neoliberal provenance there is enough room for the educational processes that recognize their purpose in art, and consequently whether the promotion of fundamental aesthetic values is possible in it? Since the children are the focus of our interest, namely, their defense of kitsch and bad taste, education through art and promotion of crucial aesthetic values are of particular importance.

Key Words: education, art, child, children, upbringing, aesthetics.

1. Introduction

The aesthetic culture and art, as indistinguishable segments of life, have a retroactive effect on the modification of concrete social reality. Even more since we live in an age of unpredictable economic turmoil, faced with the processes that imply relativizing some crucial values, so much the more the ones in the field of art. The processes within which civilization becomes not only a "global village",⁵ but "one-horse town," the unique mercantile colony, as it once was Siberia in Russia (this comparison is not a mere coincidence!), less interested in a genuine spiritual and human values, especially those related to the care and upbringing of the youngest, in other words, the ones who are the future of the planet. Anything can be found on the market, firstly the cliched and inadequate education systems, then culture and art. The so-called "modern

⁴ In the title of this paper we have given priority to the syntagm 'education through art', guided by contemporary studies , primarily those of British, French and American scholars.

⁵ Marshall McLuhan, *The Medium is the Message*, Gingko Pr Inc (August 1, 2001).

education" aims to a prompt and inexpensive young people's workflow training. And outside of the process of neoliberal capitalism, increasingly, as collateral damage or Jostein Gaarder's dwarf jokers,⁶ in an inappropriate and rigid way, those who want comprehensive, high-quality education are being excluded. Furthermore, they have been identified as disturbing factors, and even a danger to the pragmatically organized system with a strong utilitarian conception. A side effect of this approach in which many young people remain on the margins of educational systems, is reflected in the consequence that society will have to re-channel their life energy, to free them from contingent vices, to which, without a chance to prove their skills, they have been addicted to, to bring them, as it is, sometimes (not without ironic overtones) said "on the right road." The questions of beauty, good and evil, truth and falsehood, morality and immorality, can, exceptionally, in the best and most rapid way, be interpreted by art, not ignoring the importance and contribution of some pedagogical, psychological or philosophical disciplines. The researchers came to the conclusion that emotions experienced in such a way have considerably greater propulsive force, and thereby they affect the mental processes much deeper and fuller. This type of communication that means the aesthetic confrontation with a work of art, its conceptual, thematic and emotional texture, style and empathy, and the contingent, or rather "expected" effects arising from it, consequently aims not only at developing preferences and recognition of beauty, but also at its immediate application in the practice of everyday life.

2. The Aesthetic Dispositions and the Quest for Beauty

The individual aesthetic dispositions are innate. Nevertheless, it does not mean that they cannot be encouraged, improved and deepened. The qualitative development of aesthetic dispositions of protégés finds its footing in beauty, which is offered by valuable works of art. The quest for beauty and forming aesthetic predilections is often considered a privilege of the "chosen." This essentially elitist approach has a number of deficiencies. In this regard one of the questions that could be put is: Who is the individual who chooses the so-called "chosen"? If teachers and educators are particularly concerned, isn't this principle of selection, namely the adverse one that results in the marginalization of potentially gifted, retrograde and unacceptable? In addition to imagination and feeling, a professional, should we say, as well as a responsible educator, is supposed to encourage in children a permanent mental and spiritual activity, originality, creativity, to raise their curiosity.

⁶ Jostein Gaarder, *De gule dvergene* (*The Yellow Dwarves*) (2006)

3. The Aesthetic Sensibility, Education, and Art

The aesthetic axiological parameters imply a previous "conquest" of aesthetic knowledge as a condition *sine qua non* in the process of recognizing the essential values of works of art. However, the aesthetic sensibility is not once and for all given and bounded category. It is also exposed to constant changes and susceptible to numerous modifications depending on the context and circumstances in which a work of art is "consumed," as well as the training ability of the recipient for a comprehensive and high quality aesthetic perception. The importance of art as a basis for aesthetic education and its direct impact on the intellectual upbringing has occupied, since ancient times, a prevailing significance in poetic and hermeneutic research of many prominent thinkers, researchers, philosophers, educators, aestheticians, writers and artists, from Plato, Lessing, Diderot, Kant to Piaget, Munro, Read.

4. Theoreticians and Theoretical Systems on Education

With no intention of presenting the chronological progress of theoretical systems that are related to art education, we will point out only to those who most fully reflect the problematic framework that will be treated in this paper.

4.1 Herbert Edward Read

One of the most important and influential theoretical assumptions relating to education through art are presented in *Education through art*, a study by English aesthete, poet and critic, Sir Herbert Edward Read. According to Read, the essential problem, the catalyst of all others is contained in the fact that the modern man has lost his psychological balance. As a result, there occurred the insufficiency of feelings, imagination and sensibility. Therefore, the only area of social activities that could affect such a state of mind, Read recognizes in education, as an opportunity of preparing a man to live naturally and be creative, because only then he will be able to bring into harmony his sensual, emotional and intellectual predispositions. The basic deficiency of all educational systems he recognizes in the fact that they excessively support rationalism, and the cultivation of rational thought, while insisting on harsh pragmatism has led to the imbalance of man's inner harmony, which resulted in his one-sided, straight-line development. As a support for this thesis Read proposes the results of scientific studies referring to the personality structure, pointing to parallels in structure of the child's and the artist's personalities, which led him to the conclusion that education through art, due to obvious similarities in these structures, is the most natural and effective way of child development and education. Mostly for this reason, according to Read,

art should be the basis and a driving force of the overall educational process. Considering insignificant the applications of so-called "canned" models, Read points to three key tasks of aesthetic education: 1) expanding the forms of mind and imagination through visual language; 2) developing a language of feeling; 3) expanding the possibilities and forms of communication between people. Its implementation is achieved by free expression, observation and evaluation. Three levels of aesthetic education are associated with three stages in the development of human personality in adolescence: from birth to seven years of age, it is necessary to satisfy the curiosity of the child to meet the reality; from the seventh to the fourteenth year, the emphasis is on understanding; from the fourteenth to twentieth, on determining the value and establishing certain axiological parameters. Read, thereby, emphasizes the importance of imagination in child development, especially in the process of creating eidetic pictures as drivers for overall psychomotor upbringing. In addition to the crucial role of art in that process, Read also points to game as a complementary means of communication, and the importance of group aesthetic education. The duty of educators, by Read, is to prevent the potential "social neurosis", and feelings of isolation in individual development. Finally, Read points to the complementary role of art and science, since the function of art is in presenting, and science in explaining (Read 1943).

4.2 Thomas Munro

The American aesthetician Thomas Munro in his study *Art Education: Its Philosophy and Psychology*, perceives the process of aesthetic education through art as an opportunity for the extension of human experience, i.e. the development of aesthetic and artistic affinities. Similarly to Read, Munro points out the importance of aesthetic activity on the early ages, which, according to him, although undifferentiated, should be within other activities, particularly those relating to games, drawing, singing, modeling, etc., with exceptionally careful approach to differentiation in comparison to the education standards for adults. The role of educator in this process must be hermeneutical, based primarily on experience, but also in searching for new aesthetic values, which would be applicable to his educational model (Munro 1956).

4.3 Rudolf Steiner

Studying the education of children from the standpoint of spiritual sciences, the Austrian philosopher, artist and esotericist Rudolf Steiner defines imagination, inspiration and intuition as the "techniques" that lead to a higher degree of openness of perception, condition *sine qua non* for the development of emotions in children. In addition to fostering a sense of beauty, it is also

important to awaken and develop the sense of art. So, music is able to bring into the ethereal body rhythm that will reveal many other hidden rhythms.⁷ Therefore, in the early childhood, man should feel the benefits of music. The education programs, according to Steiner, must also include all other arts, primarily architecture with an abundance of forms it offers, then the plastic and visual arts that develop a sense of design and figuration, lines and drawings, the harmony of color and chromatic values. Steiner warns that teachers, regardless of the circumstances, must not be unfazed despite the obstacles if they have clear goal. And the goal is rejoicing in life and encouraging love for it, the development of volitional and motivational factors and moral feelings. And it will be possible only if one rightly fosters a sense of beauty and art as its incarnation (Steiner 1996).

4.4 Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy

In many ways Tolstoy's vision of the essence of art is exemplary. Tolstoy, in fact, defines art as one of the aspects of man's spiritual activities, by which the author of the work, that is, the broadcaster of the aesthetic message, in accordance with the modern term nomenclature of mass media, transmits his emotions to recipients. And there is definitely nothing contentious in this access. However, in a form of conclusion, from the point of view of its aesthetic essence, Tolstoy puts forward a somewhat problematic thesis that art is primarily a means of communication between people. So, even if we accept this thesis, it is reasonable to ask: what is art yet, and whether in the very process of communication its *raison d'être* exhausts? And whether every artist has a need for this type of communication, or he, finally, discerns his work as a personal act of liberation from what psychoanalysis recognizes as the power of subconscious. Unlike, Tolstoy, who suggests that conscious and unconscious (for psychoanalysts, subconscious) are manifested as a latent unity of duality in imagination of an artist, with the recognition of the social dimension as a common constituent, psychoanalytic interpretation understands that just the turning of subconscious motivation core in a dynamic creative process is a decisive key driver. By transforming such incentives in the work of art, the creator is relieved of their pressure. This approach, among others, strongly suggests the therapeutic power of art, which psychoanalysts strongly emphasize, but also the introspective plunge of the creator, the author of a work in progress, into the core of his own being. Indirectly, from the above could also be drawn a conclusion, as indicated by some researchers in this and some related fields, that one of the most important functions of art, in addition to therapeutic, is an

⁷ Steiner differs the physical or material body and the etheric or spiritual, that does not designate, as he says, the hypothetical ether in physics.

educational one. On the other hand, it is clear that the cognitive function of art is inseparable from the emotional life of the artist as a creator. If, in this regard, in a particular area of man's intellectual and spiritual activities there is no absolute convergence, it is wholly present in the micro-universe of a creator's work of art (Tolstoy 1996).

4.5 Ethical and Social Function of Art vs. *l'art pour l'art*

Nevertheless, in these considerations two completely opposite attitudes are confronting: according to some scholars, art should have solely the ethical and social function, its fundamental role is to promote common values, above all virtues, and condemn vice, while others waive any moral and educational role of art, ranging from Plato (Πλάτων), through Lessing (Gotthold Ephraim Lessing) and Diderot (Denis Diderot), until larpourlartism whose representatives promote the autonomy of works of art as a creation *per se*, entirely separate from the context of specific social reality, and Jaspers' (Karl Theodor Jaspers) existential aesthetic premises that explicitly reject any moral significance of a work of art. If we exclude these interpretations of the essence and function of art, as well as those rare works created by this model, it is clear that between the aesthetical and ethical constituents within the structures of a work of art there is a strong symbiotic relationship. The scope of ethical in it depends on the intentions and purposes of the work. Accordingly, some scholars think that the moral education which is obtained by means of art, has more powerful and far-reaching effects than the education offered by science. Nonetheless, it should have in mind that the "self-sufficient" work of art modeled on *l'art pour l'art* matrix and without humanistic orientation, can hardly establish communication with the widest audience, that is one of the key conditions for the acceptance of its message.

4.6 Art Truth vs. Factual Truth

At the same time we must bear in mind the important fact that the art truth is not necessarily a factual truth. Many misunderstandings in the interpretation of the essence of a work of art have been derived from this misunderstanding. But it also does not mean that such coincidences, which are based on authentic events, don't exist. However, the delicate aesthetic membrane protects a work of art from the harsh penetration of redundant social and/or historical facts that could jeopardize its texture. Only if in reader, viewer or listener, especially children, a work of art animates imagination, awakens associations, initiate feelings, can one talk about its educational role. Otherwise, we are faced with a failed attempt of conveying the aesthetic contents of a work of art since the

subject for whom it is intended is not capable of establishing the kind of communication that leads towards creating a complete aesthetic experience.

4.7 Jean Piaget

When we talk about the youngest, preschool and school-age children, there is some disagreement and controversy between the educators and artists who create for children. What child psychology insists on, from Piaget (Jean Piaget) onwards, is that intelligence is not fixed and immutable, as previously thought, but a very variable category which can be increased, especially in children who have the opportunity to be present in an environment that stimulates their upbringing. At the same time, the mental, receptive and aesthetic abilities of adolescents of certain ages should, by no means, be disregarded. For this reason, some particular art facilities that are thematically targeted towards children have been proposed, precisely with children as protagonists and heroes. On the other hand, the selection of artistic contents, compatible with certain age levels, abilities and interests of children, have the purpose of their recognizing the essential values of art. Therefore, the thesis of Jean Piaget about intelligence as changeable category is exceptionally important (Piaget 1970).

4.8 Croce vs. Dewey

Mainly due to the innovative concept of aesthetic education in the twentieth century, art is accepted as one of the aspects of a comprehensive and effective influence on the formation of personality, especially adolescents, their emotional and intellectual progress, with the implicit moral codes as the most important epiphénoménon. However, "the theory of pure intuition," as one of the conceptions whose progenitor is the Italian aesthetician Benedetto Croce, defines the art as an autarkic structure, and a separate area of emotional and spiritual life, denying it any other contributions beyond the scope of aesthetics, including its cognitive function. Undoubtedly this approach to the interpretation of the essence and role of art in the sphere of social relations, and its reduction to the elitist *l'art pour l'art* is in stark contrast to what the art of the twentieth century promoted as a dynamic subsidiary factor of the entire, particularly spiritual, life (Croce 1979). Incomparably more open and specific in this regard in his instrumentalist premises was the American philosopher, social critic and theorist John Dewey, who brings art into close relationship with the empirical experience, excluding the predominance of fantasy typical for Croce's aesthetic doctrine, because the act of creation, according to Dewey, is indivisible from the experiential practice. In addition to this premise Dewey also underlines the utilitarian and hedonic function of art, or, more precisely, the essence of direct

aesthetic pleasure it provides, excluding the contemplative component within the mere act of acceptance of aesthetic messages. For sure, this theoretical approach does not preclude analytical as a subsidiary, but sees it on the level of different qualitative and aesthetic considerations (Dewey 1934).

4.9 Hartmann, Kant, Bergman

Some directions in modern aesthetic thought disclaim any notion of epistemological understanding of the essence and role of art, indicating the absence of convergence between its cognitive and aesthetic functions. The most radical in this regard was a German philosopher Nicolai Hartmann, according to whom the laws of beauty are not accessible to knowledge, and it is wrong to place them on the same level. It is clear that Hartmann perceives the aesthetic beauty as an "attraction," or "encounter" of the recipient, whether he/she is a reader, viewer or listener, and a work of art (Hartmann 1968). At the same time we can not avoid Immanuel Kant's interpretation of the phenomenon of aesthetic beauty and emotion that comes out of it, because the natural beauty, according to him, is one thing, while the art beauty is only a beautiful display of that thing (Kant 2004). Although relativistic, and not too distant from the previous one is the interpretation of Swedish film and theater director Ingmar Bergman who views art through the possibility of direct transmission of emotions, without intermediary participation of intellect. On the other hand, it is obvious that this interpretation of art is not very far from Croce's, with that notable difference that, according to Bergman, a work of art must have a feedback embodied in reaction of those to whom it is intended. Otherwise, all its functions lose their importance, and so "designed" work becomes the purpose to itself⁸ (Bergman 2007).

5. The Religious Doctrine and Education

Starting from the Bible and Revelation of "the sacred principles" the religious doctrine discerns upbringing of children as the "sacred art," i.e. developing the gift that God gave to children who came into the world as a blank slate, clean, unpolluted, waiting for something to be written on it. The education of children must be a daily joy of educators. For God *giveth* to a man

⁸ The marxist thought, unlike all discussed in this paper, focuses on the relationship of contradiction between subjective artistic experience and objective circumstances in which that experience manifests. Consequently the role of artist regarding the objective reality is not pseudo-mimetic, but deeply personal. Of course, we can not exclude from this context the rigid ideological and conformist accesses, as well as their practical application incarnated in the works of so-called regime artists.

wisdom and skills that should be developed. Therefore, the role of educators in discovering the artistic talents of children is a special and responsible act. After the fall into sin man had been detached from God and became what he was not created for. "But God, who is rich in mercy, because of his great love for us," (Ephesians 2:4) teaches us how to save ourselves, and we will achieve salvation only if all our love and knowledge is conveyed to children. The abilities and talents of children are in front of us. We should discover and start them up, motivate, direct, encourage, develop and refine. The core of his heart teacher should move to children, to get them brought up to the glory of God. Because God demands God's seed.

5.1 Nikolaj Velimirovic and the Ideal of Education

The Serbian Orthodox bishop Nikolaj Velimirovic (Nikolaj Velimirović), presenting "the new ideal of education" in the lecture titled *Nature is enough to take care of our personal consciousness*, leaving the upbringing to take care of our humankind consciousness, held on 16 June 1916 before the League of the Empire, at the height of World War I, points to the deep prophetic meaning of Christ's invocation of children in all the world's troubles, wars, inquisitions, persecutions: "I am convinced that today, in the midst of cannon thunder, passion and revenge, one who has ears to His voice, hears only the same call, 'Let the little children come to me'" (Matthew 19: 14). No kings and politicians, no journalists and generals, no adults, but children. "In our present distress, I think we should join His voice to turn to new generation, seeking for new education." To the ancient European ideal of education, "the so-called individualism," which had been equally supported by church, science and art, and which led to pride, pride to materialism, and, finally, materialism to pessimism, Velimirovic assumes a new, pacifist ideal of education: "Even the largest specimen (even if it were Caesar, Rafael and Luther) is nothing more than a brick in the humankind history building." The real goal of education and its purpose, according to Velimirovic, is not to create a great personality, but to make the "building bricks". To a hypothetically put question by a student of individualistic school what he thought about the work of Henrik Ibsen, Velimirovic replied: "I think he is just smaller than the old Scandinavian legends." He would also agree that Chaliapin (Карл Григорьевич Чалиапин) and Caruso (Enrico Caruso) have delightful voices, "but don't you agree that the choir of a million human voices would be more striking and more magnificent than any solo singer in the history of mankind? [...] The only hope and pledge," he says, "lies in children" (Velimirovic 1916).

6. The Serbian Contribution

6.1 Vicentije Rakic

We especially want to point out the contribution of the Serbian educator Vicentije Rakić (Vićentije Rakić), who in the early twentieth century presented his theoretical concept, which drew the attention of, at that time, prominent Serbian and European experts and scientists, using a behavioral method as fundamental, and drawing on Darwin's theory of evolutionism. Rakic offered quite opposite starting point concerning the function of education compared to Velimirovic's and his followers, primarily based on the empirical experience and presented in his scientific treatise *The education through games and art*, relying more on the analysis of the behavior of protégés, than on the analysis of consciousness. This essentially behavioral orientation led him to the conclusion that for the development of personality, in addition to hereditary traits (nativist hypothesis), the most important factor is social environment and education. School education and child upbringing in his time, Rakic considered insufficient, because it neglected the importance of game and art in spiritual and physical development of personality, primarily children, as one of the key factors in establishing the inner balance. According to Rakic, the function of game and art is, in fact, to develop the strength for change. If at Velimirovic it is "humankind," at Rakic it is "change" as a key determinant. Game and art have the power to release individuals of stereotyped behaviour. They provide possibilities of individual expression, especially when children are concerned, enabling them to preserve and develop their innate dispositions, the ability of responsiveness to sensory impressions, physical and mental flexibility, freedom of judgment, decision making, etc. All this together leads to the establishment of internal stability and balance. Art like a game, Rakić claims, "reworks reality," and participates in what's essential to children's development, namely, deepening their ability to hindsight and remove the superficial. Game and art, despite the monotony of everyday life, help a person to maintain his/her inner balance, to build a clear view, which "blind prejudices" and "rigid dogmas" confronts with "common sense" and, finally, to recognize and perceive aesthetic and educational values. Due to overall development of abilities for change, game and art encourage and sharpen the human intellectual, sensory, and motor dispositions. The aim of "real education" is to develop enthusiasm, will, and intelligence. And, what could be identified as the main priority of art and game is to transform the function of change into exaltation. Thus, both the creator of a work and its recipient rise to the level of extreme excitement. The above suggests the vitality of Rakic's theoretical assumptions, which, after an entire century, remain topical and vivid. What Rakic talks about art will achieve only if it is ready to offer new and interesting discourses outside of recognizable stereotypes, reiteration of equivalent motives and everything that might affect

their originality. At the same time, we should also keep in mind that in addition to what is the common good of all people and all nations, there is always something peculiarly national, archetypal and individual, in a word, something that always makes idiosyncrasy new and peculiar. It is especially so when we talk about the education of children through art (Rakic 1911).

6.2 Stana Smiljkovic

Quoting the words of Nicholaj Velimirovic that all the lamps can be filled, but the lamp of wisdom never, Stana Smiljkovic (Stana Smiljković), professor of children literature, indicates the importance of teachers and educators in contemporary times and the necessity relating to school children to discover the beauty that will take them into the world of imagination. Teachers and educators are bound to encourage the children's fantasy, and upgrade the image and language of the hero, an event that could possibly bewitch them. Smiljkovic also points to the problem of alienation as one of the phenomena of modern age, "the accelerated life" and not paying enough attention to children. Children loneliness, according to Smiljkovic, warns adults that the search for imaginary friends is inevitable, even if those were heroes of miraculous tales whom they will entrust their moments of suffering or express wishes of their restless, yet constrained nature (Smiljković 2011).

7. The Croatian Contribution

For some theoreticians and educators, like Stipan Jukic (Stipan Jukić), the emphasis is on the very aesthetic education as a precondition for better and more complete experience of the aesthetic values of art, and not only them. So, to achieve a complete aesthetic experience of a work of art, especially when it concerns school-age children, one must have some knowledge concerning the art from which the work comes, about the work and its author, be it literature, music, visual and plastic arts, architecture, theater or film. With the gained knowledge a recipient will differently perceive and experience a work of art and recognize the aesthetic values in it. The role of teachers is to develop these dispositions, which every child, to a lesser or greater extent, possesses (Jukic 2003). The prominent Croatian educator Ante Vukasovic (Ante Vukasović) also argues that a persons sees, hears and feels beauty only if he/she is previously taught to see, hear, and experience (Vukasović 1990).

8. Joy Paul Guilford

Noting the importance of aesthetic activities, some theorists, such as Joy Paul Guilford, indicate that they uniformly develop reflective, emotional and

perceptive sphere, and also influence the development of analytical predispositions (Guilford 1950). The aesthetic experience, undoubtedly, determines the quality of spiritual life, and has multi-functional role in the process of creating a versatile *homo aestheticus*. It is also an indisputable fact that in an attempt to find models that will most fully express the essence of the problem and offer contingent solutions, there was always an uncertainty, particularly if we take into account an old misconception according to which the child should be trained by stick or carrot.

9. INSEA and FEA

The education of children is, according to many theorists and aestheticians, the greatest art, the one that requires talent, hard work and immense love. Even more so if through this "art" you steer the child into the areas of other arts. One of the attempts which coincides with the formula of so-called "velvet" education, or education without reward and punishment, proved to be a recipe that brings no pleasure and fulfillment, both to the educators and their protégés. In this respect, we should point out the contribution that two international organizations yielded to the study of aesthetic education: INSEA (International Society for Education Through Art), founded in 1954, and FEA (Future Educators Association), founded in 1937. Both associations, starting from the ideas of humanism and free technical progress, indicate the importance of aesthetic education for individual and social life and point out the contribution of aesthetic culture to the general social progress. INSEA additionally comes forward with a new concept of aesthetic education that promotes art as an inseparable part of general culture, giving it a special social dimension.

10. Conclusion

The aesthetic observations, unlike those in other areas, are much more comprehensive and holistic, not inhibitory, and therefore capable of further expanding receptive and imaginative functions, particularly at young ages. Education through art is closely related to intellectual and, especially, moral education. The very process of art education implies the creation of individual aesthetic preferences of protégés, their relationship to the outside world, as well as the training for experience and creating beauty in life and art. We must also bear in mind the opposite interpretations of theorists who the notion of aesthetics do not directly relate to education or consider it the privilege of art, and who point to much broader role and importance on the global cultural background. After all, the question is whether the methodologic practicums related to this process contain a reliable guideline for artistic education of

children, especially if we keep in mind the recurrences of authoritarian consciousness, both parents and educators? In addition to culturological, art also includes a universal epistemological significance as a specific form of communication or transmission of the aesthetic facts. Precisely, in this relationship many modern conceptions of aesthetic education, refracted through the prism of axiological parameters, are based. Within the dramatic arts, especially theater, there is a wide gamut of opportunities for their educational use. In this process in all organized societies special attention is paid to the moral influence of art, i.e. moral education that is acquired through art. The researchers also concluded that moral norms presented in the aesthetic level have a much stronger effect on the development of moral feelings of those who are drawn from the moral lessons, or ethical and philosophical disciplines. If we additionally exclude the extreme indoctrinary component, as a trademark of totalitarian social order, the presence of ethical and moral predilections in a work of art should not be viewed solely from the perspective of its didactic applications. Art implies a much broader range of relations directed to comprehensive spiritual forming of personality, creation of his aesthetic taste and critical attitude toward reality. The axiological assumption of one work of art is in direct conjunction with the contingent aesthetic experience it offers. Finally, the recipient is the one whose aesthetic experience, as subjective perception of a work of art, is the most valuable parameter.

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OBRAZOVANJE KROZ UMJETNOST - TEORIJA I PRAKSA

Obrazovanje kroz umjetnost je, ili bi bar trebalo da bude, osnovni društveni pokretač, čiji ukupni značaj u procesu humanizacije i stvaranja cjelovito razvijene ličnosti, nesumnjivo prevazilazi sve druge. Pa ipak, iako postoji veliki broj teorijskih pristupa i tumačenja koji se odnose na ovaj problem, čini se da nove i korisne ideje nisu uvijek dovoljne i ne mogu da ponude adekvatna rješenja. Nove tehnologije modernog obrazovanja često potvrđuju mediokritetstvo koje, paradoksalno, može biti konkurentno jedino samo sebi, sve više potirući individualne razlike, posebno kod onih koji pokazuju posebne umjetničke sklonosti. Dakle, može se s pravom postaviti pitanje da li u tako osmišljenom sistemu sa neoliberalnim predznakom ima dovoljno prostora za obrazovne procese koji prepoznaju svoju svrhu u umjetnosti, a samim tim da li je promocija osnovnih estetskih vrijednosti u njemu mogućna. Pošto su djeca u fokusu našeg interesovanja, tačnije, njihova zaštita od kiča i neukusa, obrazovanje kroz umjetnost i promocija ključnih estetskih vrijednosti su od posebnog značaja.

Ključne riječi: obrazovanje, umjetnost, dijete, djeca, vaspitanje, estetika.

Nauka o jeziku / Language Studies

SINTAKSIČKI SINONIMI PERFEKTA U JEZIKU S.M. LJUBIŠE

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Apstrakt: Perfekat je najfrekventnije preteritalno vrijeme u Ljubišinom jeziku. Najčešće se javlja indikativni perfekat, a zatim relativni i modalni. Češće se javlja puni perfekat nego perfekat bez verbum-a finitum-a. Perfektom se u Ljubišinom jeziku često označavaju počeci priča i pojedini dijelovi priča, kao i pripovjedačeva tumačenja. Ovo preteritalno vrijeme, koje ima širok radijus upotrebe, u ekspanziji je u Ljubišinom jeziku.

Ključne riječi: perfekat, preteritalno vrijeme, sinonim, sintaksički sinonim, indikativ, relativ, modus, supsticija, semantički, sintaksički.

1. Uvod

Većina ispitivača značenja i funkcija perfekta smatra da se ovaj glagolski oblik upotrebljava trojako: indikativno, relativno, modalno (T. Maretić, A. Belić, M. Stevanović i dr). J. Vuković smatra da se perfekat ne upotrebljava relativno (Vuković 1963: 122), što je osporio M. Stevanović. Za Lj. Stojanovića perfekat je glagolski oblik kojim se konstatuje fakat izvršenosti (Stojanović 1922-1923: 7-10), čime je ovo vrijeme izjednačio sa glagolskim vidom, što je naišlo na osudu A. Belića. M. Stevanović u značenju perfekta nalazi dvije značenjske komponente: a) "označavanje radnje koja se vršila ili izvršila u prošlosti i b) "stanje dobiveno u rezultatu izvršene, ili čak samo vršene te radnje" (Stevanović 1968: 52). Prva komponenta je najčešće neodredjena, druga određena.

Stevanović je povukao preciznu granicu izmedju indikativnog, relativnog i modalnog perfekta. Radnju indikativnog perfekta kao prošlu određuje prema vremenu govorenja, radnju relativnog perfekta kao prošlu određuje posredno prema vremenu govorenja, a modalni perfekat označava kao perfekat kojim se iznosi stav govornog lica prema nerealizovanoj radnji.

Krnji perfekat, koji je prema mišljenju A. Belića, isključivo oblik sintaksičkog relativna (Belić 1926-1927: 123), a I. Grickat njegovu ekspresiju vezuje za njegov relativski karakter (Grickat 1954: 234), Stevanović je svestrano proučio i konstatovao da se on najčešće upotrebljava relativno, rjeđe indikativno i modalno (Stevanović 1968: 60-69). Sintaksički je "perfekat s pomoćnim glagolom [...] ekvivalentan krnjem perfektu" (Stevanović 1968:68).

2. Sinonimi perfekta bez verbum-a finitum-a

Perfekat bez verbum-a finitum-a (krnji perfekat), neka vrsta elipse, pošteđen je razlivenosti, inertnosti punog perfekta. "On svakako pričanju daje jaču upečatljivost, jamačno što se njim predstavljaju situacije u koje se pričalac (onaj koji što pripoveda) potpunije uživljava" (Stevanović 1969: 597). Ljubiša upotrebljava, ali ne često, krnji perfekat za izlaganje dogadjaja u koje se narator uživljava. Krnji perfekat učini pripovijedanje življim, što se ne postiže punim perfektom. Ovo potvrđuju i sljedeći primjeri:

- Treći dan dođe Mijatovica s tovarom hrane i nadje Mijata u zloj koži: izišao mu osinjak pod lijevo pazuho, a osule ga kraste kao kora dubova, pa na ugnjeno tijelo pala muha i svaki gad i jad (Prokleti kam, 270).
- Skupe se svati oko nevjeste, da je privire, kad li njoj zbilja cvjetale kose na mahove [...] nos crven kao paprika u sjemenu, udario prišt na oba obraza (Riječ iz usta, a kam iz ruka, 49).
- Zavade se sela i brastva, i već prijetilo krvoproljeće (Ženski donos, prazan ponos, 65).
- U dvije godine svađe zapušte i obatale crkvinu; stoka bez njege i čobana lipala s metilja i crkavice; vinograde neokopane ugušio blor i muhar (Najteže je doći vragu traga, 189).
- U jednom selu s one strane Jezera, baš pri arbanaškoj granici, za mojih mlađih doba, živio jedan krotak i bogobojazan čovjek, zvali ga Hadži-Jaka, stoga što je polazio tri put Sveti grob (Gori je nevjernik nego li krivokletnik, 241).
- Sve odjednom čuje plesku konjskih kopita, okrene glavom put sela i vidi grozd konjanika, gdje jezde niz brdo, a kad došli na raskrsnicu, sjašu i svrate u njega doma (Gorde, ili kako Crnogorka ljubi, 319).

U nekim primjerima (prvom, drugom, šestom) radnja perfekta bez verbum-a finitum-a izvršila se prije neke druge radnje u prošlosti. "Mijatu izišao osinjak, kraste ga osule prije nego dodje Mijatovica. Isto tako, kose cvjetale i udario prišt prije nego se skupe svatovi. Prvo došli na raskrsnicu, pa sjašu." U ovim i ovakvim primjerima, gdje se oblicima krnjeg perfekta izriču radnje koje su se izvršile prije neke druge radnje u prošlosti, moguća je supstitucija krnjeg perfekta i pluskvamperfekta s oblikom perfekta glagola biti:

- Treći dan dođe Mijatovica s tovarom hrane i nađe Mijata u zloj koži: izišao mu osinjak pod lijevo pazuho, a osule ga kraste kao kora dubova, pa na ugnjeno tijelo pala muha i svaki gad i jad = Treći dan dođe Mijatovica s tovarom hrane i nađe Mijata u zloj koži: bio mu je izišao osinjak pod lijevo pazuho, a osule (su) ga bile kraste kao kora dubova, pa (je) na ugnjeno tijelo bila pala

muha i svaki gad i jad.

- Skupe se svati oko nevjeste, da je privire, kad li njoj zbilja cvjetale kose na mahove [...] nos crven kao paprika u sjemenu, udario priš na oba obraza = Skupe se svatovi oko nevjeste, da je privire, kad li su njoj zbilja bile cvjetale kose na mahove [...] nos crven kao paprika u sjemenu, a udario (je) bio priš na oba obraza.
- Sve odjednom čuje plesku konjskijeh kopita, okrene glavom put sela i vidi grozd konjanika, gdje jezde niz brdo, a kad došli na raskrsnicu, sjašu i svrate u njega doma = Sve odjednom čuje plesku konjskijeh kopita, okrene glavom put sela i vidi grozd konjanika, gdje jezde niz brdo, a kad su bili došli na raskrsnicu, sjašu i svrate u njega doma.

U trima datim primjerima narativnim krnjim perfektom označeno je ono što se označava pluskvamperfektom, a to je "glagolski sadržaj koji prethodi nekom prošlom događaju" (Simić 1996: 109). Stoga je moguća zamjena narativnog krnjeg perfekta pluskvamperfektom s oblikom perfekta glagola biti. Krnji narativni perfekat je "semantičko-sintaksička opozicija obliku pluskvamperfekta" (Stevanović 1969: 645). Može se konstatovati da u ovim i ovakvim primjerima narativni krnji perfekat i pluskvamperfekat s oblikom perfekta glagola biti imaju istu sintaksičku vrijednost, da su istoznačni. Međutim, pri zamjeni je iskaz unekoliko stilski umanjen: nagomilavanjem više riječi (*izšao: bio je izšao*) usporava se ritam toka pripovjedačkog, sažetost zamjenjuje rasplinutost, čega je narativni krnji perfekat lišen.

Ako se umjesto narativnog krnjeg perfekta u datim primjerima upotrijebi narativni puni perfekat, da li će se postići isti efekat? Nema sumnje, stilski efekat neće biti isti. Pošto je puni perfekat ekvivalentan krnjem perfektu (Stevanović 1969: 598), mogu se funkcionalno zamjenjivati:

- Zavade se sela i brastva, i već prijetilo krvoproljeće = Zavade se sela i brastva i već je prijetilo krvoproljeće.
- U dvije godine svađe zapušte i obatale crkvinu; stoka bez njege i čobana lipsala s metilja i crkavice; vinograde neokopane ugušio blor i muhar = U dvije godine svađe zapušte i obatale crkvinu; stoka bez njege i čobana lipsala je s metilja i crkavice; vinograde neokopane ugušio je blor i muhar.
- U jednom selu s one strane Jezera, baš pri arbanaškoj granici, za mojih mlađih doba, živio jedan krotak i bogobojažan čovjek, zvali ga Hadži-Jaka, stoga što je polazio tri put Sveti grob = U jednom selu s one strane Jezera, baš pri arbanaškoj granici, za mojih mlađih doba, živio je jedan krotak i bogobojažan čovjek, zvali su ga Hadži-Jaka, stoga što je polazio tri put Sveti grob.

Upotreba narativnog punog perfekta umjesto krnjeg perfekta u datim primjerima nije izazvala promjenu smisla iskaza. Sintaksički je narativni puni perfekat ekvivalentan narativnom krnjem perfektu. Pošto imaju istu sintaksičku vrijednost, oni

su sintaksički, ali ne i stilski sinonimi. Znači, razlika je samo u ekspresiji. Narativni krnji perfekat daje pripovijedanju jaču upečatljivost.

3. Sinonimi perfekta s pomoćnim glagolom

Perfekat s pomoćnim glagolom (puni perfekat) neuporedivo je frekventniji od krnjeg perfekta u Ljubišinom jeziku. Ljubiša ga angažuje kad želi postići miran tok pripovijedanja, kao što je to u ovim primjerima:

- Meni je pričao jedan djed po materi [...] da su tako naše babe gatale od pamtvijeka, vazda o sjutrašnjemu dnevnu (Skočidjevojka, 110).
- Moj prijatelj Dr. Valtasar Bogišić, znati i valjati Srbin, pokaza mi jesenاس u Beču njeka pisma što je Šćepan pisao gospodi dubrovačkoj (Šćepan Mali, 40).
- On mi se kunijaše da je čitavi trijem kuće [...] bio prestrt vinom, uljem, rakijom, medom, maslom, vunom i svakojakijem mrsom, što su bonici donosili Šćepanu u kolač (Šćepan Mali, 23).
- Ja sam čuo u svojem djetinjstvu u Đakovici gdje slijepac kazuje [...] kako se je jedna baba za vremena Dušanova prorekla na Variv-dan da će one godine umrijeti car na priječac, pak je zatvorili u jednu klijet (Skočidjevojka, 117).
- Kad doh gladan i žedan na komsko počivalo, ali su ti Primorci popeli torove i pasu crkovne livade kao pustošinu (S tuđa konja nasred polja, 128).
- Povijedahu sluge im i djetiči da nijesu nikad čuli medju njima grke riječi, pogane psovkinje, ili prostačka kareža, nego su vazda poslovali mirno i skladno kao rijetka braća manastirska (Gdje je slogue, tu je i napretka, 247).
- Pričaju, a i prilika je, da je sveti Sava srpski dohodio jednom pod budljansko polje, da se prevezе na otok, gdje je ljetovao (Ko hoće veće, on će iz vreće, 153).
- Kaživahu da je ta nesretnji kvasac unio jedan grčki brod, koji je prenosio prionjivu trgovinu iz Misira u Mletke, pak od zla vremena svratio u Solun da tu čeka provedricu (Nešto nešta izjelo, pak od nešta nešto ostalo, 69).

Narator iznosi u prvom primjeru kako mu je djed pričao u prošlosti, prije vremena pričanja govornikovog, da su tako babe gatale. Znači, između toga vremena i radnje označene perfektom punim nalazi se momenat prije koga se dotična radnja izvršila, čime je označena relativnost perfektova. I u ostalim primjerima konstatuje se da je nešto bilo u relativnoj prošlosti, "prošlosti koja je to ne samo za vreme govorenja nego i za nešto drugo, takodje prošlo vreme" (Stevanović 1969: 598).

Relativna prošlost označena punim perfektom može se izreći i narativnim aoristom imperfektivnih glagola.

I uopšte se može reći da aorist imperfektivnih glagola ima isto značenje s perfektom, da kao i perfekat, naime, znači vršenje radnje u prošlosti. Razlika je

između ova dva preteritalna vremena [...] stilskog, a samo unekoliko sintaksičkog karaktera. (Stevanović 1969: 621)

Znači, ova dva preteritalna vremena mogu se funkcionalno zamjenjivati:

- Meni je pričao jedan đed po materi [...] da su tako naše babe gatale od pamtivijeka, vazda o sjutrašnjem dnevu = Meni je pričao jedan đed po materi [...] da tako naše babe gataše od pamtivijeka vazda o sjutrašnjem dnevu.
- Moj prijatelj Dr. Valtasar Bogišić, znati i valjati Srbin, pokaza mi jesen u Beču njeka pisma što je Šćepan pisao gospodi dubrovačkoj = Moj prijatelj Dr. Valtasar Bogišić, znati i valjati Srbin, pokaza mi jesen u Beču njeka pisma što Šćepan pisa gospodi dubrovačkoj.
- On mi se kunijaše da je čitavi trijem kuće [...] bio prestret vinom, uljem, rakijom, medom, maslom, vunom i svakojakim mrsom, što su bonici donosili Šćepanu u kolač = On mi se kunijaše da je čitavi trijem kuće [...] bio prestret vinom, uljem, rakijom, medom, maslom, vunom i svakojakijem mrsom, što doношаše bonici Šćepanu u kolač.

Oba preteritalna vremena – narativni perfekat puni i aorist imperfektivnih glagola – u datim primjerima označavaju glagolski sadržaj koji se realizuje u prošlosti, funkcionalno se zamjenjuju, pa se može konstatovati da su sintaksički sinonimi. Razlike među ovim oblicima postoje, a one su "stilskog, a samo unekoliko sintaksičkog karaktera" (Stevanović 1969: 621). Perfektom punim se označava radnja koja se vršila bilo kad u prošlosti, a aoristom imperfektivnih glagola radnja koja se vršila u određenom vremenu u prošlosti (Stevanović 1969: 615). Sintaksičke i stilske razlike održale su u naporednoj upotrebi ova dva sintaksička sinonima u Ljubišinom jeziku.

Relativni krnji perfekat je ekvivalentan relativnom punom perfektu (Stevanović 1969: 598), pa je moguća supstitucija njihova pri kojoj se smisao iskaza ne mijenja:

- Ja sam čuo u svojem djetinjstvu u Đakovici gdje slijepac kazuje [...] kako se je jedna baba za vremena Dušanova prorekla na Variv-dan da će one godine umrijeti car na priječac, pak je zatvorili u jednu klijet = Ja sam čuo u svojem djetinstvu u Đakovici gdje slijepac kazuje [...] kako se jedna baba prorekla na Variv-dan da će one godine umrijeti car na priječac, pak je zatvorili u jednu klijet.
- Kad dôh gladan i žedan na komsko počivalo, ali su ti Primorci popeli torove i pasu crkovnu livadu kao pustošinu = Kad dôh gladan i žedan na komsko počivalo, ali ti Primorci popeli torove i pasu crkovnu livadu.
- Povijedahu sluge im i djetići da nijesu nikad čuli među njima grke riječi, pogane psovkinje, ali prostačka kareža, nego su vazda poslovali mirno i skladno kao rijetka braća manstirska = Povijedahu sluge im i djetići da ne čuli među njima grke riječi, pogane psovkinje, ali prostačka kareža, nego vazda poslovali

mirno i skladno kao rijetka braća manastirska.

- Pričaju, a i prilika je da je sveti Sava srpski dohodio jednom pod budljansko polje, da se preveze na otok, gdje je ljetovao = Pričaju, a i prilika je, da jednom sveti Sava srpski dohodio pod budljansko polje, da se preveze na otok gdje ljetovao.

- Kaživahu da je ta nesretnji kvasac unio jedan grčki brod, koji je prenosio prionjivu trgovinu iz Misira u Mletke, pak od zla vremena svratio u Solun da tu čeka provedricu = Kaživahu da ta nesretnji kvasac unio jedan grčki brod, koji prenosio prionjivu trgovinu iz Misira u Mletke, pak od zla vremena svratio da tu čeka provedricu.

Pri zamjeni narativnog punog perfekta krnjim perfektom nije došlo do promjene smisla iskaza. Može se konstatovati da je sintaksički krnji perfekat ekvivalentan narativnom punom perfektu u ovim primjerima. Razlika između ova dva sintaksička sinonima postoji samo u ekspresiji. Perfektom bez verbum-a finitum-a postiže se jača upečatljivost, uživljenost u dogadjaje i situacije.

4. Perfekat za budućnost

Široke su mogućnosti transponovanja perfektovog značenja u Ljubišinom jeziku. U njemu se nađe, ali rijetko, i perfekat u funkciji futura I (futurski perfekat). Ovaj perfekat je modalan. Njega je Ljubiša upotrijebio samo četiri puta:

- Posjetujemo se, i prime što ja rekoh: da se primaknemo kraju, jer je među dva zla manje; ako bi Bog dao da zazrimo svijeću u selima ili ako sine s oblaka munja, možemo ući zdravo u Boku, ne li – propali svakojako (Ko se hvali, taj se kašom hrani, 211).
- Ako obršim? dobro, ne li? poginuo svakako (Šćepan Mali, 27).
- Viđe da je poginuo (Pop Andrović, novi Obilić, 217).
- Diži se poginuo, kao si poginuo (Prodaja patrijare Brkića, 79).

Perfektom se u ovim primjerima označava propast u budućnosti, a radnja kao da je izvršena u prošlosti. U pitanju je pretpostavka, uvjerenost govornog lica. Ovdje je modalnost uslovila transpoziciju perfektovog značenja i ekspresivnost njegove upotrebe u značenju futura I. Modalni (futurski perfekat) i futur I mogu se međusobno zamjenjivati, a da se pri tome smisao iskaza bitnije ne promijeni:

- Posjetujemo se, i prime što ja rekoh: da se primaknemo kraju, jer je među dva zla manje; ako bi Bog dao da zazrimo svijeću u selima ili ako sine s oblaka munja, možemo ući zdravo u Boku, ne li – propali svakojako = Posjetujemo se, i prime što ja rekoh: da se primaknemo kraju, jer je među dva zla manje; ako bi Bog dao da zazrimo svijeću u selima ili ako sine s oblaka munja, može-

mo uči zdravo u Boku, ne li – propašćemo svakojako.

- Ako obršim? dobro, ne li? poginuo svakako = Ako obršim? dobro, ne li? poginuću svakako.
- Viđe da je poginuo = Viđe da će poginuti.
- Diži se poginuo, kao si poginuo = Diži se poginuo, kao ćeš poginuti.

Pri zamjeni perfekta za budućnost futurom i smisao iskaza se unekoliko mijenja, pa su oni nepotpuni sintaksički sinonimi.

5. Zaključak

Perfekat je najčešći preteritalno vrijeme u jeziku S. M. Ljubiše (koji ga je upotrijebio 4870 puta). Opšte sintaksičke osobine perfekta punog i krajnjeg odgovaraju stanju u savremenom standardnom jeziku. Znatno je frekventniji perfekat s pomoćnim glagolom od perfekta bez verbum-a finitum-a. Upotreba jednog i drugog oblika perfekta u funkciji je stilskog diferenciranja. Semantičko-sintaksički sinonim krajnjeg perfekta je puni perfekat i pluskvamperfekat s oblikom perfekta glagola biti. Puni perfekat (narativni) nesvršenih glagola ima za sintaksički sinonim krajnji perfekat, koji je ekvivalentan punom perfektu, i aorist imperfektivnih glagola. Razlika između narativnog aorista imperfektivnog i narativnog perfekta imperfektivnog je stilska i unekoliko sintaksička, dok su perfekat za budućnost i futur i nepotpuni sintaksički sinonimi.

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THE SYNTACTIC SYNONYMS OF PAST SIMPLE IN THE LANGUAGE OF STEFAN MITROV LJUBIŠA

The Simple Past Tense is the most common past tense used in the language of S.M. Ljubiša. It mostly occurs as a past indicative, but also as a relative and modal past tense. It is more frequent with than without the verbum finitum. The Past Simple in Ljubiša's language is often used to mark the beginnings and some certain parts of the stories, as well as narrator's interpretations. This preterite tense, which has a broad range of use, is in the expansion in the language of S. M. Ljubiša.

Key Words: Past Simple, past tense, synonym, syntactic synonym, indicative, relative, modal tense, substitution, semantic, syntactic.

FAMILY RELATIONS AND GENDER DIFFERENCES IN SERBIAN PROVERBS

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Abstract: The paper deals with the family relations and gender differences in Serbian proverbs. Proverbs are a valuable source of knowledge of a nation's tradition and culture as seen through its customs, habits and beliefs. They contain common people's wisdom and connect past with present. Through them, the way of life of our ancestors becomes clearer and more understandable to future generations. This work deals with family relations in proverbs because family is the basic unit of each society and because the values accepted in a family become a basis for broader relationships. We may think that the traditional relationships have changed over time, or that they have completely vanished, but looking around us we can see that certain things, opinions and beliefs stated in proverbs long time ago are still very much alive and influence our lives more than we can imagine.

Key words: proverb, culture, family, relationships, gender.

I

Learning a language does not mean acquiring the linguistic competence only. Producing the right utterances, grammatically correct sentences and phonetically acceptable sounds is not enough for anyone to say that he/she had mastered any language. The knowledge of a language must always include the knowledge of the culture of the country whose language we learn. Cultural competence, i.e. the knowledge of the conventions, customs, beliefs, and systems of meaning of some country, is indisputably an integral part of language learning. Without the knowledge of the cultural patterns, we would not be able to accept the differences between the nations and understand, nowadays so much spoken of, multiculturalism. Kramsch said that:

Culture in language learning is not an expendable fifth skill, tacked on, so to speak, to the teaching of speaking, listening, reading, and writing. It is always in the background, right from day one, ready to unsettle the good language learners when they expect it least, making evident the limitations of their hard-won communicative competence, challenging their ability to make sense of the world around them. (Kramsch 1)

Cultural patterns are formed differently in different societies depending on their historical, geographical and demographic development. What is a desired way of behavior in one society might be regarded as offensive and disputable in some other. Many stereotypes could have been avoided if we had been aware of the cultural differences between nations.

Even when we talk about our native language, we must admit that there are moments when we are confused by the idioms and phrases the meaning of which is not clear to us, or by the sayings over which we must stop and think. That happens because such idioms, phrases and sayings were produced long time ago, in our past. But, they still reflect their wisdom upon the life of modern generations. Although the contemporary man might not be familiar with them, he can still use them very successfully in some situations. This especially applies to proverbs. Although proverbs sometimes seem to be a little bit old-fashioned and even obsolete, and although children in modern schools resent being taught about culture using these short witty sayings, proverbs still happen to be the most easily accessible authentic material that can be used inside the classroom. They incorporate a collective memory and the cultural heritage of a country and its people. They talk about the history, geography, politics, religion and philosophy of life of a nation throughout the centuries. The things that would have been long forgotten, the customs and habits from the past that might be unknown to present generations, the beliefs and old superstitions – all those are still kept in proverbs. When we study a proverb carefully, we see how much wisdom it contains and how much we can learn from it.

What is a proverb? There are many differnt explanations of the term, but most of them agree that a proverb conveys folk wisdom. The Collins Cobuild Dictionary for Advanced Learners defines a proverb as “a short sentence that people often quote which gives advice or tells you something about life” (1234). The Oxford English Dictionary Online cites that “a proverb is a short, well-known pithy saying, stating a general truth or piece of advice.” The famous writer Miguel de Cervantes noticed wittily that a proverb is “a short sentence based on long experience.” In brief, we can say that proverbs intend to say much, by using little.

Most proverbs were made in the time long before a man knew how to read and write. Unable to convey his experience, advice or any general truth to the future generations in a written form, the ancient man had to think of a way to turn his knowledge into understandable sayings that would be easily remembered by the generations to come. So, proverbs had to be short and very often written in verse. Only later, with the development of general literacy, did the proverbs acquire their written and more sophisticated form that they retain until today. William George Smith, the compiler of *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* says in the “Introduction” of his book:

There were originally two sources of proverbial wisdom. One was the common man, from whom came the proverbs of distilled experience such as 'A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush'. The other was the wise man, or oracle, whose utterances were the result of reflection, and were received as rules of life by the folk, who had neither time nor mental capacity to meditate upon fundamental truths. The ordinary man was busy making sure that the bird remained in his hand. Once he had discovered the uselessness of two birds in the bush, or ten in the wood, or a hundred in the air, as against the practical satisfaction of one firmly seized hold of, he registered this conviction as a bit of everyday common sense which it would be well to remember, and passed it on. His comment became a familiar saying, a byword, a proverb. (*The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, vii)

In studying proverbs our attention must always be focused on the difference between their semantic and pragmatic meaning. What does this imply? Semantics and pragmatics are the two branches of linguistics that both deal with meaning, but in different ways. According to Crystal (1997), the most general definition of semantics is that it is "the study of linguistic meaning," and pragmatics, in his opinion, is a part of the wider field of discourse analysis. Lyons, (1977) defines semantics as a branch of knowledge that is concerned with meaning, whereas Levison (1983) defines pragmatics as a branch of knowledge that is concerned with language use. Semantics always adopts a narrow scope, as it deals only with the text and analyzes the meaning of words and how they are combined to make a meaningful sentence. Pragmatics goes beyond the text itself taking into account the contextual factors, knowledge of the world surrounding the context of the message, the speakers intended meaning and the hearer's inferences in order to interpret that utterance (Bianchi 2004). So, when dealing with proverbs we can not only rely on their semantic meaning, that is, on what we get from their written form. Many of the proverbs will never be understandable to hearers if only their semantic meaning is observed. The proverbs should be considered in their broader, social context, taking into account their practical meaning which can be applied to specific community from which they arise.

Looking at proverbs from a semiotic perspective helps us to perceive them as signs. For something to qualify as a sign "it must have a physical form, it must refer to something other than itself, and it must be recognized as doing this by other users of the sign system" (Turner 17). The three criteria proposed by Turner correspond to some proverb features suggested by Norrick. The physical form corresponds to the conversational nature of proverbs in that they must be embodied in some form of waves that can be heard, or writing in the form of physical graphological symbols which can be seen. The fact that

proverbs must have a general meaning corresponds to Turner's second criterion above that signs must refer to something other than themselves. The fact that proverbs are traditional relates to Turner's third criterion that this referential or general meaning must be recognized by other users in the sign system, i.e. the speech community. So, a proverb always has three levels of meaning: (1) the formal one, which is the level of proverbial expression, (2) the internal or denotative meaning which can be termed as semantic, and the third one is a pragmatic meaning or the second meaning of the proverb which is always inherent in it and is called in Norrick's feature matrix as didactic and figurative.

The history of proverbs has always been a constant progression from the concrete to the abstract. When a proverb appeared for the first time, its meaning was a concrete and a literal one; but, with a repeated use, the meaning changed and became more metaphorical. When the ancient man first said: „Gvožđe se kuje dok je vruće” (Strike while the iron is hot), that was exactly what he meant. Later, however, the meaning of the proverb changed, and became a more metaphorical one. The modern meaning of the proverb is “to act decisively and take your opportunities when they arise,” which obviously has nothing to do with blacksmithing.

What are the main characteristics of proverbs? First, proverbs are short and easy to remember, which was a very important in the old days. Second, proverbs have a vivid imagery. People will certainly easier remember the sayings like „Lasno je tuđim rukama za vrelo gvožđe hvatati” (It is easy to hold hot iron with somebody else's hands), „Za zlato rđa ne prijanja” (Gold does not rust) or „I sunce prolazi kroz kaljava mesta, ali se ne okalja” (Even the Sun passes through the muddy places but does not get dirty) if they can make mental images in their heads. Very often a specific sentence pattern is repeated in proverbs. For example, there is symmetry as in the examples: „Kako došlo, tako otišlo” (Easy come, easy go), „Koliko ljudi, toliko čudi” (Different people, different minds) and „Koliko je uzbrdica, toliko i nizbrdica” (Life is made of ups and downs). The rhetorical techniques also include rhyme as in „Ko zna, ne zja” (It is important to be a learned man), „Ko ljeti hladuje, zimi gladuje” (If you do not work in summer, you will be hungry in winter), „Ko pita, ne skita” (The one who asks for the way, does not wander around), alliteration „U hvališe svašta više” (A braggart always has more than other people), „Svačiju slušaj, a svoju smatraj” (Listen to others, but do as you think is right), contrast „U ratara crne ruke, a bijela pogaća” (A plowman's hands are black, but his bread is white), „I crna krava ima bijelo mleko” (A black cow gives white milk), metaphor „Ćutanje je zlato” (Silence is golden), „Kućni je prag najveća planina” (Home threshold is the highest mountain), simile „Vredan kao pčela” (As busy as a bee), „Đeca su kao rosa” (Children are like morning dew), hyperbole „Izvalila magla panj” (The fog pulled out the tree stump), „Jedna glava, hiljada jezika” (A head with a thousand tongues), personification „Novci kad odlaze imaju sto nogu, kad

dolaze samo dvije" (Money has a hundred legs when it goes away, but only two when it comes to you), „I zidovi imaju uši” (Walls have ears), „Dela govore više od reči” (Actions speak louder than words), and comparison as in „Glava je starija od knjige” (A head is older than a book) „Kad najviše grmi, najmanje kiše pada” (When there is a lot of thundering, there is little rain).

II

We can divide proverbs in many different ways according to what message they convey, but one of the main categories will certainly be the so called “family proverbs,” that is proverbs dealing with family relations. In many cultures and in Serbian tradition definitely, family is the central unit of society. Traditions, customs, beliefs accepted in Serbian society reflect in the family. Serbian tradition is very strong and still influences the life of people living in this country. Family keeps the traditional relationships and is very important for understanding and comparing the life of the people in the past and in our days. Family is also related to the idea of “home” and the relationships among the people who are living under the same roof. These relations follow the established matrix in which the family hierarchy is never questioned. It starts from the eldest male member of the family and goes down, with every next generation having fewer rights in making decisions about the family matters. From the proverbs we can see that patriarchal society, and family as a smaller unit within it, was the predominant social system in Serbia at the time when proverbs were made. Maybe the characteristics of the Dinaric type of people living in the Balkans and described in the works of Jovan Cvijic, a Serbian geographer and ethnologist can help us understand why the family relations were as they were in our parts at those times. Cvijic wrote about the Dinaric type of people living in the mountains, about highlanders with highly developed characteristics which

placed them high above many other farmers of different nations. Personal dignity, respect and attention to the elderly, behavior towards children and women, friends and enemies, their behavior at the gatherings, all this shows the particular elegance in their way of life and their feelings. (Cvijic 367)⁹

Yet, all these favorable characteristics seem to be attributed only to the Balkan men, which is the main point when discussing the gender differences in Serbian proverbs. It seems that the woman's role in society and family was a minor one, something that was rarely even mentioned. A woman was regarded

⁹ Translation by G. Ljubičić.

as a part of a family setting or as a part of her husband's property. Women's rights were not discussed or taken seriously or separately from men's. Although some proverbs praise the woman's moral values, they do it only in relation to her role as a wife and mother, in the first place.

Before we discuss the family relations in proverbs in more detail, we have to point out to an interesting phenomenon appearing in many of them. That is the idea of contradiction and paradox. Very often, we can find pairs of proverbs expressing completely opposite opinions about the same matter. This is not only the case with Serbian proverbs, but the English ones, too. Here are some of the examples taken from our tradition:

1. Bez zbora nema dogovora. (There is no agreement without discussion)
Živ mi Todor da se čini govor. (Talking for talking sake)
2. Glava je starija od knjige. (Head is older than book)
Ko zna, ne zja. (It is important to be a learned man)
3. Đeca su kao rosa. (Children are like morning dew)
Na mladjima svet ostaje. (The world remains on the young)
4. Teško je mudromu među budalama besjediti. (It is hard for a wise man to talk to the fools)
5. Dok se mudri namudrovaše, ludi se naživovaše. (While wise men are boasting of their wisdom, fools are enjoying life)
6. Gde je mnogo babica, kilava deca. (Too many cooks spoil the broth)
Blagoslovene su mnoge ručice. (Many hands make light work)
7. Dogovorna je najbolja. (The agreed upon is the best)
Svačiju slušaj, svoju smatraj. (Listen to everybody but do as you think is right).

Although we can find this contradiction confusing, the following explanation by M. Simson can be finely acceptable. He says that "proverbs are apparent truths, not universal," the fact which allows for the contradiction of, for example "Absence makes the heart grow fonder" and "Out of sight, out of mind" (Simson on-line).

When studying Serbian proverbs we can see that, like in many other cultures, the idea of "home" is constantly present. The knowledge of how poor the people in Serbian villages were a hundred or more years ago, and how hard they lived, made it only natural to understand why they appreciated every kind of shelter that they could call home. Home was considered the centre of the universe, the place from which you could go anywhere, but where you were bound to return to. Proverbs advised people to respect their homes, no matter how small or poor they could be. So, they said:

1. Svuda pođi, kući dođi. (Go everywhere, but always come back home).¹⁰
2. 'Đe ko nikne tu se i obikne. (You get accustomed to your birth place).
3. Srećan je onaj ko sedi u svojoj kući. (Happy is the man sitting in his own house).
4. Kućni prag je najveća planina. (The house threshold is the highest mountain).
5. Ako je i koliba, naša je. (Maybe it is a hut, but it is ours.).
6. Bolje je u kolibi pjevati nego u dvoru plakati. (Better to sing in a hut, than to cry in a castle.)
7. Gdje je čija kuća, tu je i sredina sveta. (Your home is the centre of the universe).
8. I kljuse i goveče teži na svoj zavičaj. (Even a horse and an ox tend for their homeland).

It is clear that the idea of “home” did not relate only to the walls and the roof of an edifice, it was much more; it implied the atmosphere and the living spirit of the people sharing the same space and their relationships, too. That is why it was very important to give some directions and advice to those people of how to live together and what rules to obey. The habit of two or more generations living together was very common in the Serbian past. Privacy was something only to yearn for; even the separate rooms were just a dream. So, the members had to learn how to live in harmony and tolerance. This idea is clearly stated in the following examples:

1. Teško domu u kom nema sloga. (It's hard to live in a home where there is no harmony).
2. Dobra čeljad uvek posla nađu. (Good members of the family always find something to do).

Among the members of a family, the hierarchy was firmly established. It could not be questioned and had to be strictly obeyed. The head of the family was the eldest male member whose word was the law for the rest of the family. So, in most proverbs the old age was connected with respect and obedience. The proverbs say:

¹⁰ All examples of the Serbian proverbs in this paper are taken from “The Works of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić” edited by Vojislav Đurić in 1964 and published by the Serbian Literary Cooperative, Belgrade.

1. Gde se stariji ne čuju, tu Bog ne pomaže. (Where the elders are not heard, the God does not help).
2. Bez starog vola nema duboke brazde. (There is no deep furrow without an old ox).
3. Teško onom svakome junaku što ne sluša svoga starijega. (Not listening to your elders will bring you no good).

But, following the paradox mentioned above, some proverbs deny the merits of the old age, and praise the vigor of the youth. Is it, then, right to say that the proverbs are not to be believed and that their wisdom is misleading? Not really. What we can claim is that everything depends on the circumstances and the situations that people found themselves in. People knew that the young were the future and that ageing was not connected only with wisdom, but also with decay. But they also knew that youth was not always to be trusted, that is why contradictory opinions that seem to be a paradox appear in many of them. We can compare the examples:

1. Starog slušaj, ali ne idi za njim. (Listen to the old one, but do not follow him!)
2. Ko starog ljubi danke gubi. (Being in love with an old person is losing the time)
3. Sjedine u glavu, a pamet u stranu. (Although his hair is grey, he acts foolishly)
4. Na mlađima svijet ostaje. (The world remains on the young),

and

1. Mladost, ludost. (Youth will have its fling)
2. Pitaće te starost gde ti je bila mladost. (You will pay for the mistakes of youth).

In Serbian tradition, the attitude to ageing is completely different in view of gender. Generally, old age is a plus for a man and a big minus for a woman. It can not only be seen in Serbian proverbs. The old English proverb says: "A man is as old as he feels, and a woman as old as she looks." So, women have always been judged by their appearance. When youth passes, there is nothing good for a woman to expect. The same does not apply to men. The Serbian proverbs are rather harsh on women. There is no proverb that speaks favorably about old woman's age. Her old age is never connected with wisdom or respect, but very often it is the topic that provokes laughter and mockery. Even the choice of words used in Serbian proverbs to describe an old woman is specific. In them, the word „baba" is used. This word usually has a more

pejorative meaning than the words „baka” and „nana” which are loved diminutives for an old woman. The Serbian proverbs say:

1. E, da je baba deda. (If only an old woman was an old man!).
2. Za nevolju babu vode kad đevojke ne nahode. (If there is not a young bride, the old woman will take her place).
3. Inat babi dušu gubi. (Spite makes grandmother heartless).
4. Nije umrla baba od korbe već od prazne torbe. (The old woman did not die because of being scolded, but of an empty bag, because she did not have anything to eat).
5. Trla baba lan da joj prođe dan. (The old woman did all kinds of useless things to make her day pass).
6. Proricala baba da će biti posle kiše blata. (The old woman said that there would be mud after rain – meaning she did not say anything we did not know).
7. Što je babi milo to joj se i snilo. (The old woman dreams about what she wishes for).
8. Dala baba banku da uđe u kolo, a dve da iz njega izađe. (The old woman gave one dollar to get into the dance, and two to get out).
9. Nemoj babu na konja! (Don't put an old woman on a war horse! Do not do something at any price.)

The old age is not the only factor that diminishes the woman's role in the house. Women are somehow naturally regarded as the members of the family whose behaviour is constantly to be controlled and supervised and who are a hidden threat for the family's reputation. Woman's place in the house is clearly defined, as well as her duties. No matter how good a woman is, she is always subordinate to her husband. Her only duties are to give birth to children, take care about them and about the husband, his parents and the house. It can be seen from the following proverbs:

1. Dobra žena postuje muža pa da je ko pevac. (A good wife respects her husband even if he is as small as a rooster).
2. Put do muškog srca vodi preko njegovog stomaka. (The way to a man's heart is through his stomach).
3. Žena muža nosi na licu, a muž ženu na košulji. (Wife carries her husband on the face, and husband his wife on the shirt).
4. Žene su da zbole, a ljudi da tvore. (Women talk and men do).
5. Gde žena buči tu muž muči. (If the wife talks too much, the husband is silent).

Gender differences are even more obvious when it comes to marriage. The proverbs rarely advise young girls to think about the character and appearance of their future husbands; they do not tell them how to fight for their rights within the family or how to become equal with the elder members. But, they do give all sorts of advice to young male members of the family about how to choose their future wives, what to expect from them and what traps to be aware of. The idea that women are not to be trusted because they use the advantages that nature gives them only to be dishonest and bring some misfortune to their homes is seen from the following:

1. Žena se uzda u plač, a lupež u laž. (A woman relies on tears and a thief on lies).
2. Ženska lepota je njen oružje. (A woman's weapon is her beauty).
3. Ženino oružje je jezik. (A woman's weapon is her tongue.)
4. Ispod Mire sto đavola vire. (Mira is not as quiet as her name tells, she is capable of much mischief). (Mira is a common name in Serbia; it means "a quiet woman").
5. Opasala se jezikom kao kuja repom. (Her tongue is as long as a dog's tail)
6. Žena će samo onu tajnu sačuvati koju ne zna. (A woman will only keep the secret she does not know of).
7. Koja se mnogo ogleda, slabo kuću nadgleda. (The girl who is always in front of a mirror, is not a good housekeeper).

The proverbs also advise men how to behave in marriage and how to keep their wives from different temptations, because it seems that in Serbian tradition only women can bring shame to the family; the behavior of husbands is never a matter of discussion, no matter what they do. Wife is considered her husband's property, that is why she has to be watched, kept and defended. The proverbs say:

1. Državu čuvaj od neprijatelja, a ženu od prijatelja. (Defend your country against the enemies and your wife from your friends).
2. Konju, ženi i pušci ne treba verovati. (A horse, a gun and a wife are not to be trusted).
3. Ženu mnogo ne mazi, nego je pripazi. (Do not cuddle a woman but watch her).
4. Ženu i kosu nikome nedaj. (A wife and a scythe are not to be given to anyone.)
5. Lepu ženu i vinograd pored puta ne treba imati. (You should not have a beautiful wife and a vineyard by the road).

6. Teško je čuvati tuđe pare i svoju ženu. (It is hard to keep other people's money and your own wife).
7. Od rane trešnje i lepe žene čovek malo koristi ima. (A man has little benefit from the early cherry and a beautiful wife).
8. Žena je zlo bez koga se ne može. (Woman is an evil without which man can not live).
9. Da je dobro i đavo bi se ženio. (If marriage were good, the Devil would marry).

But, there are some proverbs in which again we meet with a paradox. Seemingly, when a girl becomes a wife and a mother, things sometimes change in favor of her role in the family. As she becomes the pillar of the family, someone who holds the welfare of the family in her hands and works really hard to keep the family together, some recognition comes from the wise mouth. Again, we can not judge the truthiness of different proverbs, we can only accept that different situations give rise to different conclusions, in which the one does not exclude the other. Some favorable sayings about women are stated here:

1. Iza svakog uspešnog muškarca stoji žena. (There is a woman behind every successful man).
2. Đe nije žene, tu nije ni kuće. (Where there is no house without a woman).
3. Dobra žena praznu kuću čini da je puna. (A good wife makes an empty house full).
4. Dobro je kadšto i pametnu ženu poslušati. (It is sometimes good to listen to a clever wife).
5. Kuća ne стоји на земљи него на јени. (A house does not stand on the ground, but on a woman).
6. Više vredi što žena uštedi nego što muž zaradi. (Woman's saving is worth more than man's earning).

Different attitudes towards gender are also obvious in proverbs concerning children and their role in the family; there are always differences between male and female descendants. In Serbian tradition only male children were a blessing to the family. Sons were important for extending the family line; they inherited the family name. More sons meant more prosperity for the family. Young men could help the household thrive by bringing wives into the house. So, the proverbs say:

1. Na mlađima svijet ostaje. (The world remains on the young).
2. Dete je otac čovjeka. (Child is father to the man).

3. Čovek želi da je od svakoga bolji, a od sina da je gori. (A man wants to be better than anyone else, but worse than his son).

However, although love for children is obvious in Serbian proverbs, very often that love was something to be afraid of. Serbian tradition includes a lot of superstitions, one of which was that you should never allow yourself to be happy for a long time as something bad would always happen to make your life miserable. The fact also was that the lifetime of many children, especially in villages, was short due to diseases and hard life conditions, so many children died young. It was much better for a parent, mother especially, not to attach too firmly to a child, at least until it became obvious that the child would survive and grow up. That bitter experience can be seen from the following:

1. Đeca su kao rosa. (Children are like morning dew.)
2. Nema tereta bez deteta. (A child is a burden.)
3. Ko dete suviše voli, upropasti ga. (A child too much loved is a spoilt one.)
4. Dete mnogo milovano nikad dobro vaspitano. (Child most cuddled, never behaves well.)
5. Ko sa đecom lježe zapišan se diže. (The one who sleeps in the same bed with children, often gets up wet.)

Gender differences are obvious in relation to the future of the children in the family. As we said, male children were considered a blessing, while daughters were regarded as “other man’s happiness.” They were a burden for the family. Too many mouths to feed were never a good idea. That is why the daughters were supposed to marry very young and go to their new families. Female children were never a good investment; they needed a rich dowry in order to get married well and were a constant source of worry for their families. So, the proverbs warned:

1. Ženi sina kad hoćeš, a udaj kćer kad možeš. (Marry the son when you want, and the daughter when you can.)
2. Žensko je tuđa sreća. (A female child is someone else's happiness.)
3. Ko ženi jedno veselje ima, ko udaje dva. (To marry a son is one joy, to marry a daughter, two.)
4. Za brige je teško čuvati lepe devojke. (It is hard to look after beautiful girls.)
5. Koja se ne rekne, ona se ne čuje. (If a girl is not spoken of, she is not heard of.)
6. Dobra devojka sama se udaje. (A good girl will find a husband without any help.)

7. Udal se moma da je nije doma. (The girl got married only to get away from her family's house.)
8. Ali đevojci sreću gubi. (One "but" can spoil a girl's happiness.)

That "but" could be anything a girl did to make other people think about her as being lazy, choosy or stubborn. Here are some things that a girl was not supposed to do if she wanted to find a suitable husband:

1. Dok se neva obuče, svadba se provuče. (By the time the bride got dressed, the wedding was over).
2. Devojka koja žuri na sastanak već je zakasnila. (The girl who hurries to a date, is already late).
3. Birala birka izabrala čoravog Mirka. (A choosy girl will marry the blind Mirko in the end; because he is the only one left).

The life of an unmarried girl or of a girl expecting a good marriage opportunity was not something to be wished for, but the things very often did not change for the better even after the marriage. As the proverb says, it was „Sa zla na gore“ (Out of the frying pan into the fire). In her new home, the girl had to share the room with her mother-in-law, and possibly the wives of her brothers-in-law and unmarried sisters-in-law. All those women were fighting for their part of house territory, and that fight was hard. There was also a hierarchy among the female members of the family. Mother-in-law was the eldest woman in the family, so she was the one who made decisions about household matters. Younger women were expected to be silent, but behind their mother-in-law's back they did everything to embitter the lives of their competitors. The proverbs noted their complaints:

1. Svekrva se ne seća da je nekad i ona snaja bila. (Mother-in-law forgets that she once was a daughter-in-law.)
2. Svađale se jetrve preko svekrve. (Daughters-in-law are fighting over their mother-in-law.)
3. Sačuvaj me Bože od mirnog sina kod opake snaje. (Please, God save me from a quiet son and a wicked daughter-in-law.)

The solution for such troubles was only the one seen in the following proverb:

1. Daj mi Bože rane kćeri a kasne sinove da se dva zla ne sastave. (Please God; give me early daughters and late sons, so that two evils do not meet in the same house.)

A very interesting thing in Serbian proverbs is the fact that they do not comment the status of sons-in-law in Serbian families. It is probably because, as we had already said, girls continued their married life in the house of their parents-in-law, and the same thing rarely happened to the boys. The exceptions could be the case when the bride was very rich or when she was the only child in the family. In Serbian culture, there is a rather derogatory name for the young man who came to live with his wife's parents. He was called „prizetko“, and his status in the family was not a favorable one. That is why the son-in-law complained:

1. Nema ništa nesnosnije od bogate žene. (There is nothing more intolerable than a rich wife.)

In the end, we will mention a relationship which is firmly embedded in Serbian tradition. That relationship concerns the idea of "brotherhood". This idea does not imply only love between brothers born by the same mother, although a proverb claims:

1. Nema ljeta bez Đurđeva dana, niti brata dok ne rodi majka. (There is no summer without St. George's day, and no brother unless born by the same mother.)

It also includes something that is called „pobratimstvo“ (blood brotherhood) which is sometimes even stronger than real brotherhood. In Serbian culture, the role of a brother is extremely important. We can see it from the following examples:

2. Gde brat brata ne voli, tu nema sreće. (There is no happiness without brothers' love.)
3. Ko ne drži brata za brata, taj će tuđina za gospodara. (Who doesn't accept a brother for a brother, will take a foreigner for his master.)
4. Brat je mio koje vjere bio. (Brother is dear, no matter what religion he belongs to.)
5. Brat brata nad jamu vodi, ali u jamu ne meće. (Brother leads his brother to a pit, but doesn't push him into it.)

But, to break the idyll, another contradiction comes as a real shock. Brothers are shown as the worst enemies. You should never forget that the greatest pain and suffering can come from the most beloved ones when you do not expect it. The proverb says:

1. Ko ti iskopa oko? Brat rođeni! Odmah sam mislio čim je tako duboko. (Who dug your eye out? Your own brother! That is why it is so deep!)

At least, the proverbs do not say anything so brutal about female nature. On the contrary, sister's love for a brother is believed to be impeccable and eternal. In Serbian tradition there are almost no examples of sisters hurting or murdering their brothers. That is why there is no mentioning of it in proverbs. This is, maybe, one of the few recognitions that female gender can get in Serbian tradition.

Conclusion

We cannot say that we know a language if we are not familiar with the culture of people who speak that language. Cultural competence, among other things, implies knowledge of customs, beliefs, conventions and systems of meaning of one country and its people. Tradition is something that is very important in some countries, among which is Serbia. The spirit of old times is best seen through folk wisdom in the form of short, pity sayings known as proverbs. Proverbs are characterized by their shortness, symmetry, rhythm and vivid imagery. There is always difference between semantic and pragmatic meaning of proverbs, as, with time, their apparent meaning becomes more metaphorical. Proverbs deal with many topics, but the one often mentioned, is family, that is, the relations that exist within it. In Serbian tradition family is essentially important. It reflects the happenings in the society itself, and its structure is the structure of the society it is a part of. Serbian proverbs reflect the gender differences arising from the patriarchal system of its society in which the male sex has the leading role. Females are subordinate to their male relatives, and their opinion does not matter. The ageing principle is also in favor of male representatives, because being old does not have the same implications for men and women. Only sometimes, the values attributed to female sex are recognized. It is only in case when women are seen through their role of a wife and a mother of a family. Through proverbs different relations are shown: the ones between a man and a woman, children and parents and brothers and sisters, but all of them have one same trait- in all of them gender differences are apparent. We can say that time has changed and with it traditional values and customs, but that is not completely true. Even today in villages, but in many towns, too, the same gender differences can be found. Women do not have the same rights, they are not equally paid for their work, there is a lot of family abuse. Same old prejudices are still running in our society. Women are underestimated in many segments of modern life despite their educational and professional success. Their main role is still the role of a mother and a wife. Old

habits are hard to change. The equality of genders is still far away, and the fight continues. The roots are deep and reach far back into the past, to the first proverb that set the pattern.

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PORODIČNI ODNOSI I RODNE RAZLIKE U SRPSKIM POSLOVICAMA

Rad se bavi poslovicama kao izvorom narodne mudrosti i njihovim uticajem na život današnjih generacija. Tema rada su odnosi unutar porodice, a posebna pažnja je posvećena razlikama koje se tiču roda, odnosno muškog i ženskog pola. Porodica kao osnovni deo društva odslikava odnose i sisteme vrednosti koji u njemu preovlađuju. Patrijalno društvo podržava patrijarhalne odnose, a porodice koje su deo takvog društva slede isti obrazac. Muški članovi porodice imaju više prava, njihova reč veću težinu i uživaju veći ugled nego ženski deo porodice. Žena je gotovo uvek podređena, obespravljeni i zanemarena, osim kada je u ulozi majke porodice. Funkcija majke unutar porodice je izuzetno cenjena u srpskoj tradiciji. Žena se uglavnom određuje prema svom izgledu, pa je tako lepotu tokom mladosti predmet sumnje i nepoverenja, a staro doba predmet

ismevanja. Kod muških članova starenje je pozitivno i sa sobom donosi poštovanje i mudrost. Iako smatramo da živimo u modernom društvu neopterećenom predrasudama, tradicionalne vrednosti i odnosi unutar porodice i društva su još uvek vidljivi i nisu puno različiti od onih opisanih u poslovicama od pre stotinu godina.

Ključne reči: poslovica, porodica, odnosi, rod.

ANGLICISMS IN CROATIAN TOURISM BROCHURES

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Abstract: This paper analyzes the use of anglicisms in Croatian tourism brochures. The research has been undertaken having three main objectives in mind. Firstly, it focuses on the frequency of anglicisms in investigated corpora. Secondly, the analysis includes the phonological, orthographic, morphological, syntactic and semantic integration of English words into the *receiver* language. In the presented research the authors have also tried to reveal the motivation for the use of anglicisms in Croatian tourism brochures. The research has shown that the frequency of anglicisms in tourism brochures depends mostly on the type of the analyzed text. Anglicisms become integrated into the system of Croatian language at the level of orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. In the field of orthography the integration is less noticeable. Anglicisms have an important gap-filling function which is also the main motive for their use. Moreover some anglicisms are used because they are more precise than their Croatian equivalents and some of them because they are shorter. In Croatian tourism brochures anglicisms have an important function and should be treated as a normal language phenomenon since they not only enrich the communication but also have no alternative.

Key Words: angicism, tourism brochure, frequency of anglicisms, integration of anglicisms, motivation for the use of anglicisms.

1. Introduction

The growing international relevance of English has left its traces in many languages. English is the language of technological and scientific development, trade, diplomacy, sports and media. It is widely used in everyday conversation as well. The influence of English on other languages is especially pervasive in the area of languages for specific purposes. In the commercial world, which is shaped by global brands, anglicisms are likely to increase in languages all over the world. The increasing international influence of English has been welcomed by some people, but criticized by many others as well. While some appreciate its political, economic and cultural advantages, others are sensitive to a possible threat to other languages and cultures. From the viewpoint of linguistics, lexical borrowing is a natural process which has been going on since the beginning of languages and language-induced contact and it can not be denied that the borrowing from foreign languages facilitates and enriches the communication.

The tourism industry, as one of the most important economic factors on the global market, also uses many anglicisms. Through anglicisms it often tries to attract potential customers, which are expected to achieve recognizability and profitability on the very competitive tourist market. Especially the field of advertising is overcrowded with anglicisms. Many studies of the increasing number of anglicisms in modern languages have been made during the last two decades, but the language of tourism has not been in the focus of interest of these studies.

This paper analyses the use of anglicisms in Croatian tourism brochures. The analysis has been undertaken having three main objectives in mind. Firstly, it focuses on the frequency of anglicisms in investigated corpora. Secondly it analyses the phonological, orthographic, morphological, syntactic and semantic integration of English words into the *receiver* language. The authors have also tried to reveal the motivation for the use of anglicisms in Croatian tourism brochures.

2. Definition and Classification of Anglicisms

2.1 Definition of Anglicisms

If we talk about anglicisms it should be noted that different linguists define this term in different ways. According to Zindler (1945) an anglicism is not only every British or American English word in the German language, or any unusual compound word, but also every kind of alteration of a German word meaning or word usage (loan meaning, loan translation, loan rendition, loan creation, etc.) according to the British or American model. Filipović (2017) defines anglicisms as English loanwords that have to be adapted to the system of the receiving language.

According to Onysko (2007) the term anglicism could be used as an umbrella term to cover any instance of transmission from English to a receiving language, which means that every impact of an English transmission and the resulting reaction in other languages could be considered an anglicism. Anglicism is not only a word borrowed from English into another language, but also an English meaning and structure used in another language. This definition has been applied in this paper for the identification of anglicisms.

2.2 Classification of Anglicisms

Proceeding from the orthographic and morphological criteria Oeldorf (1990: 38) distinguishes between anglicisms as transferred loanwords (no assimilation), partially integrated loanwords (anglicisms that contain one criterion of assimilation) and integrated loanwords (anglicisms that contain two criteria of assimilation).

Gottlieb (1999: 103) differentiates between active and reactive anglicisms. Active anglicisms are “overt lexical borrowings” (formally marked anglicisms), “covert lexical borrowings” (formally assimilated words), loan translations (including hybrids) and pseudo anglicisms. Reactive anglicisms are primarily semantic changes of already existing terms in the receiving language that are triggered by a role model in the source language. While loan translations and pseudo anglicisms are language inherent creations, “overt lexical borrowings” are the result of lexical transfer in the receiver language. Pseudo anglicisms and hybrid anglicisms are the result of lexical productivity in the receiver language. “The term pseudo anglicism describes the phenomenon that occurs when the receiver language uses lexical elements of the source language to create a neologism in the receiver language that is unknown in the source language” (Onysko 2007: 52). According to Sørensen (1995: 18) pseudo anglicisms are “words that look English, but which deviate from genuine English words either formally or semantically”. A hybrid anglicism is a combination of an English word and of elements of the receiver language. It is a mixture of native and borrowed morphemes. Among hybrid anglicisms compound nouns are the largest group.

3. Tourism Brochures

Brochures are the most popular medium used by tourism advertisers. It has been said that “the travel world is awash with brochures” (Middleton 1989). The advantages of brochures are their relatively low cost, flexibility and portability. Brochures are produced for both promotional and information purposes and tend to involve the use of colour photographs and texts overly laden with adjectives and adverbs to sell attractive images of destinations, resorts and hotels to potential customers. Brochures are a vital part of the tourism marketing mix, speaking directly to customers at the critical point where they are making a buying decision. According to the research of The International Association of Professional Brochure Distributors on the effectiveness of brochures, 40% of tourists say that tourism brochures influence unplanned stops. For 32% of tourists travel brochures are the most trusted information source and 65% of tourists used brochure display racks during their trip. This research has revealed that over half the people who take brochures report that brochures have influenced their purchase or plans, even facilitating people to change their plans while travelling (Brochure Management South Africa 2012). When compared to other advertising mediums, brochures provide the most immediately available detailed information, contacts and visuals. They form a critical part of an integrated marketing strategy and are an extremely cost-effective and high impact advertising solution. Brochures reach the most potential customers, so many think that the “physical value” of an attractive

brochure cannot be replaced by other forms of communication (Middleton 1989). It is the most powerful driving force in the field of tourism. The aim of a brochure is “to persuade, lure, woo and seduce millions of human beings, and, in so doing, convert them from potential into actual clients” (Dann 2001). The most important purpose of a tourism brochure is informing and promoting. It serves as a substitute for the destination or facility until the moment of arrival in a tourist resort. A brochure should be easy to read and attractive. It contains not only a verbal message, but also pictures as a very strong means of communication. Brochures have two main communicative functions. Firstly, they provide practical information which visitors may use in their trip decision making and planning processes (informative function) and secondly they establish an image of the destination as a viable alternative when planning future trips (persuasive function).

The tourism brochure is a hybrid genre including various text types. According to Mason (2004: 157) it displays an almost fixed set of “moves”: a) evaluative claims about the place/facility to visit, b) brief history of the resort/facility, c) guided tour of the main attractions, d) practical details (e.g. how to get there, e) regulations (e.g. restrictions concerning animals, food, photography, etc.). Each move has its own communicative function which is best served by a set of language features. Texts of tourism brochures are grouped together according to the linguistic features they share. The most noticeable text types of tourism brochures are hotel descriptions, descriptions of tourist destinations and travel programs.

4. Research

4.1 Corpus and Methods

Nowadays, most tourism promotional materials such as brochures, advertisements and travel programs are available online on the web pages of tourist agencies, hotels etc. and potential tourists worldwide look for information and use the internet to book their holidays. That is why this paper analyzes anglicisms in tourism brochures which appear on relevant websites. For this purpose two text types were chosen: hotel descriptions and descriptions of tourist destinations. The research is based on a corpus of 20 hotel descriptions taken from the website <http://www.booking.com> (3 404 words) and 20 descriptions of tourist destinations taken from the website (3 425 words). The website <http://www.booking.com> contains descriptions of about 185 880 hotels worldwide and numerous customer reviews about the hotels which can be booked online. The hotels chosen from this website are representative regarding their category, type, services and facilities. They vary from small family run hotels to first-class hotels. Most of them are resort hotels. The website is part of the official website of the Croatian National Tourist Board

which represents the national tourist organization founded to promote and create the identity and the reputation of Croatian tourism. This website contains descriptions of Croatian tourist regions and destinations. To make the corpus as representative as possible various destinations were chosen regarding their location, size and tourist importance. In this context it should be pointed out that descriptions of hotels and tourist destinations are the most commonly represented text types in tourism.

The selected corpus was copied from the internet during November 2014, printed out, and all words considered to be anglicisms, as well as the context in which they occurred, were highlighted. After that, the status of the presumed anglicism was verified in the following reference books: *Hrvatski enciklopedijski rječnik* (2004), *Rječnik stranih riječi* (2002), *Anglicizmi u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku – Rječnik anglicizama* (1990). The status of the English loanwords in the source language was checked in *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2005) and in *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2003). The registered anglicisms were listed and counted in order to find out how many of them were recorded in each text type. Subsequently the list was ordered alphabetically and the number of occurrences was entered next to each anglicism.

4.2 Frequency of Anglicisms

In the corpus of the hotel descriptions, which contains 3 404 words, 250 anglicisms (tokens) were registered. Consequently 7,04% words in this corpus are anglicisms. Among them 115 types (111 nouns and 5 adjectives) and 85 root morphemes were registered. The most frequent anglicisms, which appear in the analyzed hotel brochures, are: *WC* (20), *sat TV* (18), *sef* (15), *aperitiv bar* (14), *internet* (13), *sport* (13), *tenis* (12), *minigolf* (10), *mini bar* (15) *fitness centar* (11), *animacija* (10) *wellness* (10).

In the corpus of descriptions of tourist destinations, which contains 3 425 words, 42 anglicisms (tokens) were registered. Consequently 1,22 % words in the corpus are anglicisms. Among them there are 28 types (24 nouns and 4 adjectives) and 25 root morphemes. The most frequent anglicisms in this corpus are: *turistički* (8), *sport* (7), *park* (4), *turizam* (4), *tenis* (3), *sportski* (3), *turist* (3), *fitness* (2).

Hotel descriptions			Descriptions of tourist destinations	
	Anglicisms	Frequency	Anglicisms	Frequency
1.	WC	20	turistički	8
2.	sat TV	18	Sport	7
3.	sef	15	Park	4
4.	aperitiv bar	14	turizam	4

5.	sport	13	Tenis	3
6.	internet	13	sportski	3
7.	tenis	12	Turist	3
8.	minigolf/mini-golf	10	fitness	2

Table 1. The Most Frequent Anglicisms in the Corpus

Table 1 provides an overview of the most frequent anglicisms in the corpus of hotel descriptions and in the corpus of descriptions of tourist destinations.

Proceeding from the frequency of anglicisms the number of anglicisms in hotel descriptions is about seven times higher than in descriptions of tourist destinations. It is mostly due to the fact that many new technical terms appearing in hotel descriptions have no equivalents in the Croatian language.

The comparison of the frequency of anglicisms in this corpus with some others like the corpus of sports pages in Croatian newspapers, which has a frequency of 2,3%, and the corpus of Croatian chat communication (2010: 121), which has a frequency of 1,9%, shows that the number of anglicisms in hotel descriptions is much higher than in other corpora, and in the descriptions of tourist destinations it is lower.

4.3 Integration of Anglicisms

According to Carstensen (1979: 155), integration is the collective term for all processes of gradual assimilation of loanwords according to the receiving language. The linguistic borrowing process begins with the model transfer from the source language to the receiving language (Sočanac et al. 2005: 9). In terms of the phonological representation of anglicisms Filipović (1997: 83) distinguishes between zero transphonemisation, partial transphonemisation and free transphonemisation. Zero transphonemisation concerns the terms that are pronounced in the same way in the source language and in the receiving language, partial transphonemisation is used for partial sound substitutions and free transphonemisation for unrestricted sound substitutions. Filipović applies similar categories on the level of the morphological assimilation as he distinguishes between zero transmorphemisation (anglicisms that have the same form as their English source words), compromise transmorphemisation (anglicisms that preserve the suffix of the English source words) and transmorphemisation (the English suffix of the source word can be replaced with a suffix of the receiving language that has the same function).

In the integration process the foreign word (model) is adapted to the system of the receiving language on different linguistic levels and turns into a loanword. On the other hand there is an increasing number of loan translations that remain unaltered in the receiving language and function as foreign words.

It cannot be said which of them will eventually turn into loan translations. According to some predictions, the number of anglicisms will increase in all European languages, and the majority will keep their original orthography (Görlach 1997: 91).

The level of integration of anglicisms is distinguished either by the different linguistic levels or from speaker to speaker, i.e. from language to language (Görlach 2003: 94; Busse 2001: 141). It is dynamic and depends on the distribution of a certain word, but it can also be influenced by the prestige that the source language has among speakers of the receiving language.

4.3.1 Phonological Integration

The level of phonological integration is determined by the degree of similarity and dissimilarity between the phonological systems of Croatian and English, for there are sounds in English which do not exist in Croatian. As a result, the pronunciation of an anglicism is only partially the same as the English source word. All anglicisms from the corpus are fully integrated into the Croatian phonological system. For instance in Croatian there is no equivalent for the English labio-velar sound *w* and where a word is written with a *w*, it is always pronounced as a /v/ sound (*windsurfing, wellness*).

4.3.2 Orthographic Integration

With reference to orthographic integration there are three types of anglicisms: a) anglicisms integrated according to their pronunciation; b) anglicisms which kept their original orthography; c) anglicisms with variable orthography. Most anglicisms in this corpus are integrated according to their pronunciation (*koktel, centar, sef, hobi*). Some anglicisms kept their original orthography (*fitness, wellness, jacuzzi*) and some of them have variable orthography (*disco/disko, club/klub, aerobic/aerobik*).

It is obvious that the grade of integration depends on the time when an anglicism was borrowed. Older anglicisms are orthographically fully integrated and the very recent ones kept their original orthography.

Most compounds are written as two words without a hyphen (*snack bar, show cooking*) and there are only a few compounds which are written as one word (*supermarket*), or as two words with a hyphen between them (*check-in, check-out, room-service*). The orthography of some anglicisms varies between hyphenation and compounds written as one word.

4.3.3 Morphological Integration

Morphological integration concerns nouns, adjectives and verbs. This and other research (Blažević, Bosnar-Valković 2009; Bažević, Vaić 2010: 121; Kovacz 2008: 75) showed that English nominal borrowings predominate not only in Croatian but also in other languages (nearly 86,12% of anglicisms are nouns). As far as the integration of nominal anglicisms in Croatian is concerned, grammatical gender constitutes the most striking paradigm. As English does not distinguish grammatical gender, an anglicism must be assigned one of three Croatian genders. Masculine are anglicisms without a suffix which end in a consonant (*sport, sef, bar, park*), anglicisms which consist of a verb and a particle (*check-in, check-out*) and anglicisms which end in -er, -o, -i/y, -u, -ing, -ness and -ment (*party, casino, fitness, flipper, jogging*). Feminine are anglicisms which end in -a (*animacija*), and neuter are anglicisms which end in -nje (*surfanje*). Male or female persons take over the respective masculine or feminine gender. Regarding the declension, nominal anglicisms are fully integrated into Croatian.

Adjectives borrowed from English can present some problems since they do not necessarily take their respective Croatian adjectival endings. According to morphological integration, the corpus distinguishes between two groups of adjectival anglicisms: (1) adjectives that attain Croatian endings (*sportski, turistički*) and (2) adjectives that retain their original form and do not acquire endings from the receiving language (*cool, fit*). The majority of adjectives in the Croatian language are integrated by assigning Croatian inflections. All adjectives from the first group can be used as attributes and as predicates, and the second group contains adjectives that only occur as predicates or adverbs (e.g. *in, fit*). Attributively used adjectives, that are assigned Croatian suffixes after borrowing, can be easily declined and they agree with the noun with respect to number, case and gender. Other adjectives, which have not been integrated into the Croatian morphological system, cannot be declined (e.g. *cool, top, fit*). Adjectival anglicisms that can be declined, can also be compared according to Croatian adjective comparison rules. Such examples were not registered in this corpus.

Borrowed verbs are usually adapted to the Croatian morphological system. The Croatian verb formation elements, person inflections and inflections for tense and voice are added to the English verb. The first step for verb integration in both languages is determining the infinitive form. The Croatian language registers two infinitive endings: -ati (*surf-at(i)*) and -irati (*jogg-irati*). During the integration process into Croatian some verbal anglicisms acquire prefixes that modify their meaning (e.g. *po-chatati, iz-boksati, iz-miksati*, etc.). Such examples of verbs with prefixes were not registered in this corpus.

4.3.4 Semantic Integration

From a semantic point of view, four groups of anglicisms can be distinguished: anglicisms with unchanged meaning, anglicisms with narrowed meaning, anglicisms with broadened meaning and anglicisms with a shift in meaning (Filović 1990). Anglicisms with unchanged meaning contain the same scope of meaning of the model and the replica. The majority of anglicisms with unchanged meaning can be found in topics with clearly defined vocabulary (e.g. *sports, fashion, music, telecommunication*). Neologisms also belong to this category, since they have not yet developed their new or additional meaning. Anglicisms with a narrowed meaning constitute a kind of specialized meaning. These are lexemes that are polysemous in the source language and that have transferred a reduced number of meanings into the receiving language. Narrowed meaning is the most common change during the borrowing process (Görlach 2003: 197). A particularly important result of the semantic integration is the so called broadening of meaning. Since the broadening of meaning requires the complete integration of the loanword into the system of the receiving language, such examples are relatively rare in contemporary corpora. The process of semantic integration can also lead to shifts in meaning. The essential meanings of such anglicisms in the receiving language do not coincide with their English meanings. Another characteristic of the shift in meaning is that the original meaning is not transferred into the receiving language.

The corpus of Croatian tourism brochures recorded many examples of anglicisms with unchanged meaning. This kind of anglicism can usually be found in technical language (e.g. *minibar, biljar, sport, tenis, jogging*), which is monosemous in English. A few anglicisms have narrowed meaning (e.g. *lift, sef*), but there were no recorded anglicisms with broadened or shifted meaning.

4.3.5 Syntactic Integration

Since English is becoming the language of international communication, anglicisms not only influence the vocabulary of the receiving language, but also its syntax. The influence of English has increased dramatically in recent years, and Zimmer (2002: 53) sees this as a danger for all receiving languages.

In the corpus of Croatian tourism brochures the influence of English on the Croatian language is syntactically present in cases when the genitive case attribute is replaced by the typically English noun + noun construct, as well as in the case government of nouns. The Croatian genitive case attribute is replaced by a syntagm which corresponds to the English syntactic model. This syntagm consists of two nouns, the first of which functions as an attribute (e.g. *internet caffe* instead of *internetski caffe*, *koktel bar* instead of *koktelski bar*).

Furthermore, English influence changes the case government of nouns, e.g. the preposition, which is typical for Croatian, is omitted (e.g. *wellness centar* instead of *centar za wellness*).

5. Motives for the Use of Anglicisms

Borrowings never occur without reason (Görlach 2003: 94). Their purpose is often to close lexical gaps in the receiving language, e.g. when the introduction of new objects into a linguistic community calls for a new term. One of the main reasons for borrowing foreign vocabulary is therefore linked to referring to new objects and facts. There are many other motives for the use of anglicisms. Most of them (Galinsky 1967: 35) refer to the stylistic functions such as conveying an English/American atmosphere or setting (*pub, koktel, bar*), establishing precision (*all inclusive, check-in, check-out, leasing, outsourcing*), effecting brevity – anglicisms are more economical than domestic words (*spa, WC*), or creating variation of expression (*fan ~ ljubitelj, tim ~ momčad*).

Most anglicisms from the corpus of Croatian tourism brochures are used because there are no equivalents in the Croatian language so they fill in semantic gaps (new words for new things like *sport, tenis, wellness*). Some anglicisms are used because they are more precise than their Croatian equivalents (*animacija, snack, bar*), some of them are shorter (*WC, TV, facelifting*), a few of them express an English/American atmosphere (*pub, cocktail*), and there are some anglicisms which are used because they can be considered modern international terms (*turizam, rent a car, show cooking*, etc.).

In the corpus of Croatian tourism brochures anglicisms generally point out the domains of sports (*aerobik, tennis, fitness, jogging, rafting, surf, golf, flipper, fitness*, etc.), entertainment and leisure (*disko, bar, festival, nigh-club, party, pub, show*), food and drinks (*brunch, koktel, snack, lunch-paket*) and new technologies (*computer, internet, telefaks, TV*).

6. Conclusion

This paper analyzed anglicisms in Croatian tourism brochures with reference to their frequency, integration and motives for their use. The research has shown that the frequency of anglicisms in tourism brochures depends mostly on the type of the analyzed text. In the corpus of hotel descriptions there are nearly seven times more anglicisms than in descriptions of tourist destinations. This is not surprising since the majority of borrowings in the text type hotel description in contrast to the text type description of a tourist destination refer to new inventions and concepts from the field of sports, entertainment and leisure, which first appeared in English-speaking countries,

mainly in the United States, and there are no corresponding expressions in Croatian for these concepts.

In tourism brochures anglicisms have an important gap-filling function which also constitutes the main motive for their use. However, it must also be mentioned that in some cases their precision, brevity and variation of expression gives anglicisms priority in relation to Croatian words.

Anglicisms become integrated into the system of Croatian language at the level of orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. The lowest grade of integration is registered in the field of orthography and it particularly concerns words which have been borrowed recently.

This research has confirmed that anglicisms have an important function in Croatian tourism brochures and should be treated as a normal language phenomenon that enriches the Croatian language and primarily its lexicon.

The results of this research can have implications on the oral and written communication in tourism and on the authors and translators of Croatian tourism brochures. The research has revealed, that anglicisms should not be avoided at any cost as some language purists require, since they not only enrich the communication but also in many cases have no alternative.

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ANGLIZMI U HRVATSKIM TURISTIČKIM BROŠURAMA

U radu se analizira upotreba anglizama u hrvatskim turističkim brošurama. Istraživanje je provedeno s ciljem da se utvrdi učestalost anglizama u odbaranom korpusu, odredi stupanj njihove integracije u hrvatski jezični sustav na ortografskoj, morfološkoj, sintaktičkoj i semantičkoj razini i analiziraju motivi njihove upotrebe. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da učestalost anglizama u najvećoj mjeri ovisi o tekstnoj vrsti u kojoj se pojavljuju. Integracija anglizama u hrvatski jezični sustav vrši se na ortografskoj, morfološkoj, sintaktičkoj i semantičkoj razini, a najslabije je izražena na ortografskoj razini. Anglizmi se najčešće koriste za popunjavanje leksičkih praznina, a kao motivi njihove upotrebe nerijetko se bilježe i preciznost i jezična ekonomičnost. U hrvatskim turističkim brošurama anglizmi se mogu smatrati korisnim jezičnim sredstvima koja obogaćuju komunikaciju budući da ih često nije moguće zamijeniti odgovarajućim riječima u jeziku primatelju.

Ključne riječi: anglozi, turistička brošura, učestalost anglozima, integracija anglozima, motivi upotrebe anglozima.

ENTLEHNUNGSGRÜNDE DER ANGLIZISMEN IN DER DEUTSCHEN TOURISMUS-FACHSPRACHE

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Zusammenfassung: Diese Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit den Entlehnungsgründen der Anglizismen in der deutschen Tourismusfachsprache. Die kontroverse Frage der Fachsprachlichkeit der Tourismusfachsprache wird diskutiert und der Anglizismusbegriff bestimmt. Die Entlehnungsgründe der Anglizismen wurden im Rahmen der drei Subkorpora – Subkorpus der Reisekataloge, Fachzeitschriften und fachwissenschaftlichen Publikationen untersucht. Die häufigsten Entlehnungsgründe - Schließen lexikalischer Lücken, Sprachökonomie, Bedeutungsdifferenzierung, Lokalkolorit, pädagogischer Aspekt (fachliche und sprachliche Kompetenz) und Globalisierung der Sprache - wurden in Bezug auf die typischen Textsorten und Kommunikationspartner – Emittenten und Rezipienten - analysiert.

Schlüsselwörter: Tourismus(fach)sprache, Anglizismus, Entlehnungsgründe, Textsorten, Kommunikationspartner

1. Die Tourismus(fach)sprache

In den letzten Jahren hat der Tourismus mit einer immensen Zahl der Beschäftigten weltweit, eine boomende Entwicklung durchgemacht, wobei die neuesten Technologien und Kommunikationsmittel eingesetzt werden.

Die Frage, ob die Tourismussprache als Fachsprache betrachtet werden kann, ist immer noch ein kontroverses Thema. Der Grund dafür liegt in der Tatsache, dass im Gegensatz zu anderen Fachsprachen, die Tourismussprache nicht nur von einer begrenzten Gruppe von Spezialisten und Fachleuten, sondern auch von Laien gebraucht wird, was diese zu einem leicht verständlichen Sprachregister macht. Die Kontroversen hinsichtlich der fraglichen Fachsprachlichkeit der Tourismussprache wurden aufgelöst, als, außer der Kommunikation zwischen Fachleuten, auch die Kommunikation zwischen Laien und Fachleuten als fachsprachliche Kommunikation akzeptiert wurde, sodass aus dieser erweiterten Perspektive der Begriff Fachdiskurs (specialized discourse) hervorgegangen ist (Gotti 19). Der Fachdiskurs ist demgemäß eine Kommunikationsform, in der außer fachsprachlichen auch gemeinsprachliche

Ausdrücke verwendet werden, und zwar in den Textsorten und Kommunikationssituationen, die für einen Fachbereich charakteristisch sind. Es ist evident, dass die Tourismussprache einerseits über eine große Anzahl von Ähnlichkeiten mit der Gemeinsprache verfügt, sodass nach Gotti (19) kein hohes Niveau an Spezialisierung vorausgesetzt wird, um diese zu verstehen, andererseits aber in der Tourismussprache eine ganz besondere Art der Fachkommunikation verwendet wird. Der italienische Sprachwissenschaftler Gotti (21) hat hervorgehoben, dass die Gemeinsprache als ein wichtiger Teil der Tourismussprache auf eine kreative und originelle Art und Weise behandelt wird, d.h. dass die lexikalischen, phonetischen und morphosyntaktischen Ressourcen der Gemeinsprache als Bausteine in die Tourismusfachsprache eingebaut und in die Fachtexte eingesetzt werden.

Bei der Bestimmung der Tourismussprache als Fachsprache wählen wir das Kriterium der Fachsprachlichkeit als Grundvoraussetzung. Auf dem Kriterium der Fachsprachlichkeit und nicht in der Opposition zwischen der Gemein- und Fachsprache beruht das Modell der gleitenden Skala von Kalverkämper(105). In der „gleitenden Skala“ wird die Fachsprache nur im Verhältnis zu ihrer Fachsprachlichkeit analysiert. Die Position auf der Skala hängt von dem Kommunikationsgegenstand und den Kommunikationspartnern ab. Die Fachsprachlichkeit kann sowohl als eine textliche, als auch als eine terminologische Eigenschaft betrachtet werden, sodass die Fachtexte und Fachterminologie mehr oder weniger fachlich gefärbt werden können.

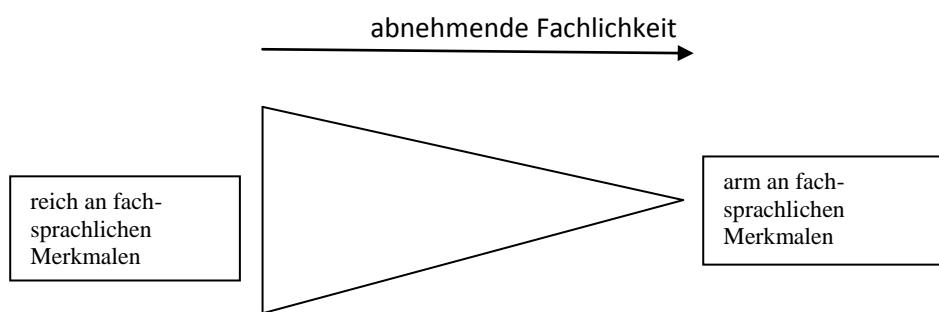


Abb. 1. Modell der „gleitenden Skala“ nach Kalverkämper, 1989: 124.
Quelle: Lee-Jahnke, Vertikale Komplexität und horizontale Spezialisierung, 2006: 56.

Die Fachsprachlichkeit ist in Form eines Dreiecks dargestellt. Seine Basis präsentiert eine stark ausgeprägte Fachsprachlichkeit, während die Spitze der beiden Schenkel eine schwach ausgeprägte Fachsprachlichkeit darstellt.

Neben dem Mangel an einem eigenen "eingeschränkten Code", zeigt die Tourismusfachsprache auch keine klaren funktionalen Grenzen und keinen definierten Inhalt, denn Tourismus selbst umfasst verschiedene Bereiche wie

Sport, Geographie, Kunstgeschichte, Informationstechnologie usw. Davon ausgehend definiert Calvi (33) die Tourismusfachsprache als "un linguaggio dalla fisionomias fuggente" – eine Sprache fluider Natur. Wir können daraus schließen, dass die Tourismusfachsprache trotz mancher Merkmale, die für Fachsprachen nicht typisch sind, den Status einer unabhängigen Fachsprache hat, die mit der Entwicklung der organisierten Reisen in den 60iger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts erschienen ist und sich schnell unter dem Einfluss vom Markt und seinen Medien entwickelt hat. Aufgrund ihrer Interdisziplinarität, ihrer ausgeprägten Funktion als Werbung und Persuasion, ebenso auf Grund der Abwesenheit einer hochkodierten Terminologie und der Tatsache, dass die Laien und die Gemeinsprache in der Kommunikation im Tourismus einen bemerkenswerten Anteil einnehmen, präsentiert die Tourismusfachsprache eine unabhängige Fachsprache, deren Fachsprachlichkeit variiert und die über eigene spezifische lexikalische, semantische, morphosyntaktische und Textmerkmale verfügt. In anderen Worten ist die Tourismusfachsprache ein Kommunikationsmittel, das von Fachleuten und Laien gebraucht wird und der Verbalisierung der bestimmten Kommunikationsabsichten dient.

Dementsprechend sind verschiedene Textsorten eigentlich das Resultat der Verbalisierung der Tourismusfachsprache.

2. Untersuchtes Korpus und Methode

In Anlehnung an die oben angeführten Merkmale der Tourismusfachsprache und hinsichtlich ihrer Interdisziplinarität, wurde das untersuchte Korpus in drei Subkorpora unterteilt – Subkorpus der Reisekataloge, Fachzeitschriften und fachwissenschaftlichen Publikationen. In jedem Subkorpus wurden typische Textsorten analysiert. Als typische Textsorten im Subkorpus der Reisekataloge wurden Hotelprospekte, Reiseprogramme und Destinationsbeschreibungen selektiert, im Subkorpus der Fachzeitschriften Stellenanzeigen, Reportagen und Interviews und innerhalb der fachwissenschaftlichen Publikationen Geschäftsbriebe, Dissertationen, wissenschaftliche und Fachbeiträge. In jedem Subkorpus wurden in seinen repräsentativen Textsorten die Anglizismen identifiziert und im Hinblick auf ihre Entlehnungsgründe und Kommunikationspartner analysiert.

3. Anglizismusbegriffsbestimmung

Die Terminologie des Tourismus wird durch einen immer größeren Einfluss von Anglizismen bestimmt. Gerade diese intensive Verbreitung von Anglizismen hat uns motiviert, ihre Entlehnungsgründe zu erforschen. Im folgenden Text wird zuerst der Anglizismusbegriff bestimmt.

Es gibt sehr viele Definitionen des Begriffs *Anglizismus*, weil er im Laufe der Zeit viele Veränderungen erfahren hat, und zwar im Sinne von Bedeutungserweiterungen und -einschränkungen. Im folgenden Text werden, die für diese Arbeit relevanten Definitionen, angeführt.

In vielen Untersuchungen zum Thema *Anglizismus* wird zunächst von Zindlers Definition ausgegangen, die durch Carstensen (30) eine Erweiterung im Hinblick auf die Laut-, Satz- und Textebene, sowie die Differenzierung zwischen Britizismen und Amerikanismen, erfahren hat (Vgl. Adler 2004: 47). Für Zindler ist ein Anglizismus nicht nur „ein Wort aus dem britischen oder amerikanischen Englisch im Deutschen oder eine nicht übliche Wortkomposition“, sondern auch „jede Art der Veränderung einer deutschen Wortbedeutung oder Wortverwendung (Lehnbedeutung, Lehnübersetzung, Lehnübertragung, Lehnabschöpfung usw.) nach britischem oder amerikanischem Vorbild“ (Zitiert nach Busse 1993: 15). Nach Schütte (38) ist ein Anglizismus „ein sprachliches Zeichen, das ganz oder teilweise aus englischen Morphemen besteht, unabhängig davon, ob es mit einer im englischen Sprachgebrauch üblichen Bedeutung verbunden ist oder nicht.“ Auch gemäß Tautenhahn (20) ist ein „Anglizismus ein sprachliches Zeichen, das ganz oder teilweise aus englischen Morphemen besteht, die auch orthographisch schon dem Deutschen angeglichen sein können (z. B. *record* → *Rekord*). Es ist gleichgültig, ob ein Anglizismus in einer im Englischen üblichen Weise verwendet wird oder nicht.“ In seinem „Anglizismen-Wörterbuch“, das sich ausschließlich mit dem englischen Einfluss auf den Wortschatz befasst, fasst Carstensen (138) den Begriff Anglizismus sehr weit, indem er zu Anglizismen alle Arten lexikalischer Entlehnungen zählt, die nach 1945 entweder direkt aus dem Englischen oder aus einer anderen Sprache (z. B. Latein) über das Englische in die deutsche Sprache übertragen wurden. Unter dem Begriff *Anglizismus* wird nach Busse (134) „jede Erscheinung einer einheimischen, hier der deutschen Sprache verstanden, die auf Transferenz der englischen Sprache zurückgeht. Anglizismus wird dabei als ein Oberbegriff für alle Varietäten der englischen Sprache aufgefasst.“ In dieser Arbeit wird das Wort *Anglizismus* in Anlehnung an Busse (134), Schütte (38) und Carstensen (138) als jede Erscheinung einer einheimischen Sprache verstanden, die auf die Transferenz der englischen Sprache zurückgeht. Es ist dabei gleichgültig, ob ein Anglizismus mit einer im englischen Sprachgebrauch üblichen Bedeutung verbunden ist oder nicht. Zu Anglizismen zählen auch die sogenannten Internationalismen, die über das Englische in die deutsche Sprache eingedrungen sind. Diesbezüglich muss betont werden, dass in dieser Arbeit, wie in vielen anderen auch, nicht zwischen Britizismen, Amerikanismen oder Entlehnungen aus anderen englischsprachigen Ländern unterschieden wird. Einerseits ist die Herkunft der Anglizismen schwer nachzuweisen und andererseits ist es für die vorliegende Untersuchung nicht von Bedeutung.

4. Entlehnungsgründe der Anglizismen

Wenn man den englischen Einfluss als Aneignungsverfahren der Entlehnungen betrachtet, stellt sich die Frage nach den Entlehnungsgründen.

Entlehnungen werden nie grundlos vorgenommen (Vgl. Görlach 1997: 92). Sie dienen häufig dazu, lexikalische Lücken in der Nehmersprache zu schließen, z. B. wenn durch die Einführung neuer Gegenstände in eine Sprachgemeinschaft eine neue Bezeichnung notwendig wird (Vgl. Zifonun 2000: 70, Heller 2002: 186). Einer der Hauptgründe für die Übernahme fremdsprachlichen Wortgutes hängt also mit der Bezeichnung neuer Dinge und Sachverhalte zusammen. Englische Wörter werden meist durch neue Trends und Entwicklungen in bestimmten Bereichen in andere Sprachen übernommen. Aufgrund der Führerrolle der USA in Wissenschaft und Technik ist Englisch eine Weltsprache geworden und wird heute als Lingua Franca bezeichnet. In Bezug auf die Tourismusfachsprache muss man damit rechnen, dass der Tourismus als Phänomen zum größten Teil in der englischen Sprache realisiert wird.

Die meisten Anglizismen in der Tourismusfachsprache kommen im Bereich der Freizeit, Unterhaltung, Gastronomie, Wellness, Werbung, Computer- und Informationstechnologie, neuer Medien, des Sports, der Wirtschaft und des Handels vor.

Wenn ein Wort nicht zur Bezeichnung neuer Gegenstände und Prozesse entlehnt wird, sind die Gründe für die Entlehnung von Anglizismen meistens stilistische Motive.

Die Korpusanalyse hat gezeigt, dass die Anglizismen aus verschiedenen Gründen entlehnt werden. Die häufigsten sind Schließen lexikalischer Lücken, Sprachökonomie und Bedeutungsdifferenzierung. Während das Schließen lexikalischer Lücken ein sprachlich motivierter Grund ist, sind andere Gründe außersprachlicher Natur und ihr Gebrauch wird in Zusammenhang mit den Kommunikationspartnern, bzw. mit den Emittenten und der Zielgruppe der Rezipienten gebracht.

4.1 Schließen lexikalischer Lücken

Wenn ein Wort zur Bezeichnung neuer Gegenstände oder Prozesse entlehnt wird, und wenn in der Zielsprache keine lexikalischen Entsprechungen vorhanden sind, kommt es zum Schließen lexikalischer Lücken.¹¹ Dieser Entlehnungsgrund ist am häufigsten im Subkorpus der wissenschaftlich-fachlichen Publikationen vertreten, und zwar in der Textsorte *Lehrbuch*:

¹¹Lexikalische Entsprechungen wurden in den Wörterbüchern *Die VDS-Anglizismenliste* (2003) und *Wörterbuch überflüssiger Anglizismen* (2003) nachgeprüft.

- Als ergebnisabhängige Berechnungsgrundlage dient der GOP (Gross Operating Profit), eine zentrale Größe des Uniform System of Accounts. (HM¹², 1997/77)
- Eine derartige Variante nennt man „lease & profit sharing“. (HM, 1997/82)
- Die ROI-Kennziffer ergibt sich aus dem Produkt von Umsatzrentabilität (NOP/Umsatz) und Kapitalumschlag. (HM, 1997/100)
- Doch heute zeigt sich, dass auch ein flaches Landschaftsgefüge einer zunehmenden Zahl an Aktivurlaubern (z. B. Radwanderurlaubern, Nordic Walkern, Inline-Skatern) sehr entgegenkommt. (DM¹³, 2008/30)
- Wird ein 'king-size-bed' nun als 2 Betten oder als Schlafangelegenheit für eine Person erfasst? (HM, 1997/18)

In der Textsorte *Lehrbuch* wurden am häufigsten die Anglizismen *Yield-Management* (11) und *Campingplatz* (11) verzeichnet, als auch andere isolierte Beispiele: *Account-Manager*, *Benchmarking*, *Best-Practice Methode*, *Brand Marketing*, *Key Account Manager*, *Asset Management*, *Business Travel Management*, *Assistant Branch Leader*, *Corporate Social Responsibility*, *Cluster Manager*, *Marketing*, *General Manager*, *Marketing-Mix*, *Marketingstrategie*, *Innenmarketing*, *Management*, *Total Quality Management*, *Umweltmanagement*, *Controlling*, *Clienting*, *Cover Produkt*, *Benchmark*, *Desk Research*, *Imagewerbung*, *PR-Arbeit*, *Public Relations*, *PR-Maßnahmen*, *Sponsoring*, *Unique Selling Proposition (USP)*, *Break-Even-Point*, *Gross Operating Profit (GOP)*, *GOP-Risiko* usw.

In der Textsorte *Dissertation* ist der häufigste Anglizismus *Destinationsmanagement* (3), der für das Grundwort *Management* die lexikalische Entsprechung *Geschäftsführung* hat, aber sie wird nicht als Fachterminus gebraucht.

Zum Schließen lexikalischer Lücken in der Textsorte *Geschäftsbrief* werden am häufigsten die Anglizismen *E-Mail*, *Fax*, *TV*, *Swift*, *Jacuzzi*, *Wellness-Angebot* und *Wellness-Zentrum* verwendet. Für *Wellness* wird die lexikalische Entsprechung *Wohlbefinden* oder *Wohlfühl* (VDS 286) angeboten, aber wir sind der Meinung, dass diese nicht die Bedeutung des Anglizismus *Wellness* deckt, da er durch eine Kreuzung von *wellbeing* und *fitness* entstanden ist, und die Bedeutung der beiden Wörter in sich enthält.

Beispiele:

¹²Seitz, Georg (1997): *Hotelmanagement*. Springer Verlag, Berlin, Heidelberg New York.

¹³Luft, Hartmut (2007): *Destination Management in Theorie und Praxis – Organisation und Vermarktung von Tourismusorten und Tourismusregionen*. Gmeiner-Verlag GmbH, Meßkirch.

- Um den Aufenthalt Ihrer Klienten möglichst angenehm zu machen, haben wir unser Angebot durch ein Wellness-Zentrum bereichert (PPD, 2006/ 45);
- In Bezug auf Ihre E-Mail vom 01.04.20.. teilen wir Ihnen mit, dass es uns möglich ist ... (PPD, 2006/ 57).

Die häufigsten Anglizismen in der Textsorte *Zeitungsartikel* sind *Corporate Governance*, *Hub-and-Spoke-Netze*, *Hub-und-Spoke-System*, *Swissair-Hub*, *Crossair-Management*, *Europa-Hub*, *Luftverkehrs-Hub*, *Road-Pricing*. Diese Anglizismen sind Fachtermini aus dem Bereich des Flug- und Straßenverkehrs, und ihre Verwendung ist durch den Kommunikationsgegenstand bedingt.

Beispiele:

- So entstanden die so genannten Hub-und-Spoke-Netze: sie zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass in einem Zentralflughafen (Hub) Kurz- und Langstreckenflüge so verknüpft werden, dass mehrmals täglich Wellen von idealen Anschlussverbindungen nach allen Richtungen entstehen (SV, 2002/75);
- Ein Hub-and-Spoke-System funktioniert jedoch nur unter zwei Bedingungen ... (SV, 2002/75);
- Eine Diskussion über Corporate Governance fand nicht statt (SV, 2002/74);
- Durchschnittlich 19% der Bergbahn- und Skiliftunternehmen hatten im März und April 1999 mehr Gäste als gewöhnlich (TR, 2001/28);
- Erklärt wurde dies mit negativen Medienberichten, die zu einem Imageschaden geführt haben (TR, 2001/28);
- Mountainbiken und Reiten wäre auf vorgegebenen Routen erlaubt (TR, 2001/50).

Im Subkorpus der Fachzeitschriften ist die Zahl der verzeichneten Anglizismen niedriger als im oben analysierten Subkorpus der wissenschaftlichen und Fachpublikationen. Die Anglizismen schließen am häufigsten lexikalische Lücken in der Textsorte *Stellenanzeigen* und dienen zur Bezeichnung der Berufe im Tourismus:

Beispiele:

- Wir suchen zum 1.1.2011 oder früher in Vollzeit eine/n Sachbearbeiter/in Produktmanagement Asien für individuelle Reisen ohne Gruppe (FVW, 23710/99);
- Für unser Team im Kongressbüro suchen wir eine/n engagierten Convention Sales Manager m/w in Nürnberg (FVW, 23/10/98);
- Grand Hotel Sonnenbicht sucht Housekeeping Supervisor (m/w) in 84367 Garmisch Partenkirchen. Tel... (AHGZ, 18.12.10/A7);

- SOHO HOUSE BERLIN GmbH sucht Floor Manager/Restaurant Supervisor w/m in 10119 Berlin, Telefon (AHGZ, 18.12.10/A7);
- Ihr Profil: Sie verfügen über Erfahrung im Bereich Airline-Catering (AHGZ, 15.05.10./A2).

Bei der Bezeichnung der Berufe im Tourismus möchte man außer dem Schließen lexikalischer Lücken, den Eindruck der Modernität und globaler Wirkung bei Rezipienten erreichen.

Im Subkorpus der Fachzeitschriften wurden die Beispiele des Schließens lexikalischer Lücken auch in der Textsorte *Reportage* verzeichnet:

Beispiele:

- Mit dem Projekt röhrt er gleichzeitig kräftig die Werbetrommel für seine Fly-&-Help-Stiftung (FVW, 5/10/52);
- Allerdings ist es für ihn fraglich, wie derart viele neue Luxushotels im Hochpreissegment in einer „non-beach“- Destination gefüllt werden sollen, zumal es kaum Nonstop-Flüge gibt (FVW, 7/10/62);
- Die Wunderwaffe hierfür sind Live-Webcams, die die unverdorbene Schönheit der Strände übertragen (FVW, 18/10/56).

Der am häufigsten vertretene Anglizismus in der Textsorte *Reportage*, der die lexikalische Lücke schließt, ist *Live-Webcam*.

In der Textsorte *Interview* wurden folgende Beispiele registriert:

- In Nord- und Mitteleuropa herrscht das Buy-Back-Modell vor. Fahrzeuge werden vereinbarungsgemäß nach sechs Monaten wieder an den Hersteller zurückgegeben (FVW, 7/10/76);
- Dafür setzen wir vor allem auf E-Learning und Road-Shows (FVW, 5/10/42).

In der Textsorte *Interview* werden die Anglizismen von den befragten Personen auch aus dem Grund der sprachlichen und fachlichen Kompetenz gebraucht.

Im Subkorpus der touristischen Broschüren wurden nur wenige Anglizismen verzeichnet, die die lexikalischen Lücken schließen. Dieser Entlehnungsgrund kommt am häufigsten in der Textsorte *Hotelprospekt* vor:

- Swimmingpool (8 x 4 m), Sommerküche, Dusche/WC und Fitnessraum beim Pool (KR/2008/39);
- Sport: Zwei Tennisplätze, Tischtennis, Fitnessraum, Darts, Billard, Beachvolley, Joggingpfad, Windsurfen, Verleih von Paddelbooten im Ort (KR/2008/297);
- 330 Zimmer: ordentlich eingerichtet mit Klimaanlage, Telefon, SAT-TV, Safe, Minibar und Dusche/WC (KR/2008/279).

In der Textsorte *Reiseprogramm* schließt nur der hybride Anglizismus *Tenniszentrum* die lexikalische Lücke.

4.2 Sprachökonomie

Unter dem Begriff der *Sprachökonomie* versteht man „das Bestreben, mit minimalem sprachlichem Aufwand maximale sprachliche Effektivität zu erreichen“.¹⁴

Sprachliche Ökonomie hat zwei Aspekte: Kürze und Knappheit des Ausdrucks im Vergleich zu deutschen lexikalischen Entsprechungen (z.B. *Tip(p)*, *Hit*, *Pool*, *Airbus*, *Boarding*, *Overweight*, *Hub*, *Info*, *Jet*, *joggen*, *Kid(s)*, *live*, *Look*, *Mall*, *Image*, *online*, *Resort*, *Service*, *Spa*, *Stopps*, *Team*, *Trip*, *Wellness*, *Best Ager*, *Boom*, *boomen*, *Biker*, *Catering*, *Charter*, *Check-in*, *Check-out*, *Club*, *Rack Rate*, *Deal*, *Disco*, *E-Mail*, *Event*, *Fam-Trip*, *fit*, *Grill*, *golfen*) und Präzision in der Wortwahl.¹⁵

Die Sprachökonomie fördernden Anglizismen füllen auch manchmal Wortschatzlücken, da es nicht immer so kurze und präzise Wortäquivalente in der Nehmersprache gibt¹⁶, was besonders im Bereich der Computersprache und der Unterhaltungselektronik ausgeprägt ist (z. B. *die CD*, *das Video*, *der iPod*). Ohne Anglizismen müssten diese Begriffe in der Nehmersprache mit langen Paraphrasen beschrieben werden.

Die Sprachökonomie als Entlehnungsgrund ist in allen drei Subkorpora anwesend, was davon zeugt, dass die sprachökonomischen Anglizismen im Verhältnis zu Kommunikationspartnern sowohl in der Kommunikation zwischen Fachleuten aus dem Tourismusbereich, als auch zwischen Laien gebraucht werden. Im Subkorpus der touristischen Broschüre sind sprachökonomische Anglizismen in allen drei analysierten Textsorten – *Hotelprospekt*, *Destinationsbeschreibungen* und *Reiseprogrammen* vertreten, z.B.:

¹⁴Nach Yang (1990: 123)

¹⁵Nach Pfitzner (1978: 161)

¹⁶Vgl. von Polenz (1978: 145-146), Viereck (1980: 19)

- 382 Zimmer: modern und komfortabel eingerichtet mit Klimaanlage, Safe, SAT-TV, Pay-TV, Minibar, Telefon, Internet-Anschluss und Bad/WC (KR¹⁷, 2008/253);
- ... in der abwechselnd die bekanntesten europäische DJs gastieren (KR, 2008/100);
- ... die Zeit in der Disco oder an der Pianobar verbringen (RP¹⁸, 2007/50);
- Es verfügt über eine geschmackvolle Einrichtung in allen Bereichen, wie Restaurant, Lobby, Rezeption... (RP, 2007/50).

Die Abkürzungen *WC* und *SAT-TV* sind die häufigsten Anglizismen in den Reisekatalogen in der Textsorte *Hotelprospekte*.

Ein beträchtlicher Teil der sprachökonomischen Anglizismen in der Textsorte *Hotelprospekte* schließt gleichzeitig auch lexikalische Lücken, und zwar meistens im Bereich der audio-visuellen Medien, z.B.:

- So verfügen die Zimmer, außer Doppelbett, einen mobilen Arbeitsplatz mit W-Lan-Zugang und Klimaanlage, einen Flachbildfernseher mit iPod-/MP3-Anschluss, Markenleuchte... (AHGZ, 18.12.10/23);
- Programme wie „Wellness für Freundinnen“, DVD-Player mit Filmen, sind darin ebenso beschrieben (AHGZ, 18.12.10/17).

Das folgende Beispiel illustriert die Verwendung des kürzeren und zugleich sprachökonomischeren Anglizismus *Lobby*, statt der deutschen längeren lexikalischen Entsprechung *Hotelhalle*, *Vorhalle* (VDS¹⁹/2003/169):

- Und nun treffen sie sich in Muscat – in einer Hotel-Lobby (FVW, 5/10/52).

Im Korpus der wissenschaftlich-fachlichen Publikationen kommen sehr häufig die Abkürzungen vor, die auch der Sprachökonomie beitragen. Die Abkürzungen sind in Form selbständiger Wörter vertreten, sowie auch in Form linker Konstituenten in Hybridkomposita, was durch Beispiele aus den Lehrbüchern *Hotelmanagement* und *Destination Management* illustriert wird.

¹⁷ Kroatien 2008,
HOTEL/FEWO/PRIVATUNTERKUNFT/KREUZFAHRten/AUTO/BUS/FLUG, Riva
Tours.

¹⁸ Reisepakete 2007, TP Tour Project GmbH – Reiseorganisation International.

¹⁹ Junker, Gerhard (Hrsg.). (2003): Die VDS-Anglizismenliste 2003. Zweite Auflage, IFB Verlag, Paderborn.

- Die Vielzahl der mittlerweile bestehenden CRS bedingt, wie später noch aufzuzeigen sein wird... (HM, 1997/214);
- Die Integration von Qualitätsvorgaben und –zielen in das unternehmerische Handeln wird als TQM (= Total Quality Management) bezeichnet (HM, 1997/160);
- Betriebskosten: PO&M (Property Operations & maintenance) (HM, 1997/256);
- Als ergebnisabhängige Berechnungsgrundlage dient der GOP (Gross Operating Profit), eine zentrale Größe des Uniform System of Accounts (HM, 1997/77);
- Die ROI-Kennziffer ergibt sich aus dem Produkt von Umsatzrentabilität (NOP/Umsatz) und Kapitalumschlag (HM, 1997/100).

Im Korpus der Fachzeitschriften wurde auch eine große Zahl sprachökonomischer Anglizismen verzeichnet, die von den Fachleuten verwendet werden, wenn sie sich an andere Fachleute aus dem Management oder auch an niedriger rangiertes Personal in touristischen Betrieben und Firmen wenden.

Beispiele:

- Einst mit zwei geleasten Jets gestartet, will Emirates nun größte Airline weltweit werden (FVW²⁰, 5/10/95);
- ...weshalb sich der User gegen das eigene Angebot entschieden hat (FVW, 5/10/78);
- Die App importiert den Reiseplan, Updates zum Flug... (FVW, 5/10/142);
- Der besondere Kick: In der Bar hängen Flat-Screens, die live-Bilder... (FVW, 5/10/145).

Die Abkürzungen in Form selbständiger Wörter als linke Konstituenten in Hybridkomposita wurden im Subkorpus der Fachzeitschriften in der Textsorte *Interview* verzeichnet:

- Interview mit Peter Frankhauser, CEO von Thomas Cook Deutschland (FVW, 15/10/22);
- Zum Bereich E-Commerce gehören ja auch die Mietwagensuchmaschinen (FVW, 7/10/74).

Aus sprachökonomischen Gründen wird in der Textsorte *Interview* der kürzere Anglizismus *Job* gebraucht, im Unterschied zur deutschen lexikalischen

²⁰*Fremdenverkehrswirtschaft (FVW) – Das Magazin für Touristik und Business Travel*, Nr. 5/10, 4. März 2010.

Entsprechung *Arbeit*, *Team* statt *Arbeitsgruppe*, *Trend* statt *Tendenz* oder *Neigung* und *Fan* anstatt *Anhänger*, z.B.:

- Ein ebenfalls zeitintensiver Job (FVW, 18/10/34);
- Anna Wolfsteiner baut auf ihr Team (FVW, 7/10/76);
- Der alte Trend ist auch der neue Trend (FVW, 5/10/33);
- Tolle Aussichten für Skandinavien Fans (FVW, 5/10/63).

Gerade die Anglizismen *Trend*, *Team* und *Job* präsentieren die häufigsten Anglizismen im ganzen Subkorpus der Fachzeitschriften, sodass wir daraus schließen können, dass sie wegen ihrer Sprachökonomie gebraucht werden.

Andererseits wird die Sprachökonomie durch die Komposita erreicht, und zwar vor allem durch Hybridkomposita, weil sie auch kürzer sind als ihre längeren Paraphrasen²¹ (*Beziehungsmanagement*, *Businessgäste*, *Business-Tage*, *Business-Flüge*, *Business-Hotel*, *Online-Anteil*, *Online-Auftritt*, *Online-Bezahlung*, *Senioren-Marketing*, *Wellnessoase*, *Yield-Entwicklung*, *BBC Destination Management*, *BCD Travel*, *DB Tickets*, *EC-Karte*, *F&B Manager*, *F&B-Konzept*, *ICE-Service*, *ICE-Flotte*, *IT-Häuser*, *IT-Kenntnisse*, *QTA-Erfolgsstory*, *VIP Service*, *VIP-Club*, *VIP-Lounge*, *VIP-Partys*, *GOP-Gebühr*, *GOP-Risiko*, *PR-Arbeit*). Die Sprachökonomie wird zusätzlich durch Abkürzungen in der linken Konstituente der Hybridkomposita verstärkt, wie z.B. im Kompositum *F&B Manager*. Folgende Beispiele aus dem Subkorpus der Fachzeitschriften illustrieren die Sprachökonomie durch den Gebrauch von Komposita.

- Dabei steht der Servicegedanke im Vordergrund und nicht der Profit (AHGZ, 20.02.10/2);
- „Aber bei etwa gleichen Angeboten ist das CSR²²-Programm das Zünglein an der Waage.“ (AHGZ, 20.02.10/2);
- Oberstdorf geht neue Wege im Online-Marketing (AHGZ, 20.02.10/4);
- Ulrike Schillo, stellvertretende Leiterin Produktmanagement bei der Bayern Tourismus ... (AHGZ, 20.02.10/21);
- Der ganze Spaß wird gefilmt und als Videoclip auf www... veröffentlicht (FVW, 5/10/7);
- So erhalten die Counter-Mitarbeiter die gesuchten Inhalte einfacher und schneller (FVW, 5/10/16);
- Nach dem Log-in mit Agentur-Nummer gibt es alle verkaufsrelevanten Daten zum Download (FVW, 5/10/21);

²¹Die Umformung vom Kompositum *Senioren-Marketing* würde lauten 'Marketing für die Zielgruppe älterer Gäste'.

²²CSR = Corporate Social Responsibility.

- ...Den Bauboom hat der Abschwung schon gebremst (FVW, 5/10/87);
- Die B&B Hotels sind bunt (FVW, 5/10/160);
- Drei bis 15 Stopover sind möglich (FVW, 5/10/181).

4.3 Bedeutungsdifferenzierung

Einige Autoren (Braselmann, 2002; Hoberg, 2002) heben hervor, dass die Anglizismen oft zur Differenzierung von Bedeutung, d.h. der Präzision des Ausdrucks verwendet werden, (z.B. *Wellness*, *Dienstleistung*, *Bungalow*, *Schwimmbad*, *Markieren*, *Manager-Management*, *Trend*, *Tip(p)*, *Getränk*, *Ereignis*, *Snackbar*, *Styling*, *Pricing*, *fit*, *Abendessen*, *Barkeeper*, usw.), was auch in unserem Korpus bestätigt wurde. Der Anglizismengebrauch beruht in einigen Fällen auf konnotativen Unterschieden, und seine verfügbaren lexikalischen Entlehnungen beweisen, dass die denotative Identität nicht zugleich die konnotative ist. In diesem Zusammenhang sei darauf hingewiesen, dass die deutsche lexikalische Entsprechung nur bedingt ein Synonym für den Anglizismus ist, weil „wirkliche bedeutungsgleiche Wörter gibt es nicht, weder innerhalb einer Sprache, noch im Nebeneinander mehrerer Sprachen“ (Weisberger 167).

Gerade deswegen sind Anglizismen besonders beliebt, wo die einheimischen Synonyme fehlen. Auf diese Weise bereichern sie den Wortschatz.

Anglizismen, die zum Zweck der Bedeutungsunterscheidung verwendet werden, wurden zum größten Teil in der Textsorte *Hotelprospekt* verzeichnet, deren Zielgruppe meistens die potentiellen Gäste, bzw. Laien sind. In diesem Fall werden die Anglizismen von Fachleuten im Tourismus gebraucht, wenn sie sich an die Laien wenden, um ihnen relevante Informationen zu vermitteln. Die zum Zweck der Bedeutungsunterscheidung verwendeten Informationen machen den Eindruck der Präzision, Modernität und der Anziehungskraft, was durch die Beispiele aus der Textsorte *Hotelprospekt* illustriert wird:

- Wellness Center: Sauna, Reflexzonen-Massage, Aromatherapie... (KR²³, 2008/99);
- ... Süßwasser-Swimmingpool mit separatem Kinderbecken... (KR, 2008/296).

²³Kroatien 2008,
HOTEL/FEWO/PRIVATUNTERKUNFT/KREUZFAHRDEN/AUTO/BUS/FLUG, Riva
Tours.

Der durch Kreuzung der Silben (*Well*)*being* und *Fit*(ness) gebildete Anglizismus *Wellness*, präsentiert ein typisches Beispiel des entlehnten Begriffs und Wortes. Es bezeichnet den gesunden Lebensstil und in deutscher Lexik ist es schon seit fast zwei Jahrzehnten anwesend (Anglizismen Wörterbuch, 2001: 1704). Da die Bedeutung der lexikalischen Entlehnung *Wohlbefinden* oder *Wohlgefühl* (VDS, 2003: 286) den gesamten gesunden Lebensstil nicht deckt, ist der erwähnte Anglizismus absolut vorteilhaft im Gebrauch. Aus ähnlichen Gründen wird der Anglizismus *Swimmingpool* entlehnt und gebraucht, und zwar ausschließlich in der Bedeutung *auf einem Privatgrundstück befindliches Schwimmbecken innerhalb oder außerhalb eines Gebäudes*, und deswegen kann er als ein präziser Terminus im Vergleich zur deutschen lexikalischen Entlehnung *Schwimmbad* betrachtet werden.

Die Beispiele der Bedeutungsdifferenzierung wurden auch im Subkorpus der Fachzeitschriften registriert. In der Textsorte *Reportage* in der Kommunikation zwischen Fachleuten als Emittenten und Rezipienten einerseits und andererseits zwischen Fachleuten als Emittenten und Laien als Rezipienten. Hier folgen die Beispiele:

- Bungalows und Studios sind für viele Urlauber heimliche Stars auf der Kanareninsel (FVW, 15/10/58);
- ... ganz klar ein absolutes Highlight und das gleich am ersten Tag der Reise (FVW, 10/10/66);
- BusinessFirst: mit bestem Service täglich nonstop von München nach New York (FVW, 10/10/1);
- Drittens kennen die Airline-Manager nur eine Strategie: Wachstum (FVW, 10/10/6).

Obwohl für den Anglizismus *Bungalow* die deutschen lexikalischen Entlehnungen *Ferienhaus*, *Flachdachhaus*, *Landhaus* (VDS/2003/57) angeboten werden, wird ausschließlich der Anglizismus *Bungalow* gebraucht, wenn es um eine Unterkunftsform in südlicher, warmer (tropischer) Umgebung geht.

Der Anglizismus *Highlight* mit seinen Bedeutungen *das Beste*, *Interessanteste*, *Aufregendste* (OALD²⁴, 2005: 733) präsentiert die Qualität der Dienstleistung viel präziser als die angebotenen lexikalischen Entsprechungen *Glanzpunkt*, *Sternstunde*, *Höhepunkt*, *Gipfel*, *Glanzlicht*, *Zierde*, *Prachtstück* (VDS/2003/140).

Für den Anglizismus *Service*, der originell französischer Herkunft ist, wird nach dem Duden Fremdwörterbuch (DFW) im Deutschen die Entsprechung *Kundendienst* angeboten. Der Anglizismus *Service* wurde noch im Jahr 1928 übernommen, und zwar als Amerikanismus, der charakteristisch für typisch

²⁴Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. (2005): Oxford University Press.

amerikanische Shoppingverhältnisse ist. Im DFW wird das Wort *Service* zum ersten Mal im Jahr 1960 als (*Kunden*)*dienst* (z.B. für Autos) definiert. Im Jahr 1982 werden im DFW als lexikalische Entsprechungen *Bedienung*, *Kundendienst* und *Kundenbetreuung* angeführt, was auch wieder in der 7. erneuten Auflage vom DFW angeführt ist. Im Vergleich zu deutschen Entsprechungen suggerieren die konnotativen Merkmale des Anglizismus etwas, was modern und geschäftsorientiert ist. Dasselbe gilt wiederum für den Anglizismus *Service* und seine Entsprechung *Dienstleistung* (Duden Deutsches Universal Wörterbuch - DUW), die das identische Denotat ausdrückt, aber ihr konnotatives Potential unterscheidet sich sehr. Im Unterschied zur Entsprechung *Dienstleistung*, ist *Service* kürzer und präziser, klingt internationaler und moderner. Das Wort *Dienstleistung* bietet keine Kürze des Ausdrucks, und da *Service* sehr oft als linke Konstituente in Hybridkomposita vorkommt²⁵, wäre der Gebrauch von der Entsprechung *Dienstleistung* sehr unpraktisch. Außerdem wird ausschließlich *Service* im Kontext der Dienstleistungen in der Hotellerie und Tourismus verwendet, und zwar in Anlehnung an die originelle Bedeutung, als *Servieren der Speisen und Getränke*.

Der Anglizismus *Manager* mit der Bedeutung *Leiter einer Varietébühne* wurde noch 1794 ins Deutsche übernommen, und im Sinne vom *Geschäftsleiter* ist *Manager* noch 1905 ins Deutsche getreten (Zindler 172). Im zeitgenössischen Deutsch spielt im Wirtschaftsleben der Anglizismus *Manager* eine sehr wichtige Rolle. Das OALD Wörterbuch bietet für das Stichwort *manager* folgende Erklärungen: 1. a person who directs or manages an organization, industry, shop etc. 2. a person who controls business affairs of an actor, entertainer, etc. 3. a person, who controls the training of a sportsman or team [...]. Während im Englischen *manager* auch für die Leiter der Abteilungen und Zweigstellen gebraucht wird, ist im Deutschen sein Gebrauch nur auf Leiter großer Firmen begrenzt, sodass man *Manager* im DFW als *Leiter (eines großen Unternehmens); Betreuer (eines Berufssportlers)* definiert. Die häufigste Konnotation, die in Zusammenhang mit dem Anglizismus *Manager* gebracht wird, ist Geschäftsführung (Management) und sein Gebrauch ist sowohl in der Fach- als auch in der Gemeinsprache verbreitet. Die bestgeeignete deutsche Entsprechung für den Anglizismus *Manager* ist *Geschäftsführer (VDS)*, und sie wurde im Subkorpus der Fachzeitschriften in der Textsorte *Arbeitsanzeigen* registriert:

²⁵Der Anglizismus *service* wird meistens in folgenden Komposita als linke Konstituente registriert:

Servicemitarbeiter, Serviceleistung, Service-Segment, Servicequalität, Service provider, Service center, Service line usw.

- Fritz Pütz wird Geschäftsführer Sales und Marketing bei German Transfer (FVW, 10/10/111).

Die Bedeutungsdifferenzierung wurde als Entlehnungsgrund auch im Subkorpus der fachwissenschaftlichen Publikationen registriert, und zwar in der Textsorte *Lehrbuch*, wenn die Fachleute nach einem möglichst präzisen Ausdruck streben, z.B.:

- Die Qualitätssicherung als Managementaufgabe erfordert einerseits die Unterstützung durch das Management... (HM, 1997/158);
- Empfangspersonal, das ein Zimmer unter der 'Rack-rate' verkauft, betreibt bereits Yield-Management... (HM, 1997/202).

Nach dem Eintritt des Anglizismus *Manager*, wurde auch der Anglizismus *Management* ins Deutsche übernommen. Denotativ entspricht er den deutschen Entsprechungen *Geschäftsführung*, *Betriebsführung* und *Unternehmungsleitung*, aber der Anglizismus *Management* hat den internationalen Beiklang und suggeriert Geschäftsführung auf einer hohen Ebene, was nicht in deutschen Entsprechungen enthalten ist. Die angeführten Beispiele beweisen, dass unter anderem englische Wörter immer mehr verwendet werden, um dem Ganzen einen modernen Touch zu verleihen.

4.4 Lokalkolorit

Die Vermittlung von Lokalkolorit scheint eine der wichtigsten und auffälligsten stilistischen Funktionen der Anglizismen zu sein, „weil fast alle Anglizismen nach ihrer Übernahme in die Gastsprache zunächst nur in englisch-amerikanischen Zusammenhängen verwendet werden und daher eine bestimmte Atmosphäre schaffen“ (Yang 119).

Als Beispiel nennt Yang den Anglizismus *Smog*, mit dem man in der Regel die Atmosphäre englischer und amerikanischer Großstädte in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren assoziiert. Mit der Zeit hat dieses Wort seine „koloriststiftende“ Wirkung verloren.

Heute gibt es viele Anglizismen, die sich speziell auf die englisch-amerikanische Kultur beziehen und die sich zur Bezeichnung des Lokalkolorits eignen.

Im analysierten Korpus haben wir die Anglizismen verzeichnet, die typisch für die amerikanische oder englische Kultur sind, oder die die amerikanische oder englische Atmosphäre abbilden (z.B. *City*, *Party*, *Jazz*, *Soul*, *Tennis*, *Polo*, *Surfing* usw.). Folgende Beispiele wurden zum größten Teil im Subkorpus der Fachzeitschriften verzeichnet:

- Mit dem Zug mitten in die City - schneller und komfortabler... (FVW²⁶, 18/10/42);
- Die Teilnahme an der Roadshow kostet 25 Euro inklusive Verpflegung (FVW, 18/10/43);
- Vier Monate später herrscht Business as usual (FVW, 18/10/18);
- ... man nippt am fruchtigen Cocktail und die Zehen bohren sich in den weichen Sand (FVW, 18/10/41);
- Die Bourbon Street ist und bleibt ein Partymekka (FVW, 18/10/59);
- Außerdem wird das Thema Golf immer wichtiger (FVW, 5/10/92);
- Der Club öffnete bereits 1998 und war einer der Ersten... (FVW, 5/10/145);
- Er liegt direkt am flach abfallenden Sandstrand, ist ideal für Surfer, Segler... (FVW, 5/10/145);
- Sie bemängelt allerdings eine Shopping Mall... (FVW, 5/10/146);
- Wir engagieren uns intensiv für die Reisemittler, etwa mit Golf Cup, Roadshows und Fam-Trips (FVW, 5/10/149);
- McDonald's entdeckt den Lifestyle (AHGZ²⁷, 26.06.10/ 26);
- Blues, Rock, Soul und Jazz aus der Zeit seit den siebziger Jahren wird gespielt (AHGZ, 15.05.10/22);
- Für Pub-Atmosphäre sorgen außerdem Billard und Dart (AHGZ, 15.05.10/22);
- Welche Rolle spielt die Familienkampagne „Kids go Free“? (FVW, 7/10/67).

Beispiele für Anglizismen, die dem Lokalkolorit beitragen, wurden auch im Subkorpus der Reisebroschüren in der Textsorte *Hotelprospekt* registriert, z.B.:

- Einrichtungen: Konferenz- und Banketträume, Butlerservice... (KR/2008/23);
- Sport: Fitness-Studio, Billard (KR/2008/292);
- Einrichtungen: Restaurant, Aperitifbar, Pub (KR/2008/272).

Die oben angeführten Anglizismen beziehen sich hauptsächlich auf den Urlaub, Erholung, Gesundheits- und Schönheitspflege, was man mit

²⁶ *Fremdenverkehrswirtschaft (FVW) - Das Magazin für Touristik und Business Travel*, Nr. 5/10, 4. März 2010.

²⁷ *Allgemeine Hotel- und Gastronomie- Zeitung*, Wochenzeitung für Hotel- und Restaurant-Management (AHGZ), Nr. 08, 20. Februar 2010.

hedonistischen Konnotationen wie „angenehm“, „entspannt“, „gutaussehend“ und „luxuriös“ verbindet und wodurch die potentiellen Gäste angezogen werden möchten. Gerade deswegen wirkt ihre Häufigkeit in der Textsorte *Hotelprospekt* auf keinen Fall überraschend.

4.5 Pädagogischer Aspekt (Fachliche und sprachliche Kompetenz)

Zu dieser Gruppe gehören Anglizismen, die selten benutzt werden und die den durchschnittlichen Lesern fremd vorkommen. Sie werden meistens in Klammer oder unter Anführungszeichen gesetzt und klein geschrieben. Yang (133) unterteilt diese Anglizismen in zwei Subkategorien. Unter die erste Kategorie fallen englische Wörter oder Wortgruppen, die mit einer einheimischen Paraphrase oder einem synonymen Sprachzeichen erklärt werden (1) und unter die zweite fallen Anglizismen, anhand deren ein einheimisches Wort „erklärt“ wird (2). Bei diesen Anglizismen steht der pädagogische Aspekt im Vordergrund.

Heute gibt es immer weniger Anglizismen, die zu dieser Gruppe gehören. Es ist nämlich nicht mehr nötig, den Lesern die Anglizismen zu erklären, weil von ihnen erwartet wird, dass sie Englisch verstehen. In diesem Zusammenhang muss betont werden, dass man heute durch den Einsatz von Anglizismen oft seine Englischkenntnisse präsentieren möchte, was besonders für die Jugendlichen gilt.

Im Rahmen des analysierten Korpus wurden auch die Anglizismen registriert, mit denen man seine fachliche und sprachliche Kompetenz präsentieren möchte, was besonders im Subkorpus der fachwissenschaftlichen Publikationen zum Ausdruck kommt. Es erscheint so, als ob die Autoren durch den Anglizismusgebrauch zeigen möchten, dass sie im professionellen Bereich auf dem internationalen Niveau den Schritt halten und dass sie dabei auch sprachlich kompetent sind. Folgende Beispiele aus den Lehrbüchern *Destination Management in Theorie und Praxis – Organisation und Vermarktung von Tourismusorten und Tourismusregionen* (Luft, 2007) und *Hotelmanagement* (Seitz, 1997) illustrieren fachliche und sprachliche Kompetenz als Entlehnungsgrund der Anglizismen:

- Die Franchisegebühren (franchise-fee) setzen sich aus mehreren fixen als auch umsatzabhängigen Komponenten (fee structure) zusammen (HM, 1997/88);
- Bei einigen Hoteltypen der Ferienhotels (Resort-Hotels), der Hotels mit einem 'Gesundheitsangebot' (spa & wellness) ist... (HM, 1997/88);
- Gibt es z.B. einen Nachtpörtier (Night-Auditor) und damit eine durchgehende 24-Stunden-Öffnungszeit oder nicht; gibt es 'Room Service' und Gepäcktransport auf das Zimmer? (HM, 1997/151);

- So erhält ein Gast, der 3 Tage übernachten will, den 'Yield'-Preis der ersten Nacht. (HM, 1997/205);
- Die unteren 'Budget' – Kategorien sind deshalb in der Lage ein preiswertes Übernachtungsangebot zu unterbreiten (HM, 1997/148);
- Ebenso wird sich Healthy Aging mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit zu einem Megatrend entwickeln. (DM, 2007/101);
- Wellness, im Besonderen, »Medical Wellness« kann deshalb als Ansatz verstanden werden... (DM, 2007/101);
- Diesem Zusammenhang sind auch die sog. «Learning Vacations», welche Reisen und Bildung verbinden, zuzuordnen. (DM, 2007/75).

Die oben angeführten Beispiele zeigen, dass von den Autoren der Lehrbücher *Hotelmanagement* und *Destination Management* die englischen Entsprechungen für die deutschen Ausdrücke in Klammer oder unter Anführungszeichen gesetzt werden. Das Beispiel vom Anglizismus *Healthy Aging* wurde in der unterstrichenen Form verzeichnet. Die Hervorhebung der Anglizismen durch Anführungszeichen oder Unterstreichung, sowie die Anführung der Anglizismen neben der deutschen Entsprechung wurde nur im Subkorpus der fachwissenschaftlichen Publikationen verzeichnet.

4.6 Globalisierung der Sprache

Englisch als die Sprache der internationalen Kommunikation wurde zur Sprache neuer Technologien, der Werbung, Mode, Musiktrends, des Tourismus usw. Dementsprechend sind Lieder *Songs*, aus dem Tutor oder Mentor wird *Coach*, statt Pilotenkabine gibt es *Cockpit* usw. Obwohl in vielen Fällen die deutschen Entsprechungen angeboten sind, können sie veraltet, unraffiniert oder plump klingen.

Die Globalisierung der Sprache kommt besonders in der Fachsprache zum Ausdruck, und ihr Ziel ist die Internationalisierung der Fachterminologie. Dieser Entlehnungsgrund ist besonders in der Textsorte *Hotelprospekt* aufzufinden, weil durch die Anglizismen, die internationalen Status, Entspannung und Hedonismus suggerieren, die Zielgruppe der potentiellen Gäste angezogen werden sollen.

Im weiteren Text folgen Beispiele für Anglizismen, die internationalen Status, Entspannung und Hedonismus suggerieren und deren Entlehnungsgründe in der Globalisierung der Sprache liegen.

- Einrichtungen: vollklimatisiert, Aperitifbar, Caféterrasse mit Snackbar, Fernsehecke mit SAT-TV, Billard, Süßwasser-Hallenbad, Wellness-Center mit Whirlpool, Massage und Beauty-Anwendungen, Fitnessraum (KR/2008/270);

- Sport: kleiner Fitnessraum, Tischtennis, Minigolf. Zwei Tennisplätze in unmittelbarer Nähe, Beachvolley am Strand (KR/2008/270);
- Es verfügt über Restaurant und American Bar. Die großzügigen schönen Zimmer sind mit Bad/WC oder DU/WC, Klimaanlage, Heizung, Mini-Bar, Sat-TV und Telefon ausgestattet (RP²⁸/2007/47);
- Mit Lobby, Piano-Bar, Spielzimmer, kleinem Garten und Swimming-Pool (RP/2007/49).
- Crystal Pavillon gehört zu den angesagten Hot Spots der gesamten Region (FVW, 23/10/72);
- Drei Jahre hatte Stararchitekt Jacques Garcia die Grande Dame der Hotellerie Marakeschs verschönert (FVW, 7/10/60);
- La Mamounia ist nach dreijährigem Facelift wieder ein prominenter Treffpunkt Marakeschs (FVW, 7/10/61);
- ... sowie Michael Wiodmann, Juror und Mitinitiator des Awards (AHGZ, 16.10.10/6);
- Ein Geschäftsreisender checkt aus (AHGZ, 20.02.10/28);
- Ob Fingerfood zum Cocktailempfang, außergewöhnliche Fest-Buffets – alles ist möglich (AHGZ, 20.02.10/28);
- Beispielsweise könnte ein Restaurant fleißige Einchecker am Standort mit Incentives belohnen (AHGZ, 26.06.10/26);
- Wer sieht, dass die eigene Peer Group regelmäßig Gast einer bestimmten Örtlichkeit ist, weiß, was angesagt ist (AHGZ, 20.02.10/28);
- Im Eisenwerk treten regelmäßig Live-Bands auf (AHGZ, 15.05.10/22); Ein Hit waren auch die Kalbsfleischpflanzerl von Eckart Witzigmann (AHGZ, 15.05.10/23).

5. Schlussfolgerung

Die Analyseergebnisse der Entlehnungsgründe der Anglizismen haben gezeigt, dass es unter ihnen zu Überlappungen kommen kann. Dementsprechend können die sprachökonomischen Anglizismen auch lexikalische Lücken schließen, was am häufigsten im Bereich der audio-visuellen Medien vorkommt (*SAT-TV, Safe, E-Mail SMS*). Die audio-visuellen Medien werden meistens in der Textsorte *Reiseprospekt* bei der Hotelbeschreibung, bzw. der Hotelzimmerbeschreibung erwähnt. Außerdem können dieselben Anglizismen auf Grund der Bedeutungsdifferenzierung und der Sprachökonomie gebraucht werden (*Job, Tipp, Bar, fit*). Die Anglizismen, die die fachliche und sprachliche Kompetenz präsentieren, können gleichzeitig wiederum auch lexikalische Lücken schließen (*franchise-fee, Resort-Hotels, spa & wellness*,

²⁸Reisepakete 2007, TP Tour Project GmbH – Reiseorganisation International.

Night-Auditor). Wie bereits erwähnt wurde, gebraucht man den Anglizismus *Bungalow*, der englisch-indischer Herkunft ist und *das Haus aus Bengal* (DUW²⁹, 2007, 293) bezeichnet, auf Grund der präzisen Bedeutungsdifferenzierung im Kontext des Urlaubs im warmen Süden und zugleich zum Schließen der lexikalischen Lücke, da die angebotenen Entsprechungen die Bedeutung, einer für die südliche sonnige Umgebung typischen Unterkunftsform, nicht decken. Außerdem wird mit dem Anglizismus *Bungalow* auch das entsprechende Lokalkolorit evoziert.

Außer lexikalische Lücken zu schließen, versucht man durch die Anglizismusverwendung bei den Fachleuten als Rezipienten, den Eindruck der Modernität und globaler Sprachenwirkung im Tourismusbereich zu erwecken. Die Analyse der Anglizismenverwendung hat gezeigt, dass im Subkorpus der Fachzeitschriften eine höhere Anzahl der sprachökonomischen Anglizismen verzeichnet wurde, was im Verhältnis zu Kommunikationspartnern bestätigt, dass sie von Fachleuten verwendet werden, wenn sie sich an andere Fachleute aus dem Management, an niedriger rangiertes Personal in touristischen Betrieben und Firmen, sowie an Laien wenden.

Anglizismen, die wegen der Bedeutungsdifferenzierung entlehnt werden, kommen am häufigsten in der Textsorte *Hotelprospekt* vor, deren Zielgruppe die potentiellen Gäste – Laien präsentieren. Daraus kann man schließen, dass dieser Entlehnungsgrund besonders wichtig für die Fachleute im Tourismus ist, wenn die potentiellen Gäste angesprochen werden, um möglichst präzise über das touristische Angebot informiert zu werden. Im Subkorpus der Fachzeitschriften in der Textsorte *Reportage* wurden auch Beispiele der Bedeutungsdifferenzierung registriert, wenn die Zielgruppe der Rezipienten potentielle Gäste oder Fachleute sind.

Die Anglizismen, die die fachliche und sprachliche Kompetenz präsentieren, wurden zum größten Teil im Subkorpus der wissenschaftlich-fachlichen Publikationen verzeichnet. Die Anglizismen werden von Fachleuten verwendet, um den Eindruck der international anerkannten Wissenschaftler und Fachleute zu gewinnen, wenn interessierte Laien und künftige Fachleute angesprochen werden.

Die Anglizismen, deren Entlehnungsgrund Lokalkolorit ist, kommen am häufigsten im Subkorpus der Fachzeitschriften und touristischen Broschüren in der Textsorte *Hotelprospekt* vor. Durch ihre Verwendung möchten die Fachleute im Tourismus für ihre Gäste eine amerikanische oder englische Atmosphäre schaffen, mit der Absicht das touristische Produkt möglichst gut zu verkaufen.

Die Anglizismusverwendung mit dem Ziel der Globalisierung der Sprache ist in der Textsorte *Hotelprospekt* besonders aufzufinden, weil durch

²⁹ Duden Deutsches Universalwörterbuch A-Z, (2007): Neu bearbeitete sechste Auflage Dudenverlag, Mannheim u. a.

Anglizismen und ihren internationalen Ausdruck möglichst viele Gäste angezogen werden möchten.

Am Ende können wir daraus schließen, dass im Verhältnis zu Kommunikationspartnern, die Anglizismen in der Tourismusfachsprache dann verwendet werden, wenn die Adressaten sowohl Fachleute als auch Laien sind. Wenn sich die Fachleute an andere Fachleute wenden, sind die Sprachökonomie und die Präsentation der fachlichen und sprachlichen Kompetenz die häufigsten Entlehnungsgründe. Andererseits, wenn sich die Fachleute an die Laien wenden, stellen die Bedeutungsdifferenzierung und das Lokalkolorit die häufigsten Entlehnungsmotive dar.

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ANGLICISM IN THE GERMAN LANGUAGE OF TOURISM

This paper deals with reasons for borrowing anglicisms in the German language of tourism. The controversial issue of the status of the language of tourism as a language for special purposes is discussed and the term anglicism is determined. The reasons for borrowing anglicisms were investigated within the three subcorpora – the subcorpus of brochures, journals and professional and scientific publications. The most common reasons for borrowing – closing lexical gaps, language economy, differentiation in meaning, local setting, pedagogical aspect (professional and linguistic competence) and globalization of the language with respect to the typical text types and communication partners – senders and recipients were analyzed.

Key Words: language of tourism, anglicism, reasons for borrowing, text types, communication partners

A NIKKEI TRANSLATION OF TANIZAKI'S MAKIOKA SISTERS³⁰

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Abstract: This article focuses on five different translations of Junichiro Tanizaki's classic *The Makioka Sisters* (*Sasame Yuki*): in English, Dutch, French, German and Brazilian Portuguese. These five translations were done by highly skilled and experienced translators, yet are all very different. I am particularly interested in the Brazilian translation, because it has peculiarities which indicate that specific characteristics of the translator shape the features of a translation. Indeed, in the Brazilian translation language is rather more formal than in the other translations researched. Also there are many more footnotes and some of the passages were maintained in Japanese. All these features make this translation seem very different from the others under scrutiny. Since one of the characteristics of the Brazilian translation is that it was made solely by Japanese descendants, one wonders if there is a causal relationship between the two. The main difference between the different translators is that all of the four Brazilian translators, being of Japanese descent, live in a country where there is a numerous Japanese community with still strong ties to the 'motherland' and its culture. Moreover, since they are so numerous, form a coherent group and because of the cultural gap between European and Japanese immigrants, these tend to integrate more slowly into Brazilian society and still seem to struggle with their integration. This seems to be corroborated by their scarce presence in Brazilian literature and the preponderance of the migration topic in what exists.

Key Words: literary translation, migration, Japanese literature, Tanizaki.

Tanizaki and the Makioka Sisters

Tanizaki (1886-1965) is one of the most important Japanese writers of the twentieth century (Keene: 2003) and has been widely translated. A bibliography published in 2000 mentions 263 translations into 17 languages (Boscaro et al: 2000). Tanizaki himself was also a translator whomadethree versions of the Japanese classic *Genji no monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*). The

³⁰A preliminary version of this article was presented at the Conference of the Associação Brasileira de Estudos Japoneses, São Paulo, 28 Sep 2011. I would like to thank Prof. Neide Hissae Nagae, who generously allowed me to use the data of her research for this article. I also want to thank my student Werner Vanhorenbeeck for the word for word translation of the Japanese original into Dutch.

Makioka Sisters, as the title sounds in the first English translation, was written during the Pacific War and published initially in the form of episodes in *ChūōKōron*, a Japanese literary magazine. In spite of the fact that the novel does not contain any material or opinions that would have been politically or ideologically objectionable to the regime in place, publication was halted due to military censorship (Keene: 1998, 772).

Situated in pre-war Japan, *Sasame Yuki*, as the title sounds in Japanese, narrates the story of four sisters whose lifestyle seems, to various degrees, adapted to Western patterns. When the novel starts off, the two eldest sisters are already married, but the youngest one has to wait until the third in line finds a suitable husband. This youngest sister is the most 'liberated' one of the four, whereas the third rebuffs suitor after suitor. Nothing really dramatic happens in the novel, but it effortlessly succeeds in keeping up the attention of the reader till the end. After the war, the novel was published in its entirety, with great public acclaim. Several prizes were bestowed on its author and the book was filmed three times, the last one by Kon Ichikawa.

The "Makioka Sisters" in Translation

Sasame Yuki means "Fine Snow." Most of the translations, however, have adopted the title of the English translation, or a variation (in French: *Quatre Soeurs*). In this article I will analyse five different translations of the novel: English, Dutch, French, German and Brazilian Portuguese³¹. This last translation will be the focus of special attention. I will now describe each of the translations I have analysed. Since I try to relate the biography of the translators to the translation, I will dedicate some attention to this aspect, since it is central to my argumentation which pretends to find a relationship between the biographies of the translators and their works.

The Makioka Sisters, Translation by Edward Seidensticker (1957)

Edward Seidensticker (1921-2007) is one of the most respected translators from Japanese into English (Venuti in Schäffner 1995). He not only translated work by Tanizaki and Kawabata, thereby being instrumental in the conferment of the Nobel Price on the latter in 1968. He is also credited with the best translation of Japan's first real novel: *The Tale of Genji*. His translation of *The Makioka Sisters* was first published in 1957. He afterwards added an *Introduction*, where he discusses a few of his choices. Seidensticker finds

³¹The Spanish version of *The Makioka Sisters* was not taken into account, since it was translated from the English edition.

Tanizaki ‘eminently translatable’, in opposition to Kawabata (Tanizaki 1993 [1957], xxii). There are only a handful of footnotes in the Seidensticker’s version.

Die Schwestern Makioka, Translation by Sachiko Yatsushiro and Ulla Hengst (1964)

Very little is known about Ulla Hengst, who seems to have been a professional translator, mostly from English (Wilde, Singer), but also from French (de Beauvoir). It is likely that it was Sachiko Yatsushiro who provided the first translation, which was then corrected by Ulla Hengst. Sachiko Yatsushiro, for her part, also translated Kawabata and Mishima. Both seem to have been active mostly in the fifties and sixties. There is neither an introduction in the book, nor any footnotes.

Quatre Soeurs, Translation by Gaston Renondeau (1964)

Gaston Renondeau (1879-1969) was a French general. He was stationed in Japan between 1909-1913 and 1923-1928. Fascinated by Japanese culture he translated widely from 1926 on until his death in 1969. His translations include Osamu Dazai, Mishima and others, and are still in print. He translated three books by Tanizaki. His translation of *The Makioka Sisters* includes no introduction and only one footnote.

Stille Sneeuwval, Translation by Jacques Westerhoven (1994)

Jacques Westerhoven (1947) is an extremely active Dutch translator of Japanese literature. About *The Makioka Sisters*, which was the second book by Tanizaki Westerhoven translated, he says the following:

I am proud of that translation because the book is a bridge between two cultures. If you read it as a Dutchman, you will understand much more of the Japanese than if you worked yourself through some textbook. In fact, all business people who go to Japan should read it. They would know exactly how to behave. (Westerhoven 2000)³²

³² “Daarna deed Westerhoven Stille sneeuwval, ook van Tanizaki, omdat het naar zijn idee de mooiste en belangrijkste Japanse roman van de twintigste eeuw is. Ik ben trots op die vertaling, omdat het boek een brug slaat tussen twee culturen. Als je als Nederlander leest, begrijp je veel meer van Japanners dan wanneer je een of ander handboek doorwerkt. Eigenlijk zouden alle zakenmensen die naar Japan gaan het moeten lezen. Dan weten ze precies hoe ze zich moet gedragen.”

Westerhoven translated scores of works by Haruki Murakami, Tanizaki, Kenzaburō Ōe, Okuzumi Hikaru, Jiro Nitta and others. In his translation of *Sasame Yuki* there are few footnotes, but there is a short introduction and an afterword.

As Irmãs Makioka, Translation by Leiko Gotoda, Kanami Hirai, Neide Hissae Nagae, Eliza Atsuko Tashiro (2005)

This translation is the last one to date. Leiko Gotoda is a very experienced translator of Tanizaki, Kenzaburō Ōe, Mishima and others. Kinami Hirai is a Japanese teacher and a translator under oath. Neide Hissae Nagae is professor at the Japanese department of the Universidade de São Paulo. Apart from her collaboration in *The Makioka Sisters*, she also translated Shuichi Kato, among others. Also Eliza Atsuko Tashiro is a university professor of Japanese at the Universidade de São Paulo. She also translated Japanese poetry. This Brazilian edition of *Sasame Yuki* contains more than sixty footnotes.

Analysis of the Translations

In order to evaluate the five translations of <i>Sasame Yuki</i> I chose the first few paragraphs of the novel. On average, they contain approximately 110 words. In order to make them comparable, I translated the non-English translations into English. I also asked a translator to translate the original Japanese version into a literal English version. The passage, in these six different translations, read as follows ³³ : Portuguese – Leiko Gotoda, Kanami Hirai, Neide Hissae Nagae, Eliza Atsuko	Dutch – Jacques Westerhoven (1994)	English – Edward Seidensticker (1957)	French – Gaston Renondeau (1964)	German – Sachiko Yatsushiro and Ulla Hengst (1964)	<i>Literal translation from Japanese – Werner Vanhorenbeeck</i>
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³³ The original Portuguese, Dutch, English, French and German translations can be found at the end of this article. All but the English translation have been translated into English by me.

Tashiro (2005)					
99 words in Portuguese (133 words in English)	144 words in Dutch (139 words in English)	125 in English	121 words in French (161 words in English)	107 words in German (106 words in English)	<i>116 words</i>
The Makioka Sisters	Gentle Snowfall	The Makioka Sisters	Four Sisters	The Makioka Sisters	
- <i>Koi san</i> ³⁴ , help me - Sachiko asked when she saw, in the mirror, that Taeko had come down the hall and entered the room behind her. Without turning, she handed her the brush with which she had been making up her neck and observed, in an impersonal way, her own reflection wearing only an inner white <i>kimono</i> ,	- <i>Koi san</i> , would you help me? When Sachiko saw in the mirror that Taeko was entering the room behind her, she handed her the brush with which she was applying powder on her neck and observed, without looking at her sister, her own reflection, as if the silhouette in under-	- Would you do this please, <i>Koi san</i> ? Seeing in the mirror that Taeko had come up behind her, Sachiko stopped powdering her back and held out the puff to her sister. Her eyes were still on the mirror, appraising the face as if it belonged to someone else. The long under-	- <i>Koi san</i> ³⁵ , can you help me? Having noticed in the mirror that Taeko had just entered and now stood behind her, Sachiko gave her, without turning around, the makeup brush with which she had begun herself to make up her neck.	- <i>Koi-san</i> , do me a favour! Sachiko saw in the mirror as her sister entered the room coming from the hallway. She stopped making her neck up and, as she stared at her own face, as if she were a stranger, she passed to Taeko, without turning, the wet makeup	<i>I have a request for you, koi. When she saw in the mirror that Taeko came from behind in the hallway, she gave her the brush with which she was covering her neck and without looking at her face, but when</i>

³⁴ This is the way the youngest daughters in traditional Osaka families were called.
(Footnote in the Brazilian translation.)

³⁵ Taeko is the first name of the girl who comes in, but according to Osaka habits, for being the youngest of the sisters she is called *Koi san*. (Footnote in the French translation.)

whose collar she kept away from her neck.	kimono and the head over the collar opened backwards belonged to someone else.	kimono, pulled high at the throat, stood out stiffly behind to reveal her back and shoulders.	She kept her eyes fixed on the image that was reflected in front of her - a woman in her undergarments, with the collar fully pulled back; she looked at it as if it was someone else's.	brush. The long under-kimonowa s closed high in front, away from the neck, so that the neck and shoulders were partly uncovered .	<i>she looked at the view of her nagajuban in her nukiemon as if she considered her nukiemon as a human face, she asked her:</i>
- And Yukiko, what is she doing down there? – she asked.	- What is Yukiko doing down there? - she asked.	- And where is Yukiko?	- What is Yukiko doing down there? - she asked.	- Where is Yukiko?	"Yukiko, what does she do down there?"
She is watching little Etsuko's piano lessons - Taeko answered.	- I think she is monitoring Etsuko's homework for the piano lesson, said Taeko - or <i>Koi san</i> , the "young lady", as the youngest daughter is called in Osaka dialect, which they	- She is watching Etsuko practice, said Taeko. Both sisters spoke in the quiet, unhurried Osaka dialect. Taeko was the youngest in the family, and in Osaka the youngest girl is	- I think she is supervising Etsuko's piano lesson.	- I think she is rehearsing with Etsuko.	"She watches Etsuko play the piano."

	always spoke among themselves .	always 'Koi-san' 'small daughter'.			
Indeed, from the ground floor came the sound of a musical exercise which indicated that Yukiko, ready yet, had probably been requested to supervise her niece's lesson.	Judging by the sounds that rose from below, it truly seemed that Yukiko, having dressed up first, had been seized by Etsuko in order to listen to her prowess on the piano.	They could hear the piano downstairs. Yukiko had finished dressing early and young Etsuko always wanted to someone beside her when she practiced.	Indeed, one could hear piano exercises on the ground floor. As Yukiko had gotten ready early, Etsuko had seized her in order to get a help in her studies.	From downstairs you could hear the sounds of a piano lesson. Apparently Yukiko had dressed quickly and little Etsuko had seized her.	<i>I understand. The sound of a person who practices the piano that comes from below must be Etsuko. Yukiko probably bumped into Etsuko when she wanted to go out, and was then obliged to listen to her piano.</i>

Fig. 1 Translations compared.

It is certainly not my intention to compare these different translations in order to choose the best one or the worst. All translators have an excellent reputation and they have done other Japanese literary translations. My aim is to compare these translations in order to find items in which they differ. A few

features immediately attract our attention. There is, for a start, the difference in number of words.

<i>Original translation</i>	<i>Retranslation in English</i>
Portuguese 99	German 107
German 107	(English 125)
French 121	Portuguese 133
English 125	Dutch 139
Dutch 144	French 161
	<i>Literal translation into English 116</i>

Fig. 2 Number of words.

The Dutch translation is the longest one. It is 45 words longer than the shortest one, the Portuguese. This is quite a bit for such a short passage, even more so if we take into account that Dutch spells multiword items in one word. Dutch and German, on the other hand, are totally comparable languages in terms of structure and orthographic conventions (e. g. multiword items).

Nevertheless, the translations under scrutiny differ widely in number of words. The Portuguese and French translations are the only ones that contain a footnote. Strangely enough, this helped to shorten the Brazilian version, but not the French one. With the exception of the German translation, all translations mention – within the text or in a footnote – the fact that *Koi-san* is a way of addressing the youngest daughter. The Brazilian and French translations do this precisely in the footnote I mentioned. This seems the right thing to do since the Japanese original does not mention this kind of information, obvious for a Japanese reader. The Dutch and English translations, on the other hand, mention it within the text, being one of the reasons why the Dutch translation is longer. In the German version, the name “Taeko” is simply omitted, which prevents the reader from being confused by seeing two different names for the same person, albeit omitting some information.

The English and the Dutch translation refer explicitly to a so-called “Osaka dialect.” Seidensticker calls it “quiet and unhurried,” something that is not present in the original. Referring to this the translator states: “Only the first sentence of the fourth paragraph of the translation is present in the original. The rest is amplification, thought necessary to ease the alien reader’s way into the translation.” (Seidensticker in Tanizaki 1993: xxii). Apparently the Dutch and American translators considered this piece of information essential to a good understanding of the novel under scrutiny. The Portuguese translation does not mention this fact, which is not present in the original.

Another important difference between the five translations is that in the Brazilian version, as well as in German and Dutch, the narrator is not omniscient, whereas in the French and English versions he is. In passages such

as “had probably been requested” (Portuguese), “it truly seemed that Yukiko” (Dutch), “apparently Yukiko” (German), there are doubts whether the narrator knows the truth. This is coherent with the original, and an important peculiarity in this very elaborate psychological novel in which details are what matters.

The main differences in translation of this fragment can be summarised as follows:

1. Only the Dutch translation translates the original title literally, *Sasameyuki* (Zachte Sneeuwval/*Gentle snowfall*). The Brazilian, German and, to some extent, the French translations follow the American title (*The Makioka Sisters*).
2. There is a difference in the number of words, which can be summarised by the following figure.

<i>Original translation</i>	<i>Retranslation in English</i>
Portuguese 99	German 107
-----	Literal Translation 116
German 107	(English 125)
French 121	Portuguese 133
English 125	Dutch 139
Dutch 144	French 161

3. The level of formality is higher in the Brazilian version than it is in the other ones. (I will expand on this further on.)
4. There is a footnote in the Brazilian and in the French translation with additional information on how a younger sister is addressed in Osaka. This information is part of the text in the Dutch and English versions and was omitted in German.
5. The English and Dutch translations have a more ‘serious’ ring due to the Introduction and an Afterword.

The Brazilian Translation of *Sasame Yuki*

As was mentioned before, an important difference between the Brazilian version and the others is that it sounds much more formal than the others. I will give some examples of this formality present in this small passage, but of which there are examples throughout the book. First of all there are the “minor forms” of formality, such as certain verb forms: “viera” (pretéritomais-que-perfeito) instead of “tinha vindo,” “vira-se” instead of “tinha se visto.” These are never ever used in spoken Brazilian Portuguese. They are, however, more or less common in literary prose, not unlike the French *passé simple*

(Pontes 1992, Castilha 2002). On another level, however, other forms such as “lhesvinha o som” instead of “escutavam o som,” “a indicar” instead of “indicando” are not merely formal, they are purely Lusitanian (from Portugal) and are registered in Portuguese grammars, but are not actually used and sound extremely formal. They are not common, even in literary Brazilian Portuguese.

For a number of reasons, the distinction between formal and informal is an old and typical Brazilian vexed question, not always free from political overtones. Brazil was a colony for over three hundred years, and the struggle for linguistic independence started virtually only in the 1920ies and has not entirely been achieved yet. As Mario Perini, a distinguished Brazilian linguist, states: “why do we have such a hard time writing texts in Portuguese? Isn’t it our mother tongue? The answer is simple, although it could surprise some of us: no, Portuguese (as it is used in written texts) is *not* our mother tongue”³⁶ (Perini, 1997: 35).

The Brazilian version of the *Makioka Sisters* sets itself apart for being more formal and keeping, in this way, more of a distance from the reader. In real life, a formal tone in personal treatment aims at establishing a boundary and keeping the interlocutor at bay. In a novel, the reader sees the fictional world as if in a bubble in which he has no part. Whereas a colloquial style involves the reader, a formal style tends to establish a limit. When footnotes are used, and in the Brazilian edition there is a rather large number of them, this impression is reinforced. A footnote means that the text cannot be correctly understood if the translator does not provide additional information. The translator suggests that the text is somewhat mysterious, but he/she knows this mysterious world, and it is through the additional information in the footnote that the reader is able to enter it. *The Makioka Sisters* is a novel, but in the Brazilian translation it additionally becomes something of an ethnographic document.

There are more characteristics of the translation that corroborate this assertion, such as the passages that appear in Japanese in the Portuguese translation. This is a feature that makes it clear that Japan is a (very) different culture, and that one cannot simply translate a novel without additional information, or even quoting literally from the Japanese original. Obviously the translators have a point in conveying this message: this really is a world different from Brazil, yet the Dutch or English public, in whose translations there are no footnotes, do not have anything in common with the Japanese either. However, these translators chose not to highlight these differences. They explain what is different – that the younger sister has another name – but they

³⁶ “por que temos tanta dificuldade em escrever textos em português? Não é a nossa língua materna? A resposta é simples, mas pode surpreender alguns: não, o português (que aparece nos textos escritos) não é a nossa língua materna.”

do so within the text. They communicate this information as if the writer himself was communicating it, as if this information was also needed for Japanese readers from, say, Tokyo or Hokkaido. This difference becomes even more telling when we realise that the Brazilian version was made by translators of Japanese ancestry who, logically, are closer to the source language and culture than the other translators.

I will now situate the Brazilian translation in the broader context of the translation of Japanese literature in Brazil.

Japanese Literature in Brazil

Before World War II, there was an important Japanese publishing market in Brazil, with a high percentage of Japanese immigrants having a subscription to one of the Brazilian newspapers published in Japanese. "In 1939, a survey of the North-western Railroad of São Paulo, showed that 87.7% of the Japanese immigrants had a subscription to a newspaper in their mother tongue, a high index to Brazilian standards for this sector"³⁷ (Suzuki 2008). Moreover, we know that the community of Japanese immigrants has always encouraged the education of their children in a systematic way and that the Japanese government used to subsidize Japanese schools in Brazil (Shibata, 1997; Shibata, 2009).

However, over the past century the influence of Japanese culture on Brazilian literary culture has been modest, whereas there was a significant Japanese contribution to Brazilian cuisine, visual arts, cinema and also architecture (See also Lesser 1999, 2013). What are the reasons for this marginal situation of Japanese literary culture within Brazilian society, and how should we evaluate Japanese literary translations, and more specifically the translation of *The Makioka Sisters*, in this context? First, I will discuss Japanese literature as it has been translated in Brazil.

As can be deduced from an unpublished survey conducted by Neide Hissae Nagae and her research group, the introduction of Japanese literature into Brazil happened at a late stage (data personally provided by Neide Hissae Nagae). No literary translations from Japanese were found before the 1950s. 1951 saw the publication of a translation of XX century classic *Fumiko Hayashi*, translated by Meico Shimon, and in the same year, of Kawabata's *Senbazuru*. In 1962, one of the few notable Brazilian intellectuals of Japanese descent before the twenty-first century, Antônio Nojiri, published *Maravilhas do conto japonês* (Marvels of the Japanese short-story). It is worth observing that not even the

³⁷Em 1939, uma pesquisa da Estrada de Ferro Noroeste, de São Paulo, mostrava que 87,7% dos japoneses assinavam jornais na sua língua materna, um índice altíssimo para os padrões do setor no Brasil.(Suzuki 2008)

fact that Kawabata won the Nobel Prize in 1968 resulted in a significant increase of translations of Japanese literature in Brazil. Kawabata would be translated systematically into Portuguese only during the last decade of the twentieth century. Brazilian editorial policies do not seem to be dictated by proper literary considerations. As Cunha states: "the previous edition in English seems to be a necessary condition for most Japanese books to be published in a Brazilian translation (even when directly translated from Japanese)" (66).³⁸

Until 1985, books by Japanese authors in Brazil were few and translated from English. This fact is surprising in a country that has the largest Japanese community in the world and where there were, till recently, scores of people with a good command of both languages. As Cunha states:

The number of literary works translated from Japanese into Brazilian Portuguese far from reflects the close historical, ethnic, commercial, cultural or diplomatic ties between the two countries. The same is true with respect to the translation of Brazilian works in Japan, and the reasons are actually similar – starting with the non-hegemonic status of the two national languages. (67)³⁹

Publishing house Estação Liberdade began in the 1990s to publish Japanese literature translated directly from Japanese. The Centre for Japanese Studies at the University of São Paulo became very active in the same decade, and since 2000 editor Companhia das Letras also started publishing Japanese literature. The translation by Leiko Gotoda of *Musashi*, published in 1999, proved to be an amazing and unexpected editorial success. Altogether, however, the list of all Japanese literary works, translated either from English or Japanese, amounts to just over 130 works in 60 years. By way of comparison, in 2010 Japanese was the second most translated language in France and on a French list on the Internet it is possible to find the names of 396 authors and 134 titles, even though France has no historical cultural ties with Japan (<http://www.mcjp.fr/francais/conferences/archives/la-traduction-du-japonais-dans-l>).

Neither are literary works written by Japanese immigrants in Brazil very numerous. It is surprising that until a few years ago this community had

38 [...]a edição prévia em inglês parece ser condição necessária para que a maioria dos livros japoneses conheçam uma tradução brasileira (mesmo quando traduzidos direto do japonês).

39 O número de obras literárias traduzidas do japonês ao português brasileiro está longe de refletir os estreitos laços históricos, étnicos, comerciais, culturais ou diplomáticos entre os dois países. O mesmo se pode dizer com relação à tradução de obras brasileiras no Japão, e os motivos são, na verdade, semelhantes — a começar pelo status não hegemonicó das duas línguas nacionais.

produced only a few renowned intellectuals. There is Antonio Nojiri, who was in contact with prominent Brazilian intellectuals of his time, and not many more (Handa 1987).

The lack of translations from the Japanese is confirmed by the absence of Japanese descendants in Brazilian literature in general. In this, nikkei⁴⁰ are not an exception and this tells us something about immigration and cultural integration. Cruz e Souza and Machado de Assis, both of African descent, were the first two authors in Brazilian literature of whom can be said that they were not purely Portuguese descendants. They entered the Portuguese cultural tradition, but were aware of their black ancestry. If we rely on full names, admittedly not a completely reliable criterion but which provides an indication, we see that few authors do not have Portuguese names. There is Gastão Cruls, of partially Dutch descent; Clarice Lispector, descendant of Ukrainians; Hilda Hilst, descendant of Alsatians and Portuguese; Nelida Piñon, of Spanish descent; Zélia Gattai, Italian; Lya Luft, German; Paulo Leminski, Polish and African; Cristóvão Tezza, Italian; Raduan Nassar and Milton Hatoum, Lebanese. It is no coincidence that apart from Gattai and Piñon, these ethnic groups are at the same time underrepresented in the panorama of Brazilian immigration. Indeed, individual immigrants integrate more easily. This does not mean that there are not many German and Italian authors, but only a few have achieved national recognition. Tellingly, their interest is often focused on immigration problems. As might be expected, the integration of immigrants takes more than one generation, and this is reflected in their cultural integration as well.

Who are thenikkeiauthorsin Brazil? Where dothey standin the whole ofBrazilian literature? The *Fundação Japão* (Japan Foundation) provides interesting data that I will supplement with my own figures. According to the *Fundação Japão*, until recently, the Japanese community in Brazil expressed itself mainly in Japanese. Poetry was the first form of expression – *haiku*, *tanka*, *senryuu* – much more than narrative prose which is almost non-existent. The Fundação Japão website mentions eight novels by six authors, albeit two of them are not of Japanese descent and were merely inspired by Japanese topics. In 2011 Oscar Nakasato published the novel *Nihonjin*. Despite the fact that this novel was written at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the plotis typical of a newcomer. *Nihonjinis*, as the title indicates, an “identity saga” (Gilberto Araújo, 2011) which recounts the history of Japanese emigration through the eyes ofan immigrant.⁴¹ Titles with this topic, both fiction and nonfiction, form the majority of writings produced by the Japanese community in Brazil. Adapting to the new country remains a major concern, even for those who have

⁴⁰ I understand ‘nikkei’ as comprising all Japanese descendants living outside of Japan.

⁴¹ Less recent examples are the novels by Laura Honda Hasegawa:

SonhosBloqueados(1991) and *Kiken* (2000).

never been to Japan. It is as if the immigrants, over several generations, had first to affirm their difference, their identity, to be able to lose it afterwards and then start focusing on other facets of life. It is as if in a first stage the affirmation of a distinct identity would prevail over any other existential concern.

The literary integration of the immigrant seems therefore to go through these three phases: first, a continuation of the literature of the country of origin, and this in the original language. Secondly, the same kind of literature arises, but at least partially in the language of the host country. Finally, more typically western genres are taken on, but still with a topic that focuses on the adaptation to the new country. Since this integration of writers is apparently a slow process, would it not be acceptable a thesis that also the integration of translators happens in a gradual way, even more so if they actively participate in both communities? Could it therefore be that specifically nikkei translators would be drawn to a more formal, distant form of the language, translating from the point of view of the source text, and not of the target text as other translators would.

The *Makioka Sisters* and the Brazilian Nikkei Tradition

In all translations of *Sasameyuki*, except in the German one (1964), the names of the translators are mentioned on the title page. With the exception of Leiko Gotoda, who is a professional translator, and the German translator, of whom we know nothing, all the translators are academics. All translations surveyed, except the German, contain footnotes, but none has as many as the Brazilian (67). It is worthwhile devoting some attention to these data.

Although Westerhoven and Seidensticker are also academics, this does not seem to be the rule anymore in Japanese translation worldwide. Japanese has stopped to be an “academic” language in most countries. In France, Germany or the United States, Japanese translators are now people who are likely to have a university degree, but who are translators in the first place. In these countries, Japanese seems to have abandoned the field of “exotic,” mysterious languages that can only be addressed by scholars. (In our translations of *Sasame Yuki*, there is a preface and an afterword in the Dutch and English translations, done by academics.) Accordingly, in most countries that publish Japanese literature on a regular basis, “typical” Japanese pictures figure less and less on the covers. The focus there is that books by Japanese authors mainly tell us a story about human phenomena, not about “Japanese” curiosities.

Let us come back to the issue of the footnotes in this perspective. What should we make of them? A footnote is supposed to provide complementary and possibly essential information that the target public does not possess. What is this missing information? A typical footnote in the Brazilian translation is the

one on page 61 where the term *shoji* is mentioned: "(Teinosuke) opened the *shoji* ahead of him and he saw that the sky had just cleared." In a footnote it is stated that *shoji* is a "sliding partition made of light weight wood". In the other here researched translations, the terms used were *Schiebetür*, *fenêtre coulissante*, *paper-panelled window*, *papierenpaneel*. i.e. *sliding door*, *sliding window*, *window with paper panels*, *paper panel*.

Using a footnote, the Brazilian translators insinuate that there is no total equivalence between *shoji* and *sliding partition*. Otherwise, they would have written "Teinosuke opened the sliding partition." It has the same meaning – it explains the concept – but it is not the same. The information on *shoji* is not essential for a good understanding of what really matters in the story. It does not affect the plot. It is a piece of information that, at first sight, only promotes the "local flavour." However, here is also a subliminal message from the translators: Japanese culture is different, hard to assimilate for Brazilians, and even things that look the same, such as a sliding door, are in fact something else.

Other features distinguish the Brazilian translation of *The Makioka Sisters* from the others. It is the only one that leaves entire Japanese sentences into the text. In Chapter XVII of the First Part, the Makioka family visits a Russian family. A Russian man, present in the conversation, is known to be a children's friend. This is what the family comments: "so he is known as '*kodomosukinaroshiya-jin*'. (...) Nobody calls him Vronski-san anymore. Today, he is *Kodomosuki-san*."

A few paragraphs later, the grandmother comes in. She says: "*Watashi, kon-yataihenureshigozeemasu*." This is translated in a footnote: "Tonight you gave me a great joy." The reader wonders why this sentence was not simply translated in the text, but two sentences later it is mentioned that the Makioka family found strange the use of "gozeemasu." In none of the other translations were these problems addressed through a direct quotation in Japanese. The French version ignores it. The English, Dutch and German solved the problem with a pun or a purposely erroneous phrase. Each translator tried to solve the problem in a different way and, in the end, the information conveyed is more or less the same. However, by adding these sentences and the considerable number of Japanese terms in the Brazilian translation, the reader gets a much more "Japanese" impression of the novel. The most obvious thing to say is that this is just a typical "foreignizing" translation, but one can wonder why the Brazilian version is the most "foreignizing" of all. It is the one among all translations that puts the most emphasis on the "foreign" character of the text, this while the translators are all Japanese descendants and translate in a country where Japanese influence is most notable and common.

In Brazil, translations of Japanese literary works are mostly done by nikkei, descendants of Japanese immigrants.⁴² This is not the case with translators in other countries, judging by the information found in the Japanese Literature Publishing Project.⁴³ On the list drawn up by this organization, only ten out of 45 translators into English has at least one Japanese name, eight of the 32 translators into French, six out of 36 of those translating into German, one out of 25 translating into Russian. It is worth remembering that Brazilian descendants of Japanese immigrants translating literary works is a recent phenomenon. Until the mid-1990s, translations of Japanese literary works were almost exclusively made by Luso-Brazilians using previous English translations.

Conclusion

All this leads us to conclude that translating Japanese literature in Brazil is not the same as translating Japanese literature anywhere else. Neither is it the same as translating, in Brazil, say, American, French or Hungarian authors. The translation of Japanese literature by nikkei descendant shas apparently an impact on the translation itself and is reflected in a way that it does not *domesticate* Japanese literature, but quite the reverse: it makes it more foreign.

The translations of Japanese authors made in the course of the last fifteen years are different from translations of these same authors in other countries. Brazilian translations of English or German literary works are not crowded with items in English or German, subsequently explained in a footnote. Brazilian translations of Japanese literature create a greater distance between the readers and the author, greater than if they were reading the same text in an English translation. Nikkei translators emphasise that Japanese literature concerns a “different culture.” In the light of the chronology of Japanese immigration and the distance that separates Japanese and Brazilian cultures, one could hypothesise that this greater translational distance reflects the distance which still separates the nikkei population from the mainstream Brazilians.

Not surprisingly, this is also why the Brazilian translation of *The Makioka Sisters* is the most “faithful” of all. Like an ethnographic work, it misses no detail and has a clearly “explanatory ring” to it. The extremely conservative “accent” of the Portuguese used in the translation seems to express a denial to be integrated into contemporary Brazilian literature. What this kind of translation seems to indicate is that the entry of the nikkei community onto the Brazilian literary scene has not yet been completed.

⁴² Jefferson Teixeira and Andrei Cunha are, as far as I know, exceptions.

⁴³ <http://www.jlpp.go.jp/en/index/html>

The incorporation of an immigrant community is a slow process, especially when the community is large, coherent and culturally very distant from the host society. Literarily speaking, Afro-Brazilians entered the scene in the late XIX century, Germans and Italians are only slowly following. The nikkei, through their translators, are still portraying Japanese culture as different from Brazilian culture, not as something recognizable and easy to assimilate.

When reading these different translations of *The Makioka Sisters*, the reader can easily identify with the plot, which is what is left in all translations. The success of the novel in several languages proves that the actions of the characters respond to a general “human” logic. The question is whether the translator considers it worthwhile or necessary to make the reader feel that this human logic takes place in an environment that the reader can easily identify with. The translations in English, German, French and Dutch eliminate the circumstantial and reduce the novel to a history of families that is, *mutatis mutandis*, universal. On the other end of the spectrum the Brazilian “nikkei translation” says: this is universal, but it is not the same as in the rest of the world.

When discussing the role of the translator, expressions come to mind such as “mediator between cultures,” “promoter of dialogue,” etc. Translators are probably all that, but the translator is also a human being, with personal beliefs, who lives in a specific community. In Brazil, Japanese translators live in a Japanese community. By contrast, Brazilian translators of e.g. English do not live in American or British communities. Japanese translators are, to some extent, representatives of their community, since they are immediately linked to them. They are spokespersons. They integrate, but also confirm their identity, which consists of differences. This is what the translation of *Sasame Yuki* seems to suggest.

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Appendix – Original Translations of Tanizaki's *Sasameyuki*

Portuguese (Transl. by Leiko Gotoda, Kanami Hirai, Neide Hissae Nagae, Eliza Atsuko Tashiro)

- Koisan, ajude-me – pediu Sachiko ao ver no espelho que Taeko viera pelo corredor e entrava no quarto às suas costas. Sem se voltar, entregou-lhe o pincel com que estivera maquiando o pescoço e observou com atenção impessoal o próprio reflexo vestido apenas de quimono interno branco, cuja gola mantinha afastada da nuca.
 - E Yukiko, que faz lá embaixo? – perguntou.
 - Acompanha as lições de piano da pequena Etsuko – respondeu Taeko.
- De fato, do andar térreo lhes vinha o som de um exercício musical a indicar que Yukiko, já arrumada, vira-se provavelmente solicitada pela sobrinha a supervisionar sua lição.

Dutch (Transl. By Jacques Westerhoven)

'Koi san! Kun jij even helpen?'
 Toen Sachiko in de spiegel Taeko achter haar rug de kamer binnen /ag komen, gaf ze haar het kwastje waarmee ze haar nek aan het poederen was en bestudeerde, zonder haar zuster aan te kijken, haar spiegelbeeld, alsof de gedaante in onderkimono en het hoofd boven «Ir naar achteren opengetrokken kraag aan iemand anders toebehoorden. 'Wat voert Yukiko uit beneden?' vroeg ze.
 'Ik geloof dat ze Etsuko haar huiswerk voor pianoles aan het overhoren is,' zei Taeko — of Koi-san, 'de jongedame', zoals de jongste dochter van de familie heet in het Osakase dialect dat ze onder elkaar altijd spraken.
 Te oordelen naar de klanken die van beneden opstegen, had het er inderdaad alle schijn van dat Yukiko, na als eerste, haar toilet voltooid te hebben, door Etsuko was aangeklampt om naar haar prestaties op de piano te luisteren.

English (Transl. by Edward Seidensticker)

Would you do this please, Koi-san?'

Seeing in the mirror that Taeko had come up behind her, Sachiko stopped powdering her back and held out the puff to her sister. Her eyes were still on the mirror, appraising the face as if it belonged to someone else. The long under-kimono, pulled high at the throat, stood out stiffly behind to reveal her back and shoulders.

'And where is Yukiko?'

'She is watching Etsuko practice,' said Taeko. Both sisters spoke in the quiet, unhurried Osaka dialect. Taeko was the youngest in the family, and in Osaka the youngest girl is always 'Koisan,' 'small daughter.'

They could hear the piano downstairs. Yukiko had finished dressing early, and young Etsuko always wanted someone beside her when she practiced.

French (Transl. by Gaston Renondeau)

— Koi san, veux-tu m'aider ?

Ayant aperçu dans le miroir Tae koqui était entrée et se tenait derrière elle, Satchi ko lui tendit sans se retourner le pinceau à maquiller avec lequel elle avait commencé à se farder elle-même la nuque. Ses yeux restaient fixés sur la figure, qui se reflétait devant elle, d'une femme en sous- vêtement au col largement descendu par-derrière ; elle la regardait comme s'il s'était agi d'une autre personne.

— Que fait Youki ko en bas ? demanda-t-elle.

— Je crois qu'elle surveille le piano d'Etsou ko.

En effet, on entendait, au rez-de-chaussée, des exercices de piano. Youki ko ayant terminé sa toilette de bonne heure, Etsou ko s'était emparée d'elle pour être assistée dans son étude.

German (Transl. by Sachiko Yatsushiro and Ulla Hengst)

«Koi-san, sei doch so gut!»

Im Spiegel sah Sachiko, wie ihre Schwester vom Korridor her das Zimmer betrat. Sie hörte auf, sich den Hals zu schminken, und während sie ihr Gesicht prüfend wie das einer Fremden musterte, streckte sie Taeko, ohne sich umzudrehen, die nasse Puderquaste entgegen. Der lange Unterkimono war vorn hochgeschlossen und stand hinten vom Hals ab, so dass er den Nacken und einen Teil der Schultern frei ließ.

«Wo ist denn Yukiko?»

«Ich glaube, sie übt mit Etsuko.»

Von unten drangen die Klänge einer Klavieretüde herauf. Yukiko hatte sich offenbar mit dem Ankleiden beeilt und war von der kleinen Etsuko mit Beschlag belegt worden.

UNE TRADUCTION NIKKEI DES *SŒURS MAKIOKA* DE TANIZAKI

Notre recherche s'est concentré sur cinq traductions différentes du classique japonais *Quatre sœurs* (*Sasame Yuki*) de Junichiro Tanizaki: en anglais, en néerlandais, en français, en allemand et en portugais brésilien. Ces cinq traductions ont été effectuées par des traducteurs hautement qualifiés, mais elles sont néanmoins très différentes. Nous nous sommes particulièrement intéressés à la traduction brésilienne, parce qu'elle a des particularités qui indiquent que les caractéristiques spécifiques du traducteur déterminent certaines caractéristiques de la traduction. En effet, dans la traduction

brésilienne, le langage est beaucoup plus formel que dans les autres traductions. En outre, celle-ci a un nombre de notes beaucoup plus élevé que les autres traductions et certains passages ont été maintenus en japonais. Toutes ces caractéristiques font que cette traduction est très différente des autres que nous avons étudiées. Puisqu'une des caractéristiques de la traduction brésilienne est qu'elle a été faite uniquement par des descendants japonais, l'on peut se demander s'il y a un lien de causalité entre les deux données. En effet, la principale différence entre les différents traducteurs est que tous les quatre traducteurs brésiliens, étant d'origine japonaise, vivent dans un pays où il y a une communauté japonaise nombreuse, avec des liens toujours étroits avec la «mère patrie» et sa culture. En outre, parce que les immigrants japonais sont nombreux, forment un groupe cohérent et qu'une plus grande distance culturelle les sépare japonais des immigrants européens, ceux-là tendent à s'intégrer plus lentement dans la société brésilienne et semblent encore se débattre avec le problème de leur intégration. C'est ce que semble démontrer leur absence quasi totale dans la littérature brésilienne et la présence prépondérante du thème de la migration dans le peu qui existe.

Mots-clés: traduction littéraire, migration, littérature japonaise, Tanizaki.

METODIČKI PRISTUP INKLUIZIJI U NASTAVI ENGLESKOG JEZIKA

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Apstrakt: Mnogi nastavnici su upoznati s konceptom obrazovanja djece s posebnim potrebama, ali se ipak njegova upotreba u praksine javlja u istom intenzitetu. S obzirom na današnji obrazovni sistem i uvjete koje imamo u našim učionicama, raditi s djecom s posebnim obrazovnim potrebama je i izazov i prilika. Podučavajući svoj predmet, svaki nastavnik ima za osnovni cilj da ga predstavisvojim učenicima na najbolji mogući način. Kada ima različite kategorije učenika, nastavnik smatra da je veoma teško provoditi nastavne ciljeve onako kako je to planirao. Kroz diferencijaciju, mnogo toga se može postići, a i više učenika može biti uključeno. Zbog toga, svaki nastavnik bi trebao razmotriti mogućnost uključivanja diferenciranog pristupa u svoju nastavu. Osim toga, trebamo utvrditi ciljeve, razviti planove, savladati i pregledati strategije za djecu s posebnim potrebama. Ponekad mala promjena može poboljšati djetetovo znanje i motivaciju za učenjem.

Oslanjajući se na tezu da se učenje odvija onda kada učenici doživljavaju nastavu na nivoukoji je prikladno izazovan i dostižan (Tomlinson, 2003; Wolfe, 2001), ovaj rad će sadržavati naše vlastito iskustvo svladavanja osnovnih smjernica diferencijacije i rada s djecom s posebnim potrebama provedenogu nastavi engleskog jezika, kao i istraživanje o drugim nastavnicima i školama i njihovoj spremnosti za rad s djecom s posebnim potrebama.

Ključne riječi: inkluzija, edukacija, diferencijacija, kategorizacija (usmjeravanje), djeca s posebnim potrebama, nastavnik.

Uvod

Pojam *inkluzija* se može definirati kroz tri pristupa. Prvi pristup je inkluzija kao najopštiji pojam koja se definira kao "proces ili pristup u kome segment nečega ili pojedinca u društvu posmatramo kao dio cjeline" (Suzić 11). Drugi pristup koji daje Suzić je inkluzivno vaspitanje i obrazovanje koje podrazumijeva "aktivnosti individue i društva kao proces učenja i poučavanja u kome dolazi do relativno trajnih i progresivnih promjena pojedinca u uslovima simedonijske podrške i socijalne uključenosti" (11). Treći pristup je ujedno najčešći i najuži pojmovni kontekst shvatanja inkluzije, a definira je kao "proces uključivanja djece sa posebnim potrebama u redovne škole i ukupni društveni život" (11).

Zadnjih godina, inkluzija je postala sastavni dio obrazovanja. Međutim, u Bosni i Hercegovini, mnoge škole nisu spremne da sprovedu inkluziju u potpuno-

sti upravo radi nepostojanja osposobljenog stručnog kadra, a mnoga djeca nemaju ni kategorizaciju, te predavači često ne znaju ni kako raditi s njima.

Problematika uvođenja projekta inkluzije u edukaciju počela je na samom početku, kada u edukaciji u Bosni i Hercegovini dolazi do brojnih problema koji se odnose ne samo na nejasnu terminologiju, ispravni aspekt razvoja inkluzivnog obrazovanja, finansiranje i nastavni plan i program, već i na činjenicu da prvenstveno nijedošlo ni do osposobljavanja nastavnika/profesora za rad s djecom s posebnim potrebama. Godinama poslije, postoje predavači, učitelji, nastavnici i profesori, koji su površno upoznati s projektom inkluzije, pojmovima kao što su djeca s posebnim potrebama, djeca s poteškoćama, hendikep, invaliditet, a ponajviše pojmom inkluzija i kako je sprovesti.

Inkluzija je proces koji zahtijeva veliku fleksibilnost prvenstveno u nastavnom planu i programu, ali i kod nastavnika koji, pored toga što moraju stići nova znanja i vještine, trebaju da poštuju različite potrebe svojih učenika. Baš kao i ostala djeca, djeca s poteškoćama u razvoju se međusobno razlikuju u svojim osobinama. Upravo zbog toga, podučavanje mora biti organizovano na osnovu njihovih posebnih potreba i vještina vodeći računa o tome da:

- pojedina djeca mogu imati problema s vidom, pa bi učionice trebale biti uvijek dobro osvijetljene,
- ima djece s problemima sluha, pa bi nastavnik u tom slučaju morao da priča dovoljno glasno i jasno,
- kod djece s poteškoćama u govoru treba biti vrlo strpljiv i pažljiv te, po mogućnosti, pronaći drugi oblik ispitivanja koji je prilagođeniji toj grupi djece,
- knjige trebaju biti usklađene dobnoj zrelosti i sposobnosti djeteta, te u raznim bojama kako bi što bolje privukle pažnju učenika.

Zaštitni znak idealnog inkluzivnog razreda je da svaki učenik ima doživljaj situacije učenja kao smisaone za njega, a koja treba da bude rezultat nastavnikove dinamične i fleksibilne podrške koja je u skladu sa individualnim potrebama i koja je koordinirana kroz zajedničke aktivnosti u razredu (Johnsen 2004).

U istraživanju koje smo sproveli, došlo se do interesantnih podataka vezanih za inkluziju, pojmove djece s posebnim potrebama i načinu rada s njima. Kroz različitapitanja spoznali smo da mnogi predavači u školama nisu sigurni šta je inkluzija, ko se sve smatra s *posebnim potrebama i teškoćama u razvoju* te kako raditi s pojedinim učenicima. Zanimalo nas je pretežno kako i koliko su nastavnici spremni i educirani za rad s djecom s poteškoćama, koliki je procenat nastavnika koji poznaju pojmove inkluzije i osnovnih ciljeva koje ona predstavlja, te kako koncipirati rad s djetetom s poteškoćama.

Termin *posebne potrebe* uveden je 1993. godine u dokumentu koji je potvrđen na Simpoziju o djeci sa posebnim potrebama u Salamanki-Španjolska

(Šarenac 1999). Iz razloga što ne postoji opće prihvaćena definicija pojma djece s posebnim potrebama, *termin posebna potreba* označava potrebe koje djeca s teškoćama u razvoju imaju glede funkcioniranja u svakodnevnom životu odnosno seći se prvenstveno na zadovoljavanje osnovnih potreba, a zatim i na odgoj, obrazovanje, zdravstvenu skrb pa i na socijalizaciju. Također treba napomenuti i da pojam *teškoće u razvoju* obuhvaća razna urođena i stečena oštećenja različite vrste i intenziteta manifestirajući se u otežanoj sposobnosti kretanja, oštećenju mišića i živaca (cerebralna paraliza) ili pak u komunikaciji i nesposobnosti savladavanja društvenih vještina (autizam).

Prema mišljenju udruženja defektologa Kantona Sarajeva, iako od 2003. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini postoji Zakon o osnovnoj školi koji daje mogućnost uključivanja djece s posebnim potrebama u redovnu osnovnu školu, veoma malo je učinjeno do današnjeg dana. Mišljenja su da bi integracija slijepih djece ili uopće djece sa posebnim potrebama u osnovnu školu bila uspješna, svi sudionici tog procesa moraju timski djelovati i gotovo svakodnevno proširivati svoje kom-petencije iskustvima drugih, prateći literaturu, ali i iskustvom stečenim u radu sa djecom. Stoga smo mi odlučile da cilj našeg rada upravo bude predstavljanje važnosti edukacije nastavnika i učenika kao i pravilnog metodičkog pristupa učenja engleskog jezika za učenike s poteškoćama.

Inkluzija, izazov i prilika

Uvođenje inkluzije u Bosni i Hercegovini predstavlja jedno od težih problema koje je reforma obrazovanja prouzročila. Inkluzivno školovanje formulisano je još davne 1948. godine u Univerzalnoj deklaraciji o ljudskim pravima, a zatim i 1980. godine u Konvenciji o pravima djeteta. U Bosnu i Hercegovinu, inkluzivna nastava je uvedena 2004./05. godine, reformom obrazovanja gdje je predavač postao koordinator učenja dok je zamišljeno da učenici iskoriste svoje potencijale i mogućnosti u potpunosti. Naime, da bi se to uspjelo, potrebno je uraditi nekoliko promjena i reformi u oblastima edukacije, prije svega, rada u učionici i sa djecom s poteškoćama.

Inkluzija u nastavi je, u stvari, izazov svakom predavaču da omogući učenicima jednaka prava i mogućnosti bez obzira na individualne razlike. Inkluzija u prvom redu podrazumijeva omogućavanje svim učenicima da jednako pristupe nastavnoj jedinki, kao i maksimalnu fleksibilnost u zadovoljavanju specifičnih obrazovnih i širih društvenih potreba sve djece. Tu bi spomenule posebno djecu s posebnim potrebama, za koju je predviđeno da inkluzivnom nastavom svladaju određene vještine, a prevaziđu prepreke, svako zasebno ali socijalizacijom uz podršku vršnjaka i okoline. Međutim, da li je to moguće u potpunosti provoditi? Kako omogućiti svakoj individui tu raznolikost i fleksibilnost na času od 45 minuta, a u razredu i dalje imamo preko 25 učenika?

Prije svega, kada je započeo proces uvođenja inkluzije u obrazovanje nije se razmišljalo tko će tu inkluziju sprovoditi. Nastavnici nisu bili spremni, ustavne koje ih obrazuju i dalje ne daju dovoljno niti informacija niti primjera rada s djecom s posebnim potrebama, a zahtjevi i problemi su sve veći. Institucije koje su trebale da se pobrinu prvo bitno za edukaciju nastavnika, a potom i za sve ostalo, nisu pokazale interesovanje ili su odsustvovali u problematici u potpunosti. I poslije toliko godina poslije uvođenja inkluzije u nastavni proces, pojam *djeca s s posebnim potrebama* je i dalje nepoznat mnogim nastavnicima u razredu, a većina nastavnika u osnovnim i srednjim školama ne zna ko su sve djeca s posebnim potrebama i kako raditi s njima. Kroz naše istraživanje saznali smo da veći broj predavača u školama, posebno u osnovnim, ne može raspoznati dijete s posebnim potrebama. Nažalost, nastavnici često svrstavaju djecu kojima imaju problema sa razumijevanjem gradiva u kategorijudjeces poteškoćama u učenju ili djecu koja imaju specifične poteškoće učenja smatraju lijenom, nezrelom i nesposobnom djecom.

U online anketi⁴⁴, koju smo poslale na različite adrese nastavnika u Bosni i Hercegovini, koji su zaposleni u svim sferama obrazovanja, pitanja smo koncipirali tako što smo ponudili odgovore, koje su oni trebali da odaberu. Čak 80% ispitanika, nastavnika i profesora, iz različitih gradova Bosne i Hercegovine kažu da imaju planove i programe prilagođene za djecu s posebnim potrebama, te da materijale za časove sami izrađuju. Na osnovu ankete, u kojoj je učestvovalo preko 50 nastavnika iz svih dijelova Bosne i Hercegovine, uočili smo razlike u poznavanju pojmova inkluzije, djece s posebnim potrebama, te djece s poteškoćama.

Polovina ispitanika je reklo da imaju asistenta za nastavu u matičnoj školi, dok 43% koriste asistenta u nastavi na svojim časovima. Samo 10% nastavnika/profesora smatra da je kadar škole spremna za rad s djecom s posebnim potrebama, a čak 48% nastavnika se izjasnilo da njihova škola ne podržava inkluziju. Oko 59% ispitanika na početku školske godine nema nikakve podatke u kojem odjeljenju ima dijete s posebnim potrebama i većinom se koriste samo procjenom i konsultacijama sa kolegama. Samo 11% ih je educirano da radi s djecom s posebnim potrebama, a 72% ispitanika htjeli bi imati asistenta u nastavi. Rezultate smo dobili na osnovu odgovora pomenutih ispitanika ankete, te sva-kako treba napomenuti da se radi o malom uzorku ispitanika.

Da bi znali da dijete treba prilagođeni program, asistenta u nastavi ili materijale za individualiziranu nastavu, potreba je određena dokumentacija, odnosno dijagnoza bolesti i kategorizacija. Pedeset dva posto naših ispitanika nema nikakvu dokumentaciju kojom bi se potvrdila određena dijagnoza bolesti,

⁴⁴Anketa o inkluziji u nastavi se nalazi u prilogu ovog rada.

njih 15% ima dokumentaciju, dok 33% misli da dokumentaciju posjeduje pedagog/ica.⁴⁵

Kategorizacija i samoprocjena

Bez kritiziranja, shvatajući da nisu krivi nastavnici koji nisu imali adekvatnu edukaciju da bi se pripremili za rad s djecom s posebnim potrebama, veliki problem u današnjoj reformiranoj nastavi u inkluzivnom okruženju čine ustvari nekategorisana djeca.

Kategorizacija u BiH se vrši kad dijete napuni tri godine, ali po potrebi, nakon što se u trudnoći ili porodu primjeti da dijete ima neke poteškoće, radi se odmah poslije poroda. Kategorizaciju vrši stručni tim sastavljen od pedijatara, psihologa, psihiyatara, logopeda, defektologa i socijalnih radnika. Većina škola u Unsko-sanskom kantonu nema tim koji je zadužen za praćenje i rad s djecom s poteškoćama niti s nastavnicima koji rade s tom djecom.

Pedagozi, uz svu podršku koju pružaju, nemoći su u rješavanju problema koji se javlja jer djeca s poteškoćama nisu kategorisana, zatim kod blagih i težih poteškoća kod djece, te slabu informiranost nastavnika.

Velik broj djece nije kategorisano, odnosno zbog socijalnih (ne)uslova, roditeljske nesigurnosti i straha, pa i neznanja, većina djece koja imaju neku poteškoću u razvoju ne bude kategorisana i predavači u školama nisu u mogućnosti kvalitetno raditi s takvom djecom.

Zbog socijalnih uslova kod djece, u siromašnjim područjima nikad neće ni doći do kategorizacije, te će se takva djeca *prelaziti* iz razreda u razred, ne dobijajući adekvatnu potporu i obrazovanje.

U našim školama, koje i dalje ne podliježu reformama u smislu infrastrukturnih uslova, te materijala i sredstava potrebnih za kvalitetnu nastavu, rad s djecom s posebnim potrebama u odjeljenju je skoro nemoguć.

U takvim slučajevima, veliku ulogu imaju nastavnici/profesori koji trebaju da procijene da li s djetetom treba da se radi po prilagođenom planu i programu (koji također moraju sami napraviti u većini kantona) ili obavijestiti roditelje i pedagošku službu škole o zapažanjima na osnovu kojih bi se izvršila kategorizacija i dodijelio asistent u nastavi. To je jako osjetljivo područje, koje ni nastavnici ni pedagozi ne žele susretati u svojim oblastima.

Individualizirana nastava

U razredima gdje ima jedno ili više djece s poteškoćama u učenju, idealna je individualizirana nastava, uz pomoć asistenta za nastavu koji bi aktivno ra-

⁴⁵Anketa je provedena sa 50 nastavnika/profesora osnovnih i srednjih škola, te fakulteta, iz različitih gradova BiH.

dio s djetetom odnosno omogućavao djetu rad u skladu s njegovim mogućnostima.

Individualizacija nastave nije samo didaktički princip, već je, među savremenim didaktičarima shvaćena kao najznačajnija inovativna snaga u razvoju i modernizaciji nastave, odnosno kao "imperativ vremena u kome živimo, permanentna inovacija, prepostavka racionalizacije nastave" (Đukić 2003: 68).

No, tu se opet javlja problem kategorizacije, odnosno asistent u nastavi ne može raditi s djetetom koje nema kategorizacije jer ne može znati koje su djetetove prednosti, a koji nedostaci.

Suština individualizovane nastave je "u različitim didaktičko-metodičkim postupcima usmjerenim ka zadovoljenju individualnih potreba svakog učenika tako da se do maksimuma utiče na njegovo učenje i razvoj" (Đukić 1995, 63).

Prednosti individualizirane nastave su svakako neizrecivo velike pogotovu kod učenika s poteškoćama u razvoju kroz identifikaciju individualnih razlika među učenicima, organizovanjem i izvođenjem, te vrednovanjem procesa i efekata individualizovane nastave, djeca sa poteškoćama u razvoju mogu dobiti onoliko informacija potrebnih da sviđaju određenu prepreku te da u svojim mogućnostima urade zadani zadatak. Međutim, kod talentiranih i nadarenih učenika može se dobiti kontra efekat. Ako se suviše potencira, može negativno djelovati na socijalno ponašanje učenika, egoističnog ponašanja, samozadovoljstva i samoprecjenjivanja sposobnosti i slično.

Diferencirana nastava

Diferencirana nastava je jedna od bitnih segmenata didaktičko-metodičkih postupaka rada u odjeljenju. Diferenciranjem omogućujemo učenicima da, ne koliko i individualiziranom nastavom, ostvare najbolje rezultate u njihovim mogućnostima, ne šteteći niti jednom učeniku. Diferencijacija nastave je takva organizacija nastavnog procesa u kom se, za različite kategorije učenika, odnosno učenika različitih sposobnosti, priprema onakav obim i težina zadataka koje su oni u mogućnosti izvršiti. Diferencijacija se odnosi na obim i dubinu sadržaja koji se učenicima nude.

Diferencijacija treba biti organizirana na takav način da svaki učenik ima koristi od načina na koji uči odnosno da svaki učenik nauči planirati u skladu s njegovim mogućnostima i potrebama. Kroz različite načine predavanja i prenošenja znanja, za istu nastavnu jedinku određenu planom i programom, svaki učenik usvaja znanja i aktivnosti na osnovu vlastitih iskustava i interesa. Kroz različite aktivnosti predavači mogu da diferenciraju sadržaj po interesima, načinu učenja ili savlađivanju gradiva.

Česta pogreška koju nastavnici rade pri diferencijaciji jeste *olakšavanje* gradiva za djecu koja imaju poteškoće u razvoju ili opterećivanje talentirane i nadarene djece težinom gradiva i obimom.

Diferencijaciju dijelimo na:

- Diferenciranje po procesu rada odnosno načinu predavanja i izlaganja određene nastavne jedinke.
- Diferenciranje po sadržaju nastavnih jedinki;
- Diferenciranje po periodu kojim diferenciramo nastavnu jedinku.

Inkluzija zaista predstavlja i izazov, ali i priliku za djecu s poteškoćama, da pokazu svoje mogućnosti, šta mogu i umiju, i da im se samo treba dati prilika, a talentiranoj i nadarenoj djeci mogućnost da ispitaju svoje sposobnosti do maksimuma, da ih usavrše i svoje talente uobliče i pokažu.

Prednost inkluzije je svakako razvoj socijalnih vrijednosti, stavova, pogleda na svijet i opće sposobnosti. Djeca inkluzijom spoznaju da pojedinac može prevladati svoje teškoće i tako postići uspjeh, te sami prihvataju i priznaju vlastite sposobnosti i vještine.

No, inkluziju ponajviše smatramo izazovom, prvenstveno jer još nismo spremni i educirani da je sprovodimo. Kao nastavnici, koji provode dosta vremena s djecom, možemo primjetiti da li dijete ima neke poteškoće u učenju i savladavanju gradiva, ali ne smijemo kategorizirati niti etiketirati djecu. Kada je primjetna neka poteškoća, obavijesti se pedagog škole odnosno određeni stručni tim, koji treba da sprovede prikladne testove i utvrdi da li dijete ima ili nema poteškoću. Poslije toga, nakon što se utvrdi da dijete ima neku poteškoću u učenju ili razvoju, prvi i najvažniji korak je svakako kategorizacija, uz obaveznu analizu stručnog tima i pristanka roditelja.

Ono što je veliki problem u Unsko-sanskom kantonu jesu nepostojanje dovoljnog broja stručnih timova za pomoć u školama. U pojedinim školama postoje logopedi i defektolozi, ali veliki broj škola svoja rješenja mora tražiti u drugim gradovima, pa i kantonima. Pri Pedagoškom zavodu treba oformiti tim za stručnu pomoć školama, a pri svakoj školi kabinet za rad s djecom koja nisu u mogućnosti da se uklope u sistem aktivnog učenja kakav iziskuje redovita škola. Također, savjetnik pri Pedagoškom zavodu trebao bi, zajedno s stručnim timovima, ukazati na dodatne edukacije nastavnika, izrade nastavnih planova i programa, prilagođenih za djecu s poteškoćama.

Prihvati izazove, pa da možete osjetiti uzbuđenje pobjede. - George S. Patton

Stručno usavršavanje nastavnika u polju rada s djecom

s poteškoćama u učenju i razvoju

Vodič kroz inkluziju u obrazovanju tvrdi da je "neminovno da inkluzija traži nove i značajne izazove od strane nastavnika, menadžmenta škole, samih učenika i njihovih roditelja, ali i cijele društvene zajednice. Svi imaju zahtjevan

zadatak – odgovoriti na veliki broj različitih učeničkih potreba" (Društvo ujedinjenih građanskih akcija "DUGA," 11).

Također je naglašen i stav da

u toku studija nastavničkih fakulteta se govori malo ili nikako o edukaciji djece s posebnim potrebama jer se većinom stavlja naglasak na edukaciju nastavnika u toku rada, više nego na edukaciju na dodiplomskom studiju, što može da bude zbog nastajanja potrebe da se brzo osposobe nastavnici potrebni u školama, da bi mogli odgovoriti zahtjevima promjena u školama i razredima. Edukacija uz rad gradi sposobnost kod nastavnika u rješavanju aktuelnih problema "na licu mjesta." (11)

Nastavnik je stručno-pedagoški osposobljena osoba koja planira, priprema i izvodi nastavu i cjelokupan odgojno-obrazovni rad u školi i drugim pedagoškim institucijama (Tomić, Osmić 2005).

Kao neposredni izvoditelj nastavnog procesa, učitelj/nastavnik igra primarnu ulogu u uspješnom odgojno-obrazovnom uključivanju učenika s posebnim potrebama u redovne razrede. On je taj koji provodi, preispituje i mijenja programske zahtjeve u skladu sa sposobnostima, znanjem, interesima i potrebama učenika, uz istovremenu interakciju s njima. Zbog toga i igra ključnu ulogu u školovanju učenika (Stančić, Ivančić 1999).

Dakle, učitelj/nastavnik je osoba koja se mora kontinuirano usavršavati kako bi stalno posjedovao visoke stručne kompetencije jer upravo savremeni sistem obrazovanja i vaspitanja zahtijeva nastavnika koji je osposobljen i spreman da odgovori na postojeće izazove.

Da bismo utvrdile važnost poznавања inkluzивне тематике као и стручности будућих nastavnika у том пољу, studenti IV године nastavničког смјера су у склопу колегија Методика наставе енглеског језика требали да у крајем eseju⁴⁶ изнесу своје stavove о inkluziji, раду с дејцом с пoteškoćama te информирању о pojedinim poteškoćama, хендикепима и болестима. Nakon pregledanja eseja, uočeno je da se u određenoj mjeri razlikuju kod objašnjavanja terminologije, ali da se svi slažu oko важности kontinuiranog стручног usavršavanja сваког nastavnika о raznim обличима аутизма, te da je inkluzija bitna ne само за дејцу с posebnim potrebama већ и за остalu дејцу која ће на тај начин почети учићи и цијенити сличности и разлиčitosti људи у svijetu. Autizam smo uzele za primjer, jer je rad s дејцом која imaju аутизам još uvijek u fazi istraživanja, a na našim подручјима деца с таکвом vrstom poteškoća nerijetko su izložena осудама, etiketiranjem i različitim kategorizacijama. Također, појам аутизма као spektra razli-

⁴⁶Метода писања eseja je uključila 12 studenata i sastojala se iz tri dijela: objašnjavanja terminologije, prijedloga i ideja poučavanja djece s posebnim potrebama kao i важности daljnog стручног usavršavanja сваког nastavnika.

čitih individualnih razlika i poteškoća, još uvijek je nepoznat velikom broju nastavnika. Prijedlozi, koje su studenti iznijeli kao rješenje problema rada s djecom, odnose se na socijalizaciju s drugom djecom, gdje bi nastavnici bili ključni faktor poveznica istih i sličnih interesa; zatim gdje bi nastavnik trebao ostvoriti rutine kako bi oni tačno znali šta slijedi, pružati dovoljnu dozu podrške koja će pomoći u razvijanju njihovih sposobnosti i vještina.

Sve navedeno dovodi do zaključka da su budući nastavnici ipak informirani, ali i da žele dalje da se usavršavaju. Primarni cilj svakog nastavnika trebao bi biti svakako konstantna edukacija i stručno usavršavanje, kao primarni cilj prenošenja znanja na druge. Kompetentan, stručan učitelj/nastavnik treba svakom učeniku pomoći da dosegne potpuni potencijal, mora ga razumjeti, uvažavati njegove jedinstvene osobine, te podupirati njegov napredak (Greenspan 2004).

Nažalost, to je veoma teško postići ukoliko se učitelj/nastavnik stručno ne usavršava pomoću časopisa, seminara, radionica, konferencijskih ili stručnih udžbenika.

Jedna veoma dobra ideja za edukaciju nastavnika je elektronski časopis radova, nastalih u okviru *Projekt Asistencija u nastavi*⁴⁷ koji pruža pomoći učenicima, roditeljima, nastavnicima i stručnim saradnicima da se svi što bolje uključe u proces inkluzije iz razloga što asistencija svakom djetetu pomaže dase uključi u zajednicu i razvijelične sposobnosti do maksimuma u neovisnog življjenja.

Još jedan odličan časopis je časopis *Defektologija*⁴⁸ Edukacijsko-rehabilitacijskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Tuzli gdje se nastoji doći do određenih rješenja defektoloških, pedagoško-psiholoških i sociomedicinskih pitanja teorije i prakse rada sa djecom, omladinom i odraslim osobama ometenim u razvoju.

Postoje seminari, konferencije i projekti koji su usmjereni na inkluziju i tematiku rada s djecom s poteškoćama u učenju i razvoju, a neki od njih su:

- V. Međunarodna znanstveno-stručna konferencija *Unaprjeđenje kvalitete života djece i mladih* održana u junu 2014. godine u Igalu, Crna Gora, a organizovana od strane *Udruženja za podršku i kreativni razvoj djece i mladih* Tuzla i Edukacijsko-rehabilitacijskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Tuzli;
- predavanje i radionica na temu *Edukacija nastavnika za rad sa djecom oštećenog sluha*, u sklopu projekta *U susret inkluziji*, održanih u

⁴⁷ Uz podršku Ministarstva obrazovanja, nauke, kulture i sporta Hercegovačko-neretvanskog kantona, projekt i časopis "Asistencija u nastavi" su realizirale osnovne škole HNK, a finansiran je od strane Fonda otvoreno društvo Bosna i Hercegovina.

⁴⁸Ovaj časopis uključuje radove iz područja oštećenja vida, oštećenja sluha, patologije glasa, govora i jezika, tjelesnih oštećenja i hroničnih bolesti, mentalne retardacije i poremećaja u ponašanju uključujući i delikventno ponašanje.

januaru 2014. godine u Osnovnoj školi "Kreka" Tuzla gdje su nastavnici dobili instrukcije kako pomoći djetetu s posebnim potrebama prema vrsti ometenosti (intelektualnim poteškoćama, oštećenju sluha, govornim poremećajima, poremećajima u ponašanju);

- u sklopu projekta *Podrška inkluzijiuz* podršku Ministarstva za obrazovanje, nauku i mlade Kantona Sarajevo održana je prva radionica na temu uvođenja edukativnog softvera kako bi nastavnici koji rade sa djecom s posebnim potrebama mogli im pružiti mnogo više znanja i pokazati na koje sve načine mogu doći do tog znanja koje im je potrebno za svakodnevni život;
- radionica *Inkluzija i praksa – u čemu je kvaka?* realizirana je u JUOŠ "Miladije" Tuzlagdje su učesnici bili nastavnici – zaposlenici škole (22 učesnika) stavljajući poseban naglasak na ocjenjivanje djece s posebnim potrebama i rad sa roditeljima u procesu razvoja inkluzivne škole;
- dvodnevni seminar *Inkluzija u nastavisa* ciljem uključivanja djece sa posebnim potrebama u srednje obrazovanje organizovan od strane Ugostiteljske i trgovinske škole u Doboju, a podržali su ga Ministarstvo prosvjete i kulture Srpske i grad Doboj.
- obuka asistenata/pomoćnika u odjeljenju, koja se realizira u okviru provođenja projekta *Unapređenje socijalne inkluzije djece sa poteškoćama u razvoju u Unsko-sanskom kantonu*, gdje je predviđeno ospozobljavanje 340 odgajatelja/nastavnika za 2014. godinu dobijajući osnovnu i specijaliziranu obuku za asistenta u odjeljenjui unapređivajući kompetencije za rad sa djecom sa razvojnim poteškoćama.

Nastavnici koji rade s djecom s posebnim potrebama, posebno s djecom s poteškoćama trebaju i moraju stalno da se educiraju, stručno usavršavaju i traže ideje za rad. Nastavnički poziv je poziv koji mora pratiti vrijeme i potrebe učenika, te se usavršavati jer "sve dok postoji potreba za poboljšanjem, što znači dovijeka, postojat će i potreba za stručnim usavršavanjem" (Fullan 1991, 117).

Metodički prikaz rada s djecom s teškoćama u učenju

Rad s djecom zahtijeva raznovrsnost i maštovitost nastavnika, te osposobljenost metodama i načinima rada, da bi zadržali dječiju pažnju i motivaciju. Svako dijete je individua za sebe, pa je stoga jako teško udovoljiti svima i raditi sa svima baš onako kako njima odgovara. Diferencijacija je vid nastave koja svakako može udovoljiti većem dijelu učenika tako što će ih pustiti da rade onoliko koliko misle da im je dovoljno. Koordinirajući razred s diferencijacijom postiže se osamostaljivanje učenika, te ispoljavanje određenih interesovanja.

Rad s djecom s posebnim potrebama kroz diferencijaciju je veoma zadowjavajući jer kombinacijom diferencijacije i individualizacije dijete s poteškoćama u razvoju može dobiti određenu pažnju i dovoljno poduke, gdje svako radi u skladu s svojim mogućnostima.

Prije nego predstavimo rezultate istraživanja, moramo napomenuti da se problematika kategorizacije, dijagnosticiranja, rada s djecom s poteškoćama razlikuje od škole do škole u Unsko-sanskom kantonu. U nekim školama postoje stručni timovi koji su zaduženi za kategorizaciju djece s poteškoćama, te savjetovanje nastavnika i njihovo usavršavanje putem seminara i radionica, dok u nekim školama ne postoji nikakav tim, čak niti stručni saradnik, koji bi mogao raditi taj isti posao. Nastavnici često traže savjet pedagoga i školskog psihologa, a rad u učionici, s učenicima koji imaju kategorizaciju ili su upućeni da se kategoriju, uglavnom se sastoji od vlastitih materijala, istraživanja, te seminara i radionica koji se organiziraju veoma rijetko.

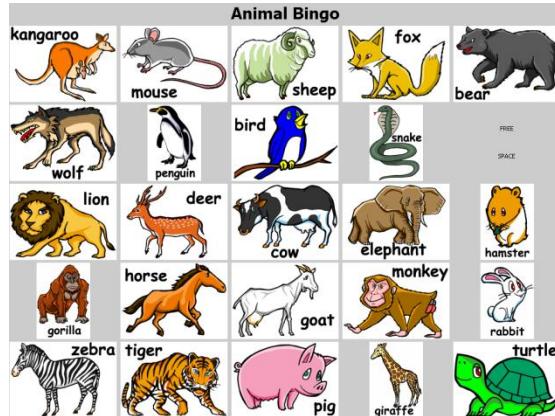
Primjere za ovo istraživanjesmoprovele u četvrtom i petom razredu. Engleski jezik uče od trećeg razreda i počevši s njima ove godine da radimo, uvidjeli smo određene propuste koji su morali biti ispravljeni. Učenici nisu prošli stručnu kategorizaciju, niti imaju određenu dokumentaciju sa dijagonozom teškoća. Od prvog razreda, po dijagnozi pedagoga škole u saradnji s učiteljicom i roditeljima, na djeci su primjećene određene teškoće. Nakon što su odrađeni određeni testovu sa školskim pedagogom i defektologom, učenik je poslan na kategorizaciju i dalju dijagnozu, no socijalni status te određena problematika nedostatka timova za kategorizaciju, učenici još uvijek nisu kategorisani, te po preporuci pedagoga i defektologa škole, nastavnici rade s njima.

U petom razredu učenik A.B. potječe iz veoma siromašne porodice. Učenik ne zna pisati, te teško ili nikako ne govori. Učenik nije kategorisan, niti posjeduje dokumentaciju koja objašnjava njegove teškoće. Porodica ne može da priušti kategorizaciju, jer je socijalno ugrožena, a škola nema sredstava da omogući kategorizaciju. S učenikom radimo individualiziranu nastavu, tokom koje pomaže asistent u nastavi kojeg škola odnedavno ima.

Nemogućnost pisanja učenik je objasnio kao nemogućnost pamćenja svih riječi koje je čuo. Većinu vježbi koje učenik radi tokom časa su povezivanje i sastavljanje, kinetički vid učenja, gdje zbog njegove govorne poteškoće ne možemo verbalno da uspostavimo kontakt. Učenik smatra da kroz ovakav vid učenja on prepoznaje već osnovne riječi na engleskom jeziku, umije da ih napiše ukoliko mu se da vremena i prostora i može da pokaže takve predmete ukoliko ih može vidjeti.

Neke od aktivnosti koje smo radile s učenikom:

Koristile smo bingo igricu gdje smo isjekle sličice i naziv riječi odnosno životinje, te smo ih zalijepile na karton. Potom smo dale učeniku da ih posloži, odnosno poveže riječi sa slikom. Nakon što to uradi, mora ih složiti po abecedi.



Slika br.1 – Primjer bingo igrice

Zatim kartice, koje je posložio po abecedi, stavlja na štrik u učionici (niži razredi obično imaju štrik i štipaljke radi prezentacije svojih radova) tako da učenik uvijek može da vidi date sličice, da se podsjeti i nauči ili redoslijed ili naziv ukoliko nije znao.

Također, kad obrađujemo lekciju, učenik radi prilagođene vježbe na našem tabletu, tako da nema potrebu govora niti pisanja na tabli ili u svesci.

Za ovog učenika najbolji vid učenja jeste vizuelno i kinestetičko percipiranje informacija. Potičemo na izradu, ali i zahtijevamo veliki broj postera i radnih panoa, na kojima učenici napišu, nacrtaju ili naližepe informacije vezane za pojedine lekcije. Učenik takvim načinom uspijeva da prati veći dio nastave, iako veoma brzo shvata i povezuje gradivo.

Učenik je izradio kartice na kojima su nacrtani likovi koji prezentiraju osjećaje (u sklopu jedne lekcije), te se služi tim karticama tokom časa da nam pokaže kako se trenutno osjeća, te da li mu nešto treba. Često i sam pokuša pisati s ostalom djecom, ali kad ne stigne, podigne karticu na kojoj vidimo da li trebamo da usporimo ili da mu pomognemo.

Kroz ove metode rada učenik se dobro snalazi na času engleskog jezika.

Socijalno ugroženi učenici

E. M. pohađa peti razred, potiče iz socijalno ugrožene porodice. Prema novim istraživanjima i prikazima podjela djece s posebnim potrebama, odnosno s poteškoćama u učenju i razvoju u Bosni i Hercegovini, svrstava se u kategoriju djece s posebnim potrebama jer nema osnovne uvjete za život. Ono što je interesantno kod ove učenice je da ona uživa raditi individualno, odnosno voli raditi nešto drukčije od ostale djece. U početku smo mislile da će se asocijalizirati ili praviti važna pred drugom djecom te da neće htjeti raditi u grupi, ali

njen samostalan rad zaista ima efekta. Ona je šesto dijete u porodici i smatramo da činjenica da radi sama i da je izdvajamo od drugih, budi u njoj neku novu dimenziju na koju nije navikla (najmlađa je u porodici).

U njeno obrazovanje nije mnogo ulagano niti se ulaže. Kroz rad s njom shvatile smo da ima poteškoće u razumijevanju napisanog! Zna napisati sva slova, može pratiti kad joj govorimo riječi i napisati ih, ali ne zna njihovo značenje ni kad ih pročita.

Vježbe koje radimo s njom i koje za sada imaju efekta su audio vizualne vježbe gdje učenica mora da raspozna i povezuje date rečenice ili riječi sa slikom.

Zbog nekategorisanja i zapostavljanja od stane zajednice (mnogo djece u porodici, neuki roditelji, nerad kod kuće), učenica je postigla odlične rezultete u učenju jezika.

Aktivnost koju smo radile s učenicom:

Na jednu kockicu⁴⁹ (iz seta dječijih igračaka) napišemo riječi na engleskom jeziku, a na drugu kockicu napišemo njihov prijevod ili nalijepimo sliku koja predstavlja tu riječ. Jednu kockicu baca, a drugu namješta sama. Kad nađe tačan prijevod, onda ga piše u svesku. Tačan prijevod zna tako što je te riječi prethodno pisala kao dio teksta koji dobije.

Također iz razloga što diferencijacijom izlažemo određenu nastavnu jedinku različitim grupama, učenica radi nešto sukladno njenim sposobnostima iz nastavne jedinke koju rade i ostali učenici.

Ako učenici rade prošlo glagolsko vrijeme (past simple), od učenice tražimo da pronađe riječi koje imaju -ed kao nastavak i da ih prepiše na list papira, a onda dobije te iste glagole, ali ispremetane na listu da nam nađe značenje.

Napredak je vidljiv i njeno zanimanje za rad je u porastu.

Učenici sa problemima u ponašanju

S.A. pohađa četvrti razred i ima određene poteškoće praćenja nastave i učestvovanja u aktivnostima tokom časa. Učenik je ponekad agresivan, većinu vremena nezainteresiran i odbija poslušnost i bilo kakav rad. S učenikom radimo na principu udovoljavanja njegovim željama, ali da zauzvrat uradi određeni obim zadanih zadataka.

Njegova pažnja je veoma kratka i sve aktivnosti koje radi tokom časa su uglavnom nedovršene i površne. Njegovo zanimanje za sve ostalo osim nastave iskoristimo da uradi bitne zadatke vezane za lekciju, a crtanje i bojanje, koje loše radi, pustimo kao njegov način da on odluči šta će raditi, a šta ne.

⁴⁹Kockice mogu biti od bilo čega. Važno je na svaku stranu zalijepiti po jednu riječ. Tu obično koristimo naljepnice za cijene koje se mogu kupiti u trgovini.

S učenikom radimo identične lekcije kao sa ostalima samo ne istim redoslijedom tako da nikad ne radi zadatak kao i ostali. Traži potpunu pažnju nastavnika. Koristeći različite metode rada s učenikom, došli smo do zaključka da je njegov način učenja pomoću čitanja i pisanja, odnosno prepisivanja određenih dijelova teksta, riječi ili fraza. Izbjegavamo vježbe koje zahtijevaju slušanje, crtanje ili čak kinestetički način učenja jer se pokazao kao dosta neaktivan i nezainteresiran za takvo nešto.

Učenikovi rezultati su veoma visoki i iznenađujuće je da izbjegava jednostavne zadatke, a teške s posvećenošću uradi.

Često u nastavi koristi tablet gdje igra edukativne igrice, i to nakon što dobro odradi neki prethodno zadani zadatak.

Engleski jezik u manjim razredima je još uvijek apstraktan kod većine roditelja i djece iz mjesta u kojem predajemo. Roditelji ne poznaju materiju da bi pomogli djeci, a djeca su nezainteresirana za učenje jezika jer im nije izazovan niti privlačan.

Najvažniju ulogu u učenju jezika igra, u stvari, motivacija, ali svakako i način učenja i sama strategija i metode predavanja. Kod djece s posebnim potrebama, kako obično učitelji i roditelji smatraju, ne treba previše tražiti, posebno iz stranog jezika, u čemu se ne slažemo niti pridržavamo. Djeca koja nemaju neku mentalnu poteškoću i koja su u mogućnosti naučiti bilo koji predmet, odlično se snalaze i u nastavi engleskog jezika.

Najgora greška koju nastavnik ili roditelj može uraditi jeste prepostaviti da dijete nešto ne može. Tako prepostavkom smanjujemo šanse da dijete zaista uspije, a samim tim i našu volju da djetetu pomognemo da uspije. Kroz rad u nastavi i u razgovoru s drugim nastavnicima, došle smo do poražavajućih rezultata u smislu strategijai metoda učenja pojedine djece koja imaju određene poteškoće. Većina nastavnika smatra ukoliko dijete ne može tečno da priča, da ga se treba forsirati da priča (da prevaziđe poteškoću) što kod učenika stvara još veću blokadu.

Kao i kod učenika koji imaju problema s ponašanjem, veći stepen kažnjavanja dovodi do većeg stepena njegovog buntovništva i odbijanja poslušnosti.

Zaključak

Iako je potrebno dosta vremena i truda za integraciju djece s poteškoćama u razvoju, saradnja među institucijama i volja društva u cjelini, trud brojnih roditelja, pedagoga, znanstvenika, logopeda, psihijatara i pedijatara ide u smjeru koji daje nadu da će i ovaj problem jednog dana biti riješen. Različite metode rada, dodatna edukacija nastavnika, te požrtvovanost cijelog društva da omogući kvalitetnu prilagodbu djece s poteškoćama u razvoju i učenju u obrazovne ustanove, neophodni su čimbenici stvaranja uspješnog projekta inkluzije i njene rasprostranjenosti. Najvažnijim segmentom uspješnosti inkluzije smatramo na-stavno osoblje, stručno usavršavanje i edukaciju nastavnika. Projekat inkluzije u Bosni i Hercegovini, u školama u

Unsko-sanskom kantonu treba preispitati svoje ciljeve, te educirati nastavnike za rad s djecom u razredu, osnovati stručne timove za educiranje nastavnika i kategorizaciju učenika, te podići svijest okoline i informisati ih o pomenutom problemu. S obzirom da pojedini gradovi Unsko-sanskog kantona nemaju niti jednog defektologa, logopeda niti bilo kojeg dru-gog stručnjaka za rad s djecom s poteškoćama, kao što je primjer Bosanske Kru-pe, gdje djeca iz škola u Bosanskoj Krupi moraju da putuju u Bihać ili Cazin na ka-tegorizaciju ili bilo kakvu procjenu, vježbe ili edukaciju. Zahtjevi za okupljanjem mobilnog tima stručnjaka, koji bi bili zaduženi za škole u Unsko-sanskom kantonu odbijen je od strane ministarstva, zbog nedostatka novčanih sredstava. S obzirom da djeca s poteškoćama pohađaju inkluzivnu nastavu i dalje, te da se novi slučajevi svakodnevno razotkrivaju, a isti problemi sa kategorizacijom, edu-kacijom nastavnika i procesom nastave ostaju isti, pitamo se kolika je kvaliteta inkluzivne nastave i kako ustvari doprinosimo djeci s poteškoćama i njihovoj edukaciji.

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Prilog. Upitnik – Inkluzija u nastavi

Ovaj upitnik sprovodi se radi pisanja istraživačkog naučnog rada i informacije dobivene njime biće korištene samo u tu svrhu.

1. Na skali od 1-10, koliko je Vaša škola spremna za rad s djecom s posebnim potrebama?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Loše Odlično

2. Radim u/na

Osnovnoj školi
 Srednjoj školi
 Fakultetu

3. Predajem djetetu/djeci s posebnim potrebama?

Da
 Ne
 Ne znam

4. Škola u kojoj radim podržava inkluziju:
(prilagođen prostor, asistenti u nastavi, prilagođeni programi)

Da
 Ne
 Nisam siguran/na

5. Da li imate dokumente ili određene popratne informacije o djetetu s posebnim potrebama(kategorizaciju)?

Da
 Ne
 Mislim da to ima pedagog/ica

6. Na početku godine pedagog/ica (ili neko drugi od nadležnog osoblja) Vas obavijesti u kojim razredima ima dijete s posebnim potrebama?
- Da
- Ne
7. Da li ste educirani da radite s djecom s posebnim potrebama (bilo koja kategorija)?
- Da
- Ne
8. Da li biste se educirali da radite s djecom s posebnim potrebama ukoliko biste imali priliku?
- Da
- Ne
- Možda
9. Da li biste voljeli da imate asistenta u nastavi?
- Da, bilo bi odlično
- Ne, ne treba mi

METHODICAL APPROACH TO INCLUSION IN ELT

METHODICALAPPROACH TO INCLUSIONINELT

The concept of SEN is well familiar to many teachers, but the practice can range from very strenuous to in fact doable. Considering today's education system and conditions we have today in our classrooms, working with children with special education needs is a challenge as well as the opportunity.

The main goal of every teacher is to present the subject he/she teaches in the best way to all the students. With different categories of students, it is difficult for teachers to achieve lesson goals in the way they planned. When differentiating, there is more that can be done and more students can be involved. That's why every teacher should consider incorporating a differentiated approach into our teaching. Furthermore, we should determine goals, develop plans, master and revise strategies for children with special

needs. Sometimes a little change can improve a child's knowledge and motivation to learn.

Based on the notion that learning takes place when students experience instruction at a level of difficulty that is appropriately challenging and attainable (Tomlinson, 2003; Wolfe, 2001), this paper will incorporate the presenters' own experience with mastering basic guidelines of differentiation and working with children with special needs implemented into English lessons, as well as a research with other teachers and schools and their readiness to work with children with special needs.

Key Words: inclusion, education, differentiation, categorization, SEN children, teacher.

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